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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society.

[New Ser.]

VOL. IV.

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St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society.

FOUNDED FEBRUARY 6th, 1879.

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(*Elected January 27th*, 1900.)

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE
ST. PAUL'S ECCLESIOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 6, 1895.

Chairman: Rev. Lewis Gilbertson, M.A.

The Minutes of the last Meeting having been read and confirmed, the Chairman referred to the great loss which the Society had sustained in the death of Mr. Charles Browne, and proposed that a resolution should be passed, and forwarded to the members of his family. This was warmly seconded by the Rev. E. S. Dewick, and carried unanimously. The resolution was as follows:—

"That the members of the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society have heard with profound regret of the death of their fellow-member Mr. Charles Browne, M.A., F.S.A., and desire to record their appreciation of the eminent services which he has rendered to the Society. They also venture to offer their respectful sympathy to the members of his family in the bereavement which they have sustained"

A paper was then read by Mr. R. A. S. Macalister, M.A., on "The Ecclesiology of Ogham Inscriptions," which is printed at p. 53.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 4, 1895.

Chairman: Rev. Lewis Gilbertson, M.A.

A paper was read by Mr. Richard B. Holt on "Miracle-Plays, Moralities and Interludes." In the discussion which followed Major Heales, Mr. Stannus, Mr. Harrison and Mr. Wright took part, and a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to the lecturer.

Messrs. Fedarb, Banister and Day were elected auditors for the ensuing year.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 15, 1896.

Chairman: Rev. Lewis Gilbertson, M.A.

This evening was devoted to the exhibition and description of objects of ecclesiological interest by the following members:—

THE CHAIRMAN:—An Italian Pax of the sixteenth century.

Mr. R. GARRAWAY RICE, F.S.A.:—Some pages from an Antiphoner, probably Spanish, of late fifteenth or early sixteenth century.

Mr. A. J. L. CHUTE:—A series of small figures made of cardboard showing the costumes of the various ranks in the Order of St. John of Jerusalem—probably of the eighteenth century. Also a photograph of an altar-cloth from Mottisfont Priory, Hampshire.

Mr. A. BANISTER:—A silver filigree Alms-dish presented in 1675 to Christ Church, Newgate Street, by William Manistone as a thank offering for his safe return from the East Indies.

Mr. R. HOWARD WALL:—An album containing a selection of letters relating to the founding of the Society in 1879.

Mr. C. KRALL:—Examples of ancient metal work, including an Italian crucifix, with the cross circular in section; a silver crucifix of German *repoussé* work; a flagon, *circa* 1520, with a new one made to match it; two thuribles; candlesticks, &c.

Mr. A. OLIVER:—A crucifix of carved wood and other objects.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 1, 1896.

SEVENTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING.

Chairman: Rev. Lewis Gilbertson, M.A.

The Minutes of the last Annual Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Report and Balance Sheet for the year 1895-6 were presented:—

SEVENTEENTH ANNUAL REPORT, 1895–96.

The Council beg leave to present the Seventeenth Annual Report.

Seven Meetings have been held at the Chapter House since the last Report, at which Papers on the following subjects have been read:—"The Parish Churches of West Kent, their dedications, altars, images and lights, being gleanings from the Wills of West Kent Folk from 1400 to 1558," by Mr. LELAND L. DUNCAN, F.S.A.; "Notes in Spanish Churches, as bearing upon Old English Ritual," by Dr. REGINALD EAGER; "Some Inscriptions of the British Church," by the Right Rev. the Bishop of Stepney; "Notes on the Brasses and Matrices at St. Alban's Abbey," by Mr. ANDREW OLIVER; "The Ecclesiology of Ogham Inscriptions," by Mr. R. A. S. MACALISTER; "Miracle Plays, Moralities and Interludes," by Mr. RICHARD B. HOLT.

An exhibition of objects of Ecclesiological interest occupied one evening, as in previous years.

Afternoon visits were made to the following places:—The Crypt of St. John, Clerkenwell, under the guidance of the Rev. T. W. WOOD, the Rector; Sir John Soane's Museum, conducted by Mr. G. H. BIRCH, F.S.A., the Curator; The Parish Churches of Chislehurst, conducted by Major HEALES, F.S.A.; Kingsbury and Hendon, the latter being described by the Rev. NEWTON MANT, the Vicar; Bromley, under the guidance of the Vicar, the Rev. A. C. HELLICAR; Beckenham, where the Rector, the Rev. H. ARNOTT, conducted; Willingale Spain, which was described by the Rector, the Rev. C. LENNARD PAYNE; Hornchurch and Upminster, under the guidance of Mr. F. CHANCELLOR, F.R.I.B.A.

A whole-day excursion was made to Peterborough, the Cathedral Church being described by the Rev. W. D. SWEETING.

The Council tender their best thanks to the Clergy and other custodians of the places visited, and to those gentlemen who, by reading papers or otherwise, have assisted in making the proceeding of the year successful.

Part V., completing Volume III. of the Transactions, has recently been issued. It is gratifying to note the important position which our Transactions have acquired as a standard of reference on Ecclesiological matters.

The accompanying Balance Sheet unfortunately shows an excess of expenditure over receipts, but it may be some satisfaction to note that this is chiefly due to the outlay upon the Transactions.

The Council feel that they cannot conclude their Report without referring to the great loss which the Society has sustained by the death of Mr. Charles Browne in November last. For many years he was a member of the Council, and very regular in his attendance at the meetings of the Society. His numerous papers, which have appeared in the Transactions, always aroused interest; and his genial presence, and readiness to communicate knowledge, contributed greatly to the success of the Society's meetings.

LEWIS GILBERTSON,
Chairman.

EDWARD J. WELLS,
Hon. Secretary.

BALANCE-SHEET, 1895, ST. PAUL'S ECCLESIOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

Dr.

Dec. 31st, 1895.	£	s.	d.
To Balance from last account	2	13	11
,, Entrance Fees and Subscriptions	52	14	9
,, Life Subscriptions	18	18	0
,, Sale of Transactions...	16	6	4
,, Interest on Reserve fund	2	12	6
,, Balance due to the Treasurer	7	1	7
	£100	7	1
Jan. 1st, 1896.			
Reserve Fund in Post Office Savings Bank ...	£103	0	6

Cr.

Dec. 31st, 1895.	£	s.	d.
By amount paid for Transactions	74	14	8
,, Printing and Stationery	7	11	9
,, Postage, including forwarding of Transactions	15	19	0
,, Fees to Attendants	2	0	2
,, Miscellaneous	0	1	6
	£100	7	1
Jan. 1st, 1896.			
Balance	£7	1	7

We have examined the above and found it correct,

EDWIN H. FEDARB, ARCHIBALD DAY, *Auditors.*

EDWARD J. WELLS, *Hon. Secretary.*

January 23rd, 1896.

FREDERICK GILL, *Treasurer.*

The Report and Balance Sheet were adopted.

Of the four retiring members of the Council, the Rev. L. Gilbertson and the Rev. E. S. Dewick were re-elected, and in the place of Mr. C. Browne (deceased) and of Mr. Bolton who did not seek re-election Mr. G. W. Marshall and Mr. Alfred Ebbs were elected.

The Chairman proposed and Mr. Ebbs seconded the re-election of the Hon. Secretary and the Hon. Treasurer.

Mr. Banister proposed and Mr. R. Garraway Rice seconded a vote of thanks to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's for their continued kindness in allowing the use of the Chapter Room for the Meetings of the Society. This was carried unanimously.

Various suggestions were made for visits to places of interest during the ensuing summer, and the proceedings closed with a vote of thanks to the Chairman.

Members afterwards attended Evensong in the Cathedral, seats being reserved for them in the Choir.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 5, 1896.

Chairman: Major Heales, F.S.A.

A lecture was given by the Rev. W. F. Creeny, M.A., F.S.A., on "Foreign Incised Slabs," which was illustrated by a magnificent series of rubbings. A short discussion followed and the proceedings closed with a hearty vote of thanks to the lecturer.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 26, 1896.

Chairman: Rev. Lewis Gilbertson, M.A.

A paper on "St. Alban's Day and St. Mary Magdalene's Day," by Lord Aldenham, F.S.A., was read, and was followed by a short discussion in which the Chairman and the Rev. E. Hoskins took part. Dr. Wickham Legg then read a paper on "St. Cyprian's Day," and after some remarks by Major Heales and the Rev. E. Hoskins, a vote of thanks was passed to Lord Aldenham and Dr. Wickham Legg. The papers are printed at p. 32 and p. 47.

THURSDAY, MARCH 19, 1896.

Chairman: Rev. E. Hoskins, M.A.

The Rev. Walter Marshall gave a lecture entitled "Photographic Notes on some Norfolk Churches," which was illustrated by lantern views. An interesting discussion followed, in which Mr. Stannus, Mr. Gill, Mr. Brand, and Mr. Krall participated.

SATURDAY, APRIL 25, 1896.

St. Paul's Cathedral was visited by a large party of members under the guidance of the Rev. Lewis Gilbertson.

SATURDAY, MAY 9, 1896.

The Churches of St. Michael's, Camden Town, and St. Augustine's, Highgate, were visited under the guidance of the respective Vicars of these churches.

SATURDAY, MAY 30, 1896.

The Church of St. Bartholomew the Great, Smithfield, was visited by a large party of members, who were received by the Rector, the Rev. Sir Borradaile Savory, Bart., and had their attention specially directed to the restored Lady Chapel, and the Crypt, now used as a mortuary chapel

The party afterwards proceeded to the church of the Holy Redeemer, Clerkenwell, which was described by Mr. H. Longden.

SATURDAY, JUNE 13, 1896.

The church of Orsett was visited under the guidance of the Rector, the Rev. Canon Whittington.

SATURDAY, JUNE 27, 1896.

A visit was paid to Lingfield Church, Surrey, which was described by Mr. R. Garraway Rice, F.S.A.

The following account of the church and its monuments is taken from notes supplied by Mr. Rice[1]:—

The church of SS. Peter and Paul, Lingfield, is of the Perpendicular style, built of squared brown stone and roofed with Horsham slate. The church was once collegiate, and stalls for the members of the college still remain. The glory of the church consists in its monuments and brasses, the most important of which commemorate members of the Surrey branch of the Cobham family, to the Kentish branch of which we are indebted for the fine series of brasses in Cobham Church, Kent. In the north chapel of Lingfield Church is the tomb of Reginald, the first Baron Cobham of Sterborough, who was born *circa* 1295 and died in 1361. His effigy is habited in chain armour, the head being protected by a bascinet with camail. His head rests upon a tilting helmet with the crest of a Moor's head. The tomb of Sir Reginald de Cobham, second Baron Cobham of Sterborough, who died in 1403, has a slab of Purbeck marble, into which his effigy in brass has been inlaid. This figure shows the advance of plate-armour, though the gorget of mail is retained. The altar-tomb of Sir Reginald Cobham, the founder of Lingfield College, who died in 1446, has his effigy with that of his 2nd wife. The knight's figure is in a perfect suit of plate-armour, except the head and face, and hands. The lady is in widow's attire, as is usual when the wife survives her husband. In addition to the above, there are several brasses on the floor of the chancel, including the fine effigy of John Haresham, who died in 1417, which is an excellent example of the military costume of the first quarter of the fifteenth century. There is a series of brasses commemorating priests connected with the college. The earliest of these is a half-effigy of John Wyche, a master of the college, who died in 1445. A similar figure is to the memory of James Velidon, who died in 1458; and there is a full-length effigy of John Swetecok, master of the college, who died in 1469. The latest example commemorates John Knoyll, another master, who died in 1503. Lastly, there are curious examples of memorials made of tiles, but incised in the manner of brasses. There are remains of two, one by the side of the organ, sufficiently perfect to show a rude design of a male figure in short tunic and wide-toed shoes, fixing the execution to the early part of the sixteenth century. On this example can be traced "Hic jacet," and this is all that ever was inscribed. Possibly a fuller inscription was added on another tile, which is now lost. Mr. Waller states that these are unique examples of figures made in this material.

The church was once richly furnished; for it appears from an inventory taken in the third year of Edward VI.[2] that there were no less than eight copes, and the same number of "vestyments," some of these, however, being described as "olde." Amongst other articles we find: "Inprimis a crosse of sylver and gilt." "Item ij chalices of silver and gilte with ij patentes to the same." "Item a pyxe of sylver and gilte." "Item a paxe of sylver and gilte." "Item a shete for the ffounte." "Item a vayle for Lente with a lentecloth for the alter." "Item ij peyr of orgens." "Item xxiiij cuppis of latten for the rodelofte to sett lightes upon." "Item in the stiple ffower greate belles and a litell bell." In the year 1553, when the greater part of the church goods were confiscated,[3] the parishioners were allowed to retain one "comunion cup poiz xiiij oz." "Item a pair hanginges of crimsin and blew velvet for the comunion table and ij coveringes of lynnen for the same and a pair of hanginges with black stars for the said table." The vestments, banner cloths and the like were sold to two tailors for £6 13*s.* 4*d.*; and the latten and brass ornaments weighing 66 lbs for 11*s.* The cross and a pax of silver, weighing 39¼ oz., were "received of the parishioners to the kinges use." The four bells were allowed to remain in the steeple "to be kept to the kinges use."

The present furniture of the church includes an oak lectern of early date, chained to one side of which is an old black letter bible, and on the other slope one of Bishop Jewel's works. There is also a brass chandelier in the chancel of last century date, suspended by hammered iron-work, the execution of which is similar to that of some of the sword stands still to be seen in several of the London churches. On one of the pillars of the nave there is a bracket which may formerly have supported the image of a saint.

On leaving the church Mr. Rice directed attention to some good specimens of old timber houses, and also to the "Cross of St. Peter" on the village green.

SATURDAY, JULY 11, 1896.

The annual whole day visit of the Society was devoted to an examination of Ely Cathedral, under the guidance of the Rev. J. H. Crosby, Minor Canon of Ely.

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[1] An account of the church by Mr. Bolton will be found in *Trans. S.P.E.S.*, ii. 103.

[2] Inventories of the Goods and Ornaments in the Churches of Surrey, edited by J. R. Daniel-Tyssen in *Surrey Archæological Collections*, iv. 114.

[3] *Ibid.*, iv. 184.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 5, 1896.

Chairman: Rev. Canon Benham, B.D., F.S.A.

A paper was read by Dr. J. Wickham Legg, F.S.A., on "The Sherborne Missal considered in its relation with the Sarum and other English books." The paper has been printed in the Society's *Transactions*, Vol. IV. p. 1.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 25, 1896.

Chairman: Dr. J. Wickham Legg, F.S.A.

A paper by Mr. H. J. Feasey on "The Hanging Pyx" was read, and a discussion followed in which the Chairman, Mr. J. N. Comper, Rev. E. S. Dewick and Mr. Wright participated. At the conclusion of the meeting a vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Feasey for his interesting paper.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 16, 1896.

Chairman: Rev. E. S. Dewick, M.A., F.S.A.

The Rev. T. A. Lacey, M.A., read a paper on "Ecclesiastical Habit." A discussion followed in which Dr. Wickham Legg, Rev. E. Hoskins and Mr. Gill joined. Mr. Lacey's paper will be found in print in the Society's *Transactions*, IV. p. 126.

Messrs. Banister, Day and Fedarb were re-elected auditors for the ensuing year.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 14, 1897.

Chairman: S. W. Kershaw, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.

Mr. Grimshire read a paper giving "An account of some of the Cathedrals of Northern and Central Italy, especially those of Florence and Orvieto," which was illustrated by a very fine series of views shown by the lime-light lantern. A cordial vote of thanks was passed to the lecturer.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 30, 1897.

EIGHTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING.

Chairman: Rev. Lewis Gilbertson, M.A.

The Minutes of the last Annual Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Report and Balance Sheet for the year 1896–97 were presented:—

EIGHTEENTH ANNUAL REPORT, 1896–97.

In presenting the Eighteenth Annual Report, the Council congratulate the Members upon the continued prosperity of the Society.

During the year seven Evening Meetings have been held, at which the following papers have been read:—"Foreign Incised Slabs," by the Rev. W. F. CREENY; "St. Alban's Day and St. Mary Magdalen's Day," by the Right Hon. LORD ALDENHAM; "St. Cyprian's Day," by Dr. J. WICKHAM LEGG; "Photographic Notes on some Norfolk Churches," by the Rev. WALTER MARSHALL; "The Sherborne Mass-book considered in its Relations with the Sarum and other English Books," by Dr. J. WICKHAM LEGG; "The Hanging Pyx," by Mr. H. J. FEASEY; "Ecclesiastical Habit," by the Rev. T. A. LACEY; "A visit to some of the Cathedrals of Northern and Central Italy, especially those of Florence and Orvieto," by Mr. JOSEPH GRIMSHIRE.

Afternoon visits were made to St. Paul's Cathedral, under the guidance of the Rev. LEWIS GILBERTSON, and to the following Parish Churches:—St. Michael, Camden Town, conducted by the Vicar, the Rev. E. B. PENFOLD; St. Augustine, Highgate, described by the Vicar, the Rev. A. W. BRADNACK; St. Bartholomew, Smithfield, conducted by the Rev. SIR BORRADAILE SAVORY; The Holy Redeemer, Clerkenwell, which was described by Mr. H. LONGDEN; St. Giles and All Saints, Orsett, where the Rector, the Rev. Canon WHITTINGTON, conducted; St. Peter and St. Paul, Lingfield, under the guidance of Mr. R. GARRAWAY RICE.

For the whole-day excursion a visit was made to Ely Cathedral, which was described by the Rev. J. H. CROSBY. This was the second visit of the Society to Ely, the first having been made in 1886.

The Council are pleased to testify to the unfailing courtesy shown to the Society on its visits, and desire to tender their hearty thanks to the Clergy of the Churches visited, to those who have conducted, as also to those who have provided papers during the year.

The first part of Volume IV. of the Transactions was issued in December, and is a valuable addition to the publications of the Society.

The Balance Sheet shows a satisfactory surplus, but the Council desire to explain that this is the result of exceptional circumstances, namely: That the cost of the Transactions is considerably below the average, and that about £20 has been received during the year for back subscriptions.

The resignations have been unusually numerous, and only ten new Members have been enrolled, six of whom are Annual Subscribers. It is necessary, in order to make our income cover our expenditure, that the Society should have a considerable accession of Annual Subscribers.

LEWIS GILBERTSON,
Chairman.

EDWARD J. WELLS,
Hon. Secretary.

BALANCE-SHEET FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31ST, 1896.

Dr.

Dec. 31st, 1896.	£	s.	d.
To Entrance Fees and Subscriptions	60	18	10
,, Life Subscriptions	12	12	0
,, Sale of Transactions...	16	1	1
,, Donations	3	8	0
,, Interest on Reserve Fund	2	14	0
	£95	13	11
Jan. 1st, 1897.			
Balance	£20	5	1
Reserve Fund in Post Office Savings Bank ...	£103	0	6

Cr.

Dec. 31st, 1896.	£	s.	d.
By Balance from last Account	7	1	7
,, Amount paid for Transactions	40	15	0
,, Printing and Stationery	7	12	6
,, Postage, including forwarding of Transactions	15	7	3
,, Fees to attendants		16	6
,, Advertising	1	8	6
,, Expenses incurred for Lectures	2	7	6
,, Balance	20	5	1
	£95	13	11

We have examined the above and found it correct,

ARCHIBALD DAY.
ALBERT BANISTER, } *Auditors.*

EDWARD J. WELLS, *Hon. Secretary.*

January 20th, 1897. FREDERICK GILL, *Treasurer.*

The Report and Balance Sheet were adopted.

The four retiring Members of the Council under Rule VI., viz., Mr. Somers Clarke, Mr. Thomas Garratt, Mr. A. Taylor, and Mr. E. C. Hulme were re-elected.

On the proposal of the Chairman, seconded by Mr. Banister, the re-election of Mr. Gill as Hon. Treasurer was carried unanimously.

On the proposal of the Chairman, seconded by Mr. Gandy, the re-election of Mr. Wells as Hon. Secretary was carried unanimously.

Various suggestions were made for visits during the ensuing summer; and the proceedings closed with votes of thanks to the honorary officers of the Society, and to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's for their continued kindness in allowing the use of the Chapter Room for the Meetings of the Society.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 3, 1897.

Chairman: The Right Rev. the Bishop of Stepney, D.D., F.S.A.

An address was given by J. T. Micklethwaite on "The Plans of English Churches from the Sixth Century to the middle of the Eleventh." An interesting discussion then followed between the Chairman of the Meeting and the lecturer, at the conclusion of which, on the proposal of the Rev. Lewis Gilbertson, a cordial vote of thanks was passed, both to the lecturer and to the Chairman.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 17, 1897.

Chairman: Dr. J. Wickham Legg, F.S.A.

A lecture was given by Mr. W. H. St. John Hope on "The Plan and Arrangement of a Cistercian Abbey." Plans of several Cistercian houses were exhibited, including a very large one of Fountains Abbey.

Mr. Micklethwaite made some remarks upon the subject of the paper, and after some questions by other members had been answered by the lecturer, the Chairman concluded by thanking Mr. Hope for his most interesting paper.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 10, 1897.

Chairman: Rev. Lewis Gilbertson, M.A.

A paper was read by Mr. J. N. Comper entitled, "The Reasonableness of the Ornaments Rubric, illustrated by a comparison of the German and English Altars." (The paper is printed in the Society's *Transactions*, Vol. IV. p. 65.) A discussion followed in which Rev. E. Hoskins, Mr. Gill, Rev. E. S. Dewick and Rev. H D. Macnamara took part, and in conclusion the Chairman thanked the lecturer on behalf of the Meeting.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 31, 1897.

Chairman: Rev. E. S. Dewick, M.A., F.S.A.

Before commencing the business of the evening, the Chairman referred to the recent death of the Rev. Dr. Sparrow Simpson, a Vice-President of the Society, who had taken an active interest in the Society in its early days. He added that the Council had already passed a resolution expressing their sense of the loss which the Society had sustained, and had addressed a letter of condolence to Mrs. Sparrow Simpson.

The Rev. Canon Benham, B.D., F.S.A., gave an address entitled, "Relics of St. Wilfrid in Hampshire." A discussion followed in which Mr. White, Mr. Fedarb, Mr. Horsburgh and the Rev. E. Hoskins joined, and the Chairman in conclusion thanked the lecturer on behalf of the Meeting.

SATURDAY, APRIL 3, 1897.

Visits were paid to three churches built by Sir Christopher Wren, viz., St. Stephen's, Walbrook; St. Swithin's, London Stone; and St. Mary Abchurch.

Papers by Mr. G. H. Birch, F.S.A., were read at each of these churches, describing their history and architectural features. An account of these churches, together with admirable illustrations, will be found in Mr. Birch's *London Churches of the XVIIth and XVIIIth Centuries*, London, 1896.

SATURDAY, MAY 1, 1897.

Under the guidance of Mr. G. H. Birch, the newly restored church of St. Saviour's, Southwark, was visited by a large party of members. The architectural history of the church was very fully described by Mr. Birch, and illustrated by plans and old engravings and drawings.

SATURDAY, MAY 15, 1897.

The Charterhouse was visited by a large party of members, and a most interesting account of the history of the foundation, and of the chapel and other still existing architectural remains, was given by the Rev. H. V. Le Bas, Preacher of the Charterhouse. For an account of a previous visit to the Charterhouse, reference may be made to the Society's *Transactions*, Vol. II. p. 24, where a plan of the buildings will be found, and a detailed drawing of the altar-table in the chapel.

SATURDAY, MAY 29, 1897.

A visit was paid to Pulborough in conjunction with the Lewisham Antiquarian Society, on the invitation of Mr. R. Garraway Rice, F.S.A. The church of Pulborough was described by Mr. Rice, who also pointed out some picturesque houses in the village. At Hardham Church a short paper was read by Mr. J. L. André, F.S.A., and Hardham Priory was also visited and described by Mr. Rice. The members were most hospitably entertained at tea by Mr. and Mrs. R. Garraway Rice at Carpenter's Hill.

A paper by Mr. Rice, entitled, "Notes relating to the Parish Church of St. Mary, Pulborough, Sussex, derived from 15th and 16th century Wills," will be found in the Society's *Transactions*, Vol. IV. p. 135, and to this Mr. Rice now adds the following remarks:—

Since writing my "Notes relating to the Parish Church of St. Mary, Pulborough, Sussex, derived from 15th and 16th century Wills," I have found an interesting seventeenth century will, containing a bequest of five pounds for the purpose of converting the Onley chapel in Pulborough church into a vestry, and therefore further proving their identity. Sir William Burrell, as stated on p. 138 of my paper, visited Pulborough church on July 24, 1775, when in noting a tomb, now destroyed, which then stood on the north side of the chancel, and which I identified as that of John Onley, wrote that "half of it is covered with ye Wainscoat of the Vestry." The bequest relating to the making of this vestry is contained in the will of John Mille, M.A., Canon of Chichester and Rector of Pulborough, who was buried on November 30, 1676. The testator is described in the will, which is dated November 28, the 28th of Charles II., 1676, and which was proved on January 11, 1676–7,[1] as "John Mill or Pulborough in the County of Sussex Clerke, being sick and weake in Body"; then follow directions, with reference to his burial, which are also especially interesting, for he directs to be buried in a detached chapel, which stood in the churchyard, and of which building Dallaway[2] wrote thus:—"there was once a small sepulchral chapel, which belonged to the family of Mille. It stood south-west and was taken down about forty years since when the . . . slabs and brasses were placed in the pavement of the chancel."[3] The directions are as follows:—"And as for my body I will and dispose thereof to the earth to be decently buryed in that Chappell in Pulborough Church yard wherein the Family of the Mills are for the most part buryed." Further on in the will is the bequest, which identifies the Onley chapel with that part of the church, which, until the latter part of the first half of the present century, was used as the vestry:—"Also I giue and bequeath vnto the Parish of Pulborough to be by my Executors hereafter named paid and deposited into the Hands of the Churchwardens of the Parish Church of Pulborough, within Six Monethes after my decease, the sume of Fyve Poundes of lawfull money of England to be by the said Churchwardens laid out and disposed of for and towards the repairing fitting and making that Chappell adioyning to the Parish Church of Pulborough aforesaid, which was formerly belonging to Mr Onley, a vestrey for the vse and benefitt of the said Parish of Pulborough in Case the Owners and Proprietors thereof shall and will therevnto consent and agree, But if the Owners or Proprietors thereof shall refuse to permitt the said Chappell to be made a vestrey, or if the said Churchwardens shall refuse or neglect to fitt and prepare for that intent and purpose, Then my Will and meaning is that the said Legacy of Fyve Pounds hereby by mee given for that intent and purpose, shall cease and be absolutely void and not at all be paid . . . Jo: Mille."

SATURDAY, JUNE 12, 1897.

A visit was paid to Hampton Court, which was admirably described by Mr. Ernest Law, well known as the historian of the Palace. Attention was especially directed to the Chapel, the old kitchen, and other parts of the Palace not usually accessible to visitors. At the conclusion of the Meeting a very hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. Law.

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[1] P. C. C. Register "Hale," fo. 7.

[2] Dallaway's *History of Western Sussex*, edition by Edmund Cartwright, F.S.A., 1832; Vol. II., Pt. i, p. 360.

[3] Cartwright's edition of Dallaway's Sussex, was printed in 1832 (see previous note), and forty years before would be 1792, but Sir William Burrell, who visited the church on July 24th, 1775, describes all the brasses as then in the chancel. Mr. Jesse Greenfield, for forty-seven years parish clerk, informs me that this chapel was removed in consequence of having become dilapidated, and in order to take it down quickly, a rope was placed round part of it, which being pulled brought down a quantity of masonry, breaking in the crown of the vault below. The same informant also states that the slabs containing the brasses, after having been relaid in the church, were removed further east in the time of the Rev. John Austin, who was rector from 1822 to 1856. In the late rector's time they were fixed in their present positions in the walls of the church, after having been sent to London to be "restored" and relaid in new stones, when, from an archæological point of view, they suffere considerable injury.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 3, 1897.

Chairman: Rev. Lewis Gilbertson, M.A.

A paper was read by Dr. Wickham Legg, F.S.A., "On two Unusual Forms of Linen Vestments." The paper (which is printed at p. 141 of the *Transactions*) gave rise to a considerable discussion in which Mr. Micklethwaite, Rev. E. Hoskins and others took part.

A short paper by the Rev. T. Olden, M.A., M.R.I.A., was then read, "On an Early Irish Tract on the Consecration of a New Church." Mr. R. A. S. Macalister made a few remarks upon the paper, expressing the hope that the Irish original of the Tract would be printed as well as the translation. The paper is printed in the *Transactions* at p. 98, and the Irish text at p. 177.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 24, 1897.

Chairman: Rev. E. S. Dewick, M.A., F.S.A.

The Chairman announced that a vacancy had occurred in the Council by the resignation of Mr. W. A. Luning, and that in accordance with Rule XV. they had filled up the vacancy, but that the election needed confirmation by a General Meeting. The name of Mr. Garraway Rice, F.S A., was then submitted to the Meeting on behalf of the Council, and on the proposal of Dr. Wickham Legg, seconded by Mr. A. E. Maidlow-Davis, the election was unanimously confirmed.

Two papers by Mr. Cuthbert Atchley were read, entitled, "On certain Variations from the Rule concerning the Material of the Altar Linen," and "Some Notes on the Beginning and Growth of the Usage of a Second Gospel at Mass."

A considerable discussion followed the reading of each paper, Mr. Maidlow-Davis, Mr. Gill and Mr. Marshall taking part in it. The papers are printed in the *Transactions* at p. 147 and p. 161.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 15, 1897.

Chairman: Rev. Lewis Gilbertson, M.A.

The evening was devoted to the exhibition and description of objects of ecclesiological interest by the following members:—

DR. WICKHAM LEGG:—A manuscript Breviary, written in the fourteenth century, of the use of Strengnaes in Sweden as shown by the prominence given to St. Eskillus, the first bishop of that see, martyred in 1129.

REV. E. S. DEWICK:—Two manuscript French Pontificals, one for the use of a bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne, thirteenth century, the other of Gallican use, once used by a bishop of Bethlehem, *circa* 1500. An Italian Breviary, fifteenth century, written for the Austin Friars of Milan. A French book of private prayers, *circa* 1425. The *Psalterium* of a Breviary for the use of the Sainte Chapelle of Paris, fifteenth century. A Book of Hours, Flemish, *circa* 1500, with pictures of St. Uncumber and other popular saints. A manuscript book of private devotions used by a Roman Catholic in the time of Queen Elizabeth, which clearly shews that the owner was wanting in loyalty to the Queen. There is no prayer for her Majesty, but we find the following:—"We also desyer the (O Lorde) for all Christian kinges, and for those wch are appoynted in highe auctorite. And for euery hoost and Armye gathered to gether in thy name & establyshinge of the Churche, that by them we maye peaseablye lyve, that in quietnes and concorde preseuering (*sic*) all the dayes of our lyfe, we maye glorifye the, by Jesus Christ our Lorde, wch is our hope and ayde. Amen." The book appears to have been written at the time when the Spanish Armada was threatening England, and there are allusions to the persecution which "the holy [Roman] Catholicke Churche" was enduring "by the handes of Infideles."

REV. J. L. FISH:—A Pocket Communion Service, given to Mr. Fish by the late Rev. Dr. Sedgwick, believed to have been used by Deacon the Nonjuror. Mr. Fish has supplied the following account of his exhibit:—

> "The late Rev. Dr. Sedgwick, when at Manchester (where he founded the Church of S. Alban), purchased what was termed 'a medicine chest.' It was really a Communion Service, consisting of a chalice, paten, and phial of thick glass, each imprinted with the sacred monogram in the form usual in the last century, viz. that adopted by the Jesuits. It was contained in a mahogany case, with an inlaid black cross on the cover, and had compartments for each of the items above mentioned and for wafers, and also for a corporal,

on which was embroidered the sacred monogram. With it was a copy of Deacon's Devotions, extensively interleaved with learned MS. notes, and a small MS. bound in leather, with a gilt cross on the cover, containing one of the offices in Part II. of the Devotions, viz. 'An Office for the use of those who, by reason that the Holy Eucharist is not publickly celebrated in the Church communicate Daily in private of the Consecrated Eucharistick elements which were reserved at Church.' The book itself contains—Devotions for the Morning, for the Evening, for the Ancient Hours of Prayer, the Hymn with the proper Prefaces (Sanctus), Acts of Glorification of God, Collects for Fridays, Prayers for Fasting Days, Penitential Prayers, Thanksgivings for the Sabbath, Devotions to be used in the Church, Devotions for the Altar, an office (as above) Commemorative of the Dead, Graces before and after meat, &c.

"Thinking it possible that the manuscript notes might be Deacon's own, I sent the book to the Bodleian Library, where the handwriting was identified by Mr. Macray, one of the Librarians, with that of some letters from Deacon. There is no doubt, therefore, that the book was Deacon's; and having in mind that it was bought with the Communion Service, termed 'a medicine chest,' there is, I think, as little doubt that this, too, was Deacon's, probably intended for the private reception of the Blessed Sacrament, in accordance with the Office above mentioned. Deacon, like my own deprived predecessor, Wagstaffe, who was one of the first two Nonjurors' bishops, made his living as a physician.

"Deacon, who was said to have been a 'prime agent' in the Jacobite rising in 1715, when he was in London, settled in Manchester, and died there, being then one of the Nonjurors' later bishops. Three of his sons were out in the '45: one was executed at Kennington Common; another died, a prisoner, on his way to London; the third was transported."

MR. BANISTER:—A small manuscript book of private prayers, of the time of Henry VIII.
The HON. SECRETARY:—A Calendar of 1687.
MR. CLINCH:—Twelve religious medalets.
MR. OLIVER:—A Pax and two Reliquaries.
MR. KRALL:—Two Processional Crosses of Italian work, a lock from a cope-chest at Seville, and other objects of metal work.
REV. E. HOSKINS:—Two deeds relating to property in the City of London, one of them being a Grant with Seal, dated 1448.

Messrs. Banister, Day and Fedarb were re-elected auditors for the ensuing year.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY, 12, 1898.

Chairman: Rev. Lewis Gilbertson, M.A.

A paper was read by the Rev. Father Robinson, S.S.J.E., on "The Black Chimere of Anglican Prelates: A Plea for its retention and Proper Use." In the discussion which followed the reading of this paper, Dr. Wickham Legg and Rev. T. A. Lacey took part. The paper is printed in the *Transactions*, at p. 181.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 26, 1898.

Chairman: Rev. Lewis Gilbertson, M.A.

A paper was read by the Rev. Duncan McGregor, entitled "The Gospel to the Scots," in which the lecturer insisted that, owing to the isolation of Scots and other causes, certain salient points of the Gospel had been more emphatically treated by them than had been done in other countries. After some enquiries had been made and answered, the Chairman cordially thanked the lecturer on behalf of the Meeting.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 29, 1898.

NINETEENTH ANNUAL MEETING.

Chairman: Rev. Lewis Gilbertson, M.A.

The Minutes of the last Annual Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Report and Balance Sheet for the year 1897–98 were presented:—

NINETEENTH ANNUAL REPORT, 1897–98.

The Council have much pleasure in presenting their Nineteenth Annual Report.

During the past twelve months, eight Meetings have been held at the Chapter House, and papers have been read on the following subjects:—"The Plans of English Churches from the Sixth Century to the middle of the Eleventh," by Mr. J. T. MICKLETHWAITE; "The Plan and Arrangement of a Cistercian Abbey," by Mr. W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE; "The Reasonableness of the Ornaments Rubric, illustrated by a comparison of the German and English Altars," by Mr. J. NINIAN COMPER; "Relics of St. Wilfrid in Hampshire," by the Rev. CANON BENHAM; "Two forms of Linen Vestments seen in North Italy," by Dr. J. WICKHAM LEGG; "An early Irish Tract on the Consecration of a New Church," by the Rev. T. OLDEN; "On certain variations of the rule concerning the material of the Altar linen," by Mr. CUTHBERT ATCHLEY; "Some notes on the beginning and growth of the usage of a Second Gospel at Mass," by Mr. CUTHBERT ATCHLEY; "The Black Chimere, a plea for its retention and proper use," by the Rev. FR. ROBINSON; "The Gospel to the Scots," by the Rev. DUNCAN MACGREGOR.

An exhibition of objects of ecclesiological interest occupied one evening.

Afternoon visits were made to the Charterhouse under the guidance of the Rev. H. V. LE BAS; to the churches of St. Stephen, Walbrook; St. Swithin, London Stone; St. Mary Abchurch, and St. Saviour's, Southwark, under the guidance of Mr. G. H. BIRCH; to Hampton Court Palace, where the chapel and other parts of the building not usually open to visitors were described by Mr. ERNEST LAW; and to Pulborough, Sussex, where the Parish Church and the neighbouring Hardham Priory, were described by Mr. R. GARRAWAY RICE, and a paper on Hardham Church was read by Mr. J. LEWIS ANDRÉ.

The Council very cordially acknowledge their indebtedness to the Clergy and other custodians of the buildings visited, and to those who have so readily assisted in rendering the work of the Society successful, by acting as conductors and by providing papers for the evening meetings.

During the past year the Society has had occasion to deplore the loss by death of several Vice-Presidents, including Dr. Walsham How, late Bishop of Wakefield, and Dr. Sparrow Simpson, who, in the early days of the Society, took an active part in forwarding its interests.

The Council venture to offer their respectful congratulations to the newly appointed Bishop of Bristol, and to tender to him their thanks for the services which he has rendered to the Society during his residence at St. Paul's.

Part II. of Volume IV. of the Transactions was issued in December, and from several letters of congratulation which have been received, the Council are pleased to note the general approval it has evoked.

The accompanying Balance Sheet must be regarded as satisfactory, and calls for no special remark.

The Council very much regret that their appeal in the last Report for new members has not met with such a response as was desired, and they therefore again commend the subject to the attention of members.

LEWIS GILBERTSON,

Chairman.

EDWARD J. WELLS,

Hon. Secretary.

BALANCE-SHEET FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31ST, 1897.

Dr.

Dec. 31st, 1897.	£	s.	d.
To Balance from last account	20	5	1
,, Entrance Fees and Subscriptions	51	2	6
,, Life Subscriptions	9	9	0
,, Sale of Transactions...	7	19	9
,, Interest on Reserve Fund	2	11	6
	£91	7	10

Jan. 1st, 1898.			
Balance	£17	7	8
Reserve Fund in Post Office Savings Bank ...	£103	0	6

Cr.

Dec. 31st, 1897.	£	s.	d.
By amount paid for Transactions	48	5	0
,, Printing and Stationery	9	2	0
,, Postage, including forwarding of Transactions	15	6	2
,, Fees to attendants	1	7	0
Balance	17	7	8
	£91	7	10

Having examined the above, and inspected the books and vouchers, we find it correct.

ALBERT BANISTER, EDWIN H. FEDARB, } *Auditors.*

EDWARD J. WELLS, *Hon. Secretary.*

January 24th, 1898. FREDERICK GILL, *Treasurer.*

The Report and Balance Sheet were adopted.

Four members of the Council, retiring in rotation in accordance with Rule VI., viz.: Rev. E. Hoskins, Mr. E. Bell, Mr. G. H. Birch and Mr. Horsburgh were willing to serve again and were unanimously re-elected.

Mr. Gill was re-elected to the office of Hon. Treasurer, and Mr. Wells to that of Hon. Secretary.

A unanimous vote of thanks was passed to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's for their continued kindness in allowing the use of the Chapter Room for the Meetings of the Society.

Various suggestions were made for visits to churches during the ensuing summer, and the proceedings closed with a vote of thanks to the Chairman of the Meeting.

Members afterwards attended evensong in the Cathedral, seats being reserved for them in the choir.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 16, 1898.

Chairman: Rev. E. S. Dewick, M.A., F.S.A.

A paper was read by Mr. Joseph Grimshire on "Some Cathedrals at Northern Spain, especially those of Toledo and Burgos." The paper was illustrated by a very fine series of photographic views shown by the lime-light lantern. At its conclusion a very hearty vote of thanks was passed to the lecturer, and also to the gentleman who had assisted with the lantern.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 9, 1898.

Chairman: Dr. Wickham Legg, F.S.A.

A paper was read by the Rev. E. S. Dewick, F.S.A., entitled, "Notes on the Coronation Services of the English and French Kings." A considerable discussion followed in which the Chairman, Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite, Mr. G. H. Birch, Mr. Eeles and Mr. Marsden participated.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 23, 1898.

Chairman: Rev. Lewis Gilbertson, M.A.

The Chairman, on behalf of the Council, proposed the election of the Bishop of Stepney as a Vice-President of the Society, which proposal was carried unanimously.

Mr. Mill Stephenson, F.S.A., then read a paper entitled "Notes on the Brasses of Middlesex." A very fine series of rubbings from brasses was exhibited in illustration of the paper, those of Westminster Abbey being the most remarkable. A discussion followed in which Mr. A. Oliver, Rev. E. S. Dewick, Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite, Mr. Garraway Rice and Mr. Eeles took part.

The paper is printed in the *Transactions*, IV. p. 221.

SATURDAY, APRIL 23, 1898.

A visit was paid to the church of St. Margaret, Lothbury, which was described by the Rector, the Rev. Prebendary A. J. Ingram.

SATURDAY, MAY 14, 1898.

The church of Perivale in Middlesex was visited under the guidance of the Rector, the Rev. Dr. Hughes; and the party afterwards proceeded to the neighbouring church of Greenford.

SATURDAY, JUNE 4, 1898.

A visit was paid to the church of Northolt, Middlesex, which was described by the Rector, the Rev. G. Edmundson.

SATURDAY, JULY 9, 1898.

The new church of Roehampton was visited under the guidance of Mr. G. H. Fellowes Prynne.

SATURDAY, JULY 16, 1898.

A visit was paid to Horsham, in conjunction with the Lewisham Antiquarian Society, under the guidance of Mr. J. L. André, F.S.A.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 10, 1898.

Chairman: Rev. E. Hoskins, M.A.

A paper was read by Mr. Edward Bell, M.A., F.S.A., on "The Mediæval Monuments in Westminster Abbey," which was illustrated by a large collection of drawings and photographs.

The portion of Mr. Bell's paper relating to the shrine of Edward the Confessor is printed in the fourth volume of the *Transactions*, at p. 237.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1898.

Chairman: Rev. L. Gilbertson, M.A.

Mr. H. B. Briggs read a paper on "The Work of the Benedictines of Solesmes in the Plainsong Revival." The paper was illustrated by vocal renderings of various forms of chants. It is printed in the *Transactions*, Vol. IV. p. 243.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 14, 1898.

Chairman: Rev. E. S. Dewick, M.A., F.S.A.

The evening was devoted to the exhibition and description of objects of ecclesiological interest by the following members:—

THE CHAIRMAN:—Illuminated MSS. and early printed books, including a manuscript Book of Hours of Rouen Use, and a copy of *Processionale ad usum Sarum*, 1528, with the book plate of the late Rev. Dr. Rock.

REV. SYDNEY PITTMAN:—Chalice formerly in use at the Fleet Prison.

MR. GEORGE CLINCH:—Two Biddenden cakes. These cakes are impressed with the figures of two females known as the two old maids of Biddenden, and are distributed at Eastertide to the poor of Biddenden, Kent. Mr. Clinch also exhibited casts in plaster of the three moulds used for making these cakes, and five pictures relating to the subject.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 11, 1899.

Chairman: Rev. E. Hoskins, M.A.

Mr. Grimshire read a paper entitled, "An Antiquarian Ramble round Old Westminster," which treated of the Royal Palace, the Collegiate Chapel of St. Stephen, and the Benedictine Abbey of St. Peter. The paper was illustrated by a series of limelight views; and upon the proposal of the Chairman a very hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. Grimshire and to the gentleman who had assisted with the lantern.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 28, 1899.

TWENTIETH ANNUAL MEETING.

Chairman: Dr. J. Wickham Legg, F.S.A.

The Minutes of the last General Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Annual Report of the Council and the Balance Sheet for the year 1898–99 were presented:—

TWENTIETH ANNUAL REPORT, 1898–99.

Since the last Report, seven meetings have been held at the Chapter House, at which Papers on the following subjects were read:—"Some Cathedrals of Northern Spain, especially those of Toledo and Burgos," by Mr. JOSEPH GRIMSHIRE; "Notes on the Coronation Services of the English and French Kings," by the Rev. E. S. DEWICK; "Notes on the Brasses of Middlesex," by Mr. MILL STEPHENSON; "Mediæval Monuments in Westminster Abbey," by Mr. EDWARD BELL; "The Work of the Benedictines of Solesmes in the Plainsong Revival," by Mr. H. B. BRIGGS; "An Antiquarian Ramble round Old Westminster," by Mr. JOSEPH GRIMSHIRE.

One evening was devoted to an exhibition of ecclesiological objects.

During the summer, afternoon visits were made to the following Parish Churches:—Perivale and Greenford, the former being described by the Rector, the Rev. Dr. HUGHES; Northolt, described by the Rector, the Rev. GEORGE EDMUNDSON; St. Margaret, Lothbury, described by the Rector, the Rev. Prebendary INGRAM; Holy Trinity, Roehampton, under the guidance of Mr. G. H. FELLOWES PRYNNE; Horsham, in conjunction with the Lewisham Antiquarian Society, under the direction of Mr. J. LEWIS ANDRÉ.

The Council tender their cordial thanks to the Clergy of the churches visited, and to the gentlemen who have rendered assistance by conducting, and also to those who have read papers at the evening meetings.

Part III. of Volume IV. of the *Transactions* has been issued.

The Council deeply regret the loss which the Society has sustained by the decease of Major ALFRED HEALES, F.S.A., one of its founders, who had acted first as Treasurer and afterwards as Trustee throughout its existence. He was a frequent and valued contributor to the earlier volumes of the *Transactions*.

The vacant trusteeship thus arising has been filled, in accordance with Rule XI., by the election of the Rev. EDGAR HOSKINS, Rector of St. Martin Ludgate.

LEWIS GILBERTSON,
Chairman.

EDWARD J. WELLS,
Hon. Secretary.

BALANCE-SHEET FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31ST, 1898.

Dr. Dec. 31st, 1898.	£	s.	d.
To Balance from last Account	17	7	8
,, Entrance Fees and Subscriptions	46	0	0
,, Life Subscriptions	6	6	0
,, Sale of *Transactions*	10	10	0
,, Interest on Reserve Fund	2	12	6
,, Donations	10	10	0
,, Balance (deficit)	11	18	11
	£105	5	1
Jan. 1st, 1899.			
Reserve Fund in Post Office Savings Bank ...	£103	0	6

Cr. Dec. 31st, 1898.	£	s.	d.
By Amount paid for *Transactions*	79	11	7
,, Printing and Stationery	8	15	3
,, Postage, including forwarding of *Transactions*	15	13	6
,, Fees to attendants	0	13	6
,, Miscellaneous	0	11	3
	£105	5	1
Jan. 1st, 1899.			
Balance due to Treasurer	£11	18	11

Having examined the above, and inspected the books and vouchers, we find it correct.

EDWARD J. WELLS, *Hon. Secretary.*

ALBERT BANISTER,
ARCHIBALD DAY,
EDWIN H. FEDARB, } *Auditors.*

January 12th, 1899.

FREDERICK GILL, *Treasurer.*

After a considerable discussion, in the course of which several members commented upon the deficit shown in the Balance Sheet, due to the cost of printing the *Transactions*, the Annual Report and Balance Sheet were adopted.

On the proposal of Mr. Banister, seconded by Mr. Ebbs, the four members of the Council retiring in accordance with Rule VI, were re-elected, viz. : Rev. L. Gilbertson, Rev. E. S. Dewick, Mr. Fletcher, Mr. Marshall.

A vacancy arising from the election of the Rev. E. Hoskins as Trustee, it was proposed by the Rev. E. S. Dewick and seconded by Mr. R. Garraway Rice, that Mr. Leland L. Duncan be elected, which proposal was carried unanimously.

The re-election of Mr. Gill as Treasurer, and of Mr. Wells as Secretary, was carried unanimously.

In order to meet the requirements of the Post Office, it was proposed by Mr. Rawson and seconded by Mr. White, "That the Rev. Lewis Gilbertson, the Rev. Edgar Hoskins, and Edward John Wells be Trustees of the Society," which resolution was duly carried.

Votes of thanks were passed to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's for their continued kindness in allowing the Society the use of the Chapter Room, and also to the Hon. Editor of the Society's *Transactions*, to the Hon. Secretary and Treasurer, and to the Auditors.

A vote of thanks to the Chairman of the Meeting concluded the proceedings, after which a large number of members attended evensong in the Cathedral.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 8, 1899.

Chairman : Rev. E. Hoskins, M.A.

A paper was read by Mr. Philip M. Johnston on "Low Side Windows." The paper was illustrated by a large series of limelight views of these windows, principally from churches in Sussex and Northamptonshire. A discussion followed in which Mr. Micklethwaite, Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, the Rev. E. S. Dewick, and the Rev. Walter Marshall took part, most of whom dissented from the views of Mr. Johnston. The proceedings closed with a vote of thanks to the lecturer and to the Rev. J. M. Apperley for kindly managing the lantern.

Mr. Johnston's paper is printed in the *Transactions*, Vol. IV. p. 263.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 1, 1899.

Chairman: Rev. E. Hoskins, M.A.

Mr. J. Lewis André, F.S.A., read a paper on "The Wall Paintings in Sussex Churches," illustrated by a series of coloured drawings. In the discussion which followed, the Chairman, the Rev. E. S. Dewick, Mr. Garraway Rice, Mr. Marsden, Mr. Mill Stephenson and Mr. Gill took part.

The paper is printed in the *Transactions*, Vol. IV. p. 297.

SATURDAY, MARCH 4, 1899.

The Catholic Apostolic Church in Gordon Square was visited by a large number of members, and the architecture of the church was described by Mr. Belcher.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 22, 1899.

Chairman: J. T. Micklethwaite, Esq., F.S.A.

The following papers were read:—"On the Commemoration of John Potter at Westminster in 1522," by Mr. Leland L. Duncan, F.S.A. (printed in the *Transactions*, Vol. IV. p. 329); "On two Manuscript Missals in the Bristol Public Library," by Mr. Cuthbert Atchley (printed in the *Transactions*, Vol. IV. p. 227).

The Rev. E. S. Dewick, F.S.A., then exhibited and briefly described a Manuscript Sarum Missal of large size, written about the middle of the fifteenth century.

SATURDAY, APRIL 8, 1899.

The Dutch Church in Austin Friars was visited under the guidance of Mr. W. J. C. Moens, F.S.A.

SATURDAY, APRIL 22, 1899.

Visits were paid to the churches of St. Vedast, Foster Lane, and SS. Anne and Agnes, both of which were described by Mr. Philip Norman, Treasurer S.A.

SATURDAY, MAY 13, 1899.

A visit was made to Lincoln's Inn. Particular attention was directed to the chapel, on which a paper was read by Mr. W. Paley Baildon, F.S.A. (printed in the *Transactions*, Vol. IV. p. 252).

SATURDAY, JUNE 3, 1899.

A visit was paid to Blackmore Church, Essex, where the members were received by the Vicar, the Rev. W. Layton Petrie, and a paper by Mr. F. Chancellor was read.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 8, 1899.

Chairman: Dr. J. Wickham Legg, F.S.A.

A paper was read by the Rev. Father Robinson, S.S.J.E., entitled, "The Pileus Quadratus. ✠ An Enquiry into the Relation of the Priest's Square Cap to the Academical Cater-Cap and the Judicial Corner-Cap." The paper will be printed in the next volume of the Society's *Transactions*.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 29, 1899.

Chairman: Rev. Lewis Gilbertson, M.A.

Dr. J. Wickham Legg read a paper "On some local Reforms of the Divine Service abroad in the sixteenth century." After a short review of the attempts at reform of the breviary at Rome, the paper dealt with the reforms of the diocesan breviaries instigated in France and Germany by the provincial synods. That of Bourges directed in 1528 that breviaries should not be reprinted until the Ordinary had revised them. A reformed breviary of Soissons appeared in 1529; one of Angoulême in 1541; one of Orleans in 1542; one of Arles in 1549. At Milan a reformed edition of the breviary of the Humiliati appeared in 1549, an account of which has already been given to the Society (*Transactions*, II. 273). In Spain the reformed editions were numerous. Burgo de Osma, 1555; Concha, 1558; Tarragona, 1541; Ciudad Rodrigo, 1555; Pampeluna, 1562; Granada, 1544; Tortosa, 1547; Salamanca, 1562; Cauria, 1559, &c. Joannes Maldonatus wrote legends for the breviary of Burgos. After the reform of Pius V, published in 1568, there was a reformed breviary of St. Barbara at Mantua, published in 1583, with the approval of Gregory XIII. The author concluded with the expression of the opinion that the divine service of the Book of Common Prayer was one of the most useful of the reforms that appeared in the sixteenth century, but that the work of this reform was undone in our time by the Shortened Services Act of 1872.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 13, 1899.

Chairman: Rev. Lewis Gilbertson, M.A.

The evening was devoted to the exhibition and description of objects of ecclesiological interest by the following Members:—

THE CHAIRMAN: Carving in boxwood of Italian work, *circa* 1600.

REV. E. S. DEWICK. Small images of saints in alabaster of English workmanship, fifteenth century. A brass plate with eight female figures, which has been recently identified as the group of daughters from the brass of John Marsham, deceased 1525, and his wife Elizabeth, at St. John Maddermarket, Norwich. Three carvings in ivory, French, fourteenth century. Champlevé enamels of the thirteenth century.

REV. E. HOSKINS. Silver communion cup of St. Martin Ludgate. The stem and foot belonged to a pre-Reformation standing pyx, and the foot still bears the following inscription: "Pray for the sall̨e of stewyn pekoc & marget hys wyff wyche gave thys in the wusshippe of the sacrament." This pyx is referred to in the will of Sir Stephen Pecocke, dated 17 January, 1535–6, by which he left to the church of St. Martin Ludgate, "oon pixe or monstre of silver gilte." The bowl of the cup is of the deep bell shape of Elizabethan communion cups, and has the London hall-mark for 1559–60. The paten cover has the London hall-mark of 1575–6. (For further particulars see *Proc. Soc. Ant.* 2nd S. xvii. p. 330.) Mr. Hoskins also exhibited the three staff heads of the now united parishes of St. Martin Ludgate, St. Gregory and St. Mary Magdalene.

MR. HANSLIP FLETCHER. Drawings of St. Paul's Cathedral, &c.

MR. A. OLIVER. A pax, a carving of St. Michael in ivory of Spanish work, two crucifixes of mother-of-pearl, and two crosses.

MR. EBBS. A christening bowl in alabaster, a deed relating to a grant of land with the Great Seal of Queen Elizabeth.

MR. HARRISON. A lay-reader's badge of the diocese of Rochester in silver.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 17, 1900.

Chairman: Rev. E. Hoskins.

Mr. Grimshire read a paper on the Cathedrals of Durham and Lincoln, which was illustrated by a large number of views shown by the limelight lantern. At the conclusion of the lecture, a very hearty vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Grimshire and to Mr. Ashton, who had assisted with the lantern.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 27, 1900.

TWENTY-FIRST ANNUAL MEETING.

Chairman: Rev. Lewis Gilbertson, M.A.

The Minutes of the last Annual Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Report of the Council and the Balance Sheet were presented:—

TWENTY-FIRST ANNUAL REPORT, 1899–1900.

Since the last report, seven meetings have been held at the Chapter House, at which Papers on the following subjects were read:—"Low Side Windows," by Mr. PHILIP M. JOHNSTON; "The Wall Paintings in Sussex Churches," by Mr. J. LEWIS ANDRÉ; "On the Commemoration of John Potter at Westminster in 1522," by Mr. LELAND L. DUNCAN; "On Two Manuscript Missals in the Bristol Public Library," by Mr. CUTHBERT ATCHLEY; "The Pileus Quadratus. An Enquiry into the Relation of the Priest's Square Cap to the Academical Cater-Cap and the Judicial Corner-Cap," by the Rev. FATHER ROBINSON; "On some Local Reforms of the Divine Service abroad in the Sixteenth Century," by Dr. J. WICKHAM LEGG; "Some of the Northern and Eastern Cathedrals of England, including Durham, Lincoln, Ely and Peterborough," by Mr. J. GRIMSHIRE.

A very interesting exhibition of objects of ecclesiological interest occupied an evening.

The following churches were visited during the summer:—The Catholic Apostolic Church, in Gordon Square, which was described by Mr. BELCHER; The Dutch Church, in Austin Friars, where a paper was read by Mr. W. J. C. MOENS; St. Vedast, Foster Lane, and St. Anne and St. Agnes, both described by Mr. PHILIP NORMAN; Lincoln's Inn Chapel, described by Mr. W. PALEY BAILDON; Blackmore, Essex, where members were received by the Vicar, the Rev. W. LAYTON PETRIE, and a paper by Mr. F. CHANCELLOR was read.

The Council very cordially thank the Clergy and others, custodians of the churches visited, and also those gentlemen who have acted as conductors, read papers, or otherwise assisted in the work of the Society.

Part IV. of Volume IV. of the *Transactions* has been issued, consisting of the following papers:—"The Shrine of Edward the Confessor," by EDWARD BELL, M.A., F.S.A.; "The Work of the Benedictines of Solesmes in the Plainsong Revival," by H. BRIGGS; "Lincoln's Inn Chapel," by W. PALEY BAILDON, F.S.A.; "Low Side Windows in Churches," by PHILIP M. JOHNSTON; "Notes on a Bristol Manuscript Missal," by E. G. CUTHBERT F. ATCHLEY; "Notes on a Manuscript Sarum Missal in the Bristol Museum," by E. G. CUTHBERT F. ATCHLEY.

LEWIS GILBERTSON,
Chairman.

EDWARD J. WELLS,
Hon. Secretary.

BALANCE-SHEET FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31ST, 1899.

Dr.

Dec. 31st, 1899.	£	s.	d.
To Entrance Fees and Subscriptions	53	15	0
,, Life Subscriptions	6	6	0
,, Sale of *Transactions*...	17	7	2
,, Interest on Reserve Fund	2	14	0
,, Donations	3	5	0
	£83	7	2
Jan. 1st, 1900.			
Balance in hand...	£12	14	8
Reserve Fund in Post Office Savings Bank ...	£103	0	6

Cr.

Dec. 31st, 1899.	£	s.	d.
By Balance due to Treasurer	11	18	11
,, Amount paid for *Transactions*	34	1	0
,, Printing and Stationery	8	2	7
,, Postage, including forwarding of *Transactions*	14	9	5
,, Fees to attendants	1	2	6
,, Miscellaneous...	0	18	1
Balance	12	14	8
	£83	7	2

Having examined the above, and inspected the books and vouchers, we find it correct.

ALBERT BANISTER, ARCHIBALD DAY, } *Auditors.*

EDWARD J. WELLS, *Hon. Secretary.*

January 19th, 1900.

FREDERICK GILL, *Treasurer.*

The Report and Balance Sheet were adopted.

The names of Mr. G. H. Birch, F.S.A., and Mr. Somers Clarke, F.S.A., were proposed for election as Vice-Presidents, and unanimously elected.

Of the four members retiring from the Council in accordance with Rule VI, Mr. Somers Clarke and Mr. Hulme* did not seek re-election, whilst the names of Mr. Ebbs and Mr. Garraway Rice were submitted for re-election. A vacancy was also caused by the election of Mr. G. H. Birch as Vice-President. For these vacancies the Rev. W. P. Besley, Mr. Mill Stephenson, and Mr. J. N. Comper were proposed, and unanimously elected, and Mr. Ebbs and Mr. Garraway Rice were re-elected.

Mr. Gill and Mr. Wells were re-elected as Hon. Treasurer, and Hon. Secretary, respectively.

Votes of thanks were passed to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's for their kindness in allowing the Meetings of the Society to be held in the Chapter Room, and to the Chairman of the Meeting.

Suggestions were offered with regard to the visits of the Society and on other matters.

A large number of members afterwards attended evensong in the Cathedral.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 7, 1900.

Chairman: Rev. E. Hoskins, M.A.

A paper was read by the Rev. George Hennessy, B.A., on "The Early Ecclesiastical Registers of London," which is printed in the *Transactions*, Vol. IV. p. 331.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 1900.

Chairman: Rev. E. Hoskins, M.A.

Mr. R. Garraway Rice, F.S.A., read a paper on the Registers of Winchelsea (which is printed in the *Transactions*, Vol. IV. p. 308), and also a Terrier of West Dean and Binderton, Sussex, dated 1615.

Mr. Cuthbert Atchley then read a paper "On the Hood as the Ornament of the Minister at the time of his ministration in Quire and elsewhere." This paper is printed in the *Transactions*, Vol. IV. p. 313.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 7, 1900.

Chairman: Rev. Lewis Gilbertson, M.A.

Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite, F.S.A., gave a lecture on Westminster Abbey, illustrated by limelight views. A very hearty vote of thanks was accorded to the lecturer.

SATURDAY, APRIL 28, 1900.

A visit was paid to the church of St. Magdalene, Paddington. The Vicar, the Rev. W. H. Bleaden, read a letter from the late Mr. G. E. Street (the architect of the church), which gave a full account of the building; and afterwards Mr. J. N. Comper described the chapel of St. Sepulchre.

SATURDAY, MAY 12, 1900.

The churches of St. Magnus the Martyr and St. Mary-at-Hill were visited under the guidance of Mr. Philip Norman, Treasurer S.A.

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* The Chairman of the meeting referred with much feeling to the fact that the death of Mr. Hulme was announced in the newspapers of the current day, and he testified to the loss which the Society had sustained thereby.

SATURDAY, MAY 26, 1900.

A visit was paid to Gray's Inn, where the Chapel, Library and Hall were inspected. A paper by Mr. W. R. Douthwaite (who was unavoidably prevented from being present) was read by Mr. Severn, the deputy librarian.

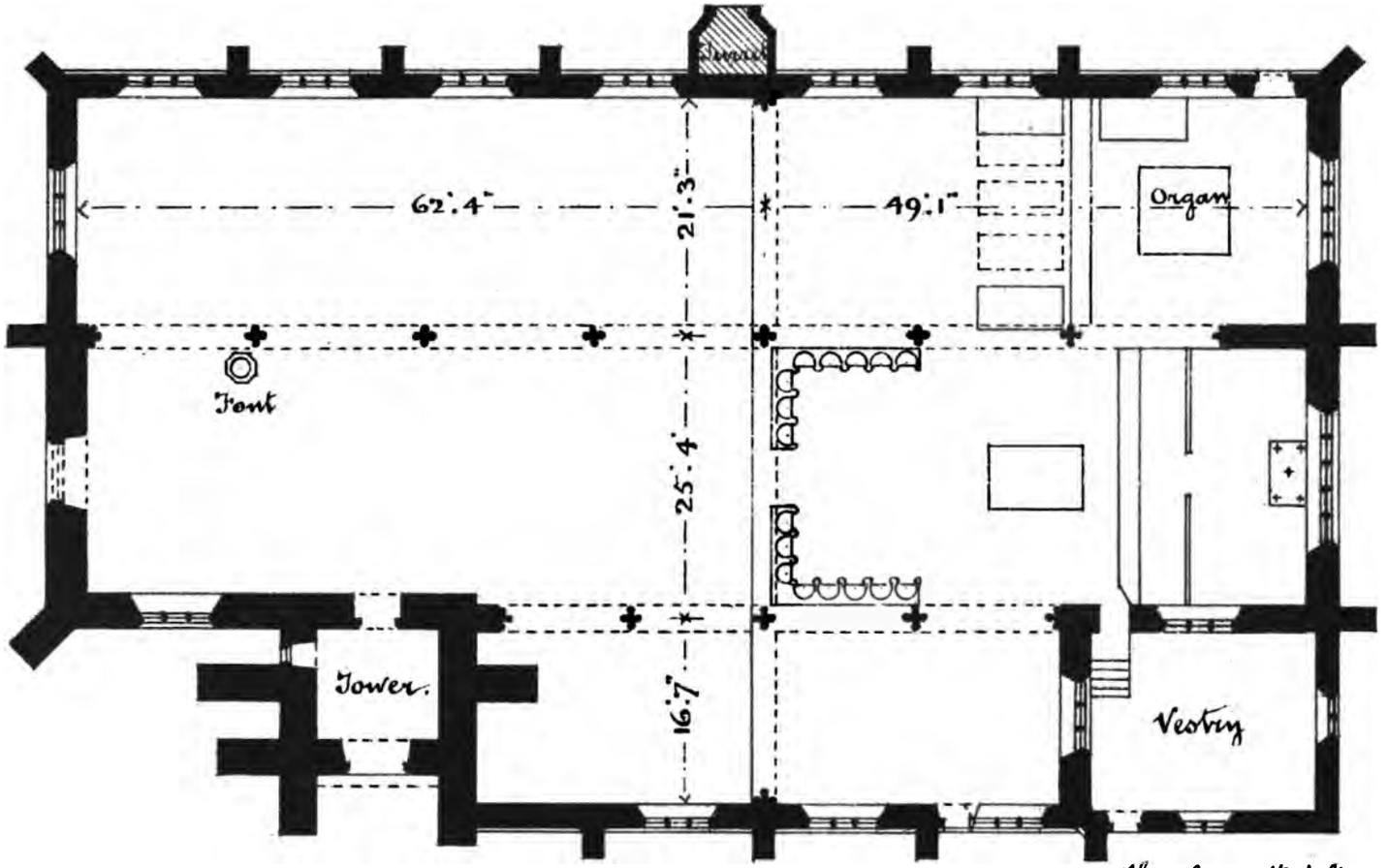
SATURDAY, JUNE 9, 1900.

The churches of Bedfont and Stanwell in Middlesex were visited under the guidance of Mr. S. Rawson. At Bedfont the members were welcomed by the Vicar, the Rev. W. G. Pilkington, and at Stanwell by the Vicar, the Rev. E. Huxtable.

SATURDAY, JUNE 30, 1900.

A visit was paid to Windsor, where St. George's Chapel and the Memorial Chapel were visited, and the principal points of interest were described by the Rev. Canon Dalton, F.S.A.

Church of S.S. Peter & Paul, LINGFIELD, SURREY.



Thos Garratt, delt.
Sept. 1896.

Scale of 10 5 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 of feet.

C. F. KELL PHOTO-LITHO. 8 FURNIVAL ST HOLBORN E.C.

LITURGICAL NOTES ON THE SHERBORNE MISSAL, A MANUSCRIPT IN THE POSSESSION OF THE DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND AT ALNWICK CASTLE.

BY

DR. J. WICKHAM LEGG, F.S.A.

By permission of the Duke of Northumberland, obtained for me by the good offices of the Earl Percy, I was enabled in October, 1895, to examine at Alnwick the magnificent manuscript of the Sherborne massbook. From the artistic and palaeographical point of view the missal has been described by Sir E. Maunde Thompson, and his description will appear in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*.[1] The interest of the book to us at St. Paul's is from the liturgical point of view, and in this place we need only say that the evidence is clear that the book was written for the church of Sherborne, as amongst other things the 18th of July is marked in the calendar as *Dedicacio ecclesie sancte Marie Schyrb'* and that numerous portraits of the early bishops of Sherborne with their names attached adorn the ordinary of the mass: and, as to age, that the book was written between 1396 and 1407.

The special liturgical interest of the Sherborne rite lies in its connexion with the Sarum books, a connexion which ought to be close, because a few years after the Norman conquest, the last bishop of Sherborne became the first bishop of Salisbury, and it would be natural to expect some signs of kindred with the Sarum rite in the Sherborne books, if it be granted as likely that no great change had taken place in the Sherborne books after the taking away of the episcopal chair from that church until the date of the writing of this manuscript. Let us then compare together the Sarum and Sherborne mass books, and see if we can trace a descent from the one to the other.

In the first place, what are the distinguishing marks of the Sarum mass book? I do not think that many differences of value will be found in the ordinary or canon of the Sarum mass: nor in the scripture lessons; nor in the anthems sung at the introit, offertory, and communion; nor in the collects. And if we compare the collects called secrets and postcommons in the Sarum missal with the same collects in the Gregorian sacramentary we find, no doubt, a general agreement. But every now and then these collects are quite different; the *formulæ* in the Sarum book may sometimes not be found in any of the Roman sacramentaries at all, or it may be found in the Leonine or Gelasian sacramentaries, or in the Gregorian for quite a different day. Roughly speaking, these variations will be found oftenest at the four ember seasons, after Epiphany, during Lent, and throughout the paschal season. To give a few instances. The Sarum secret of the Ember Wednesday in Advent is *Salutari ieiunio*, while

[1] 2nd Series, Vol. xvi. June 18, 1896, p. 226.

the Gregorian secret is *Accepta tibi.* The Sarum secret for the third Sunday in Lent is *Suscipe quaesumus*, while the Gregorian secret is *Haec hostia quaesumus.* The Sarum postcommon for the Sunday after Holy Thursday is *Praesta quaesumus omnipotens deus* while the Gregorian is *Repleti domine muneribus sacris.*[1] If we count up the number of these variations I think there will be found close upon eighty secrets and postcommons in the Sarum *temporale* which differ from those for the same day in the Gregorian Sacramentary.

In the *sanctorale* the comparison can only be made in those cases where the old Gregorian festivals or saints are commemorated, and here it often happens, as in the *temporale*, that the Gregorian collect is preserved while the secret or postcommon is from another source. At Candlemas, for instance, the Sarum secret is *Praesta quaesumus Domine ut sicut hodierna munera veneranda*, while the Gregorian secret is *Exaudi Domine preces nostras*, the Sarum collect proper and the postcommon being Gregorian.

If we carry on the comparison of these collects in the mediaeval English uses written after the Norman conquest that are known to us, we find that they fall very naturally into two groups: those that follow Sarum, and those that follow the Gregorian sacramentary. Now among the followers of the Gregorian collects we may put first of all the secular use of York; then monastic uses like Durham, Whitby, and St. Augustine's Canterbury, and, farther off, a secular use like that of Hereford, which, however, now and then agrees with Sarum rather than with York. The followers of the Sarum collects are the monastic uses of Westminster, St. Albans, Abingdon, and Tewkesbury. If we extend our comparison to the mass books used or written in England before the conquest we find that none of them has the characteristic collects of Sarum, but they rather follow the Gregorian collects. Such are the Leofric missal, the missal of Robert of Jumièges, the Winchcombe sacramentary, and a book among the Cotton MSS. in the British Museum, Vitellius A. xviii. of the eleventh century[2] which may have relations to Sherborne, inasmuch as there has been added to the calendar on St. Benedict's day in March *Obitus hermanni episcopi*, the obit of Herman the bishop, possibly the last bishop of Sherborne, of whom mention has already been made. The collects of these early English mass books show none of the characteristics of the Sarum group.

It is the same with the rites of Normandy that I have examined, *incunabula* or sixteenth century editions of the Rouen, Bayeux, and Coutances rites. I have paid particular attention to the collation of the Rouen books, using not only the printed missal of 1499 but a manuscript in the British Museum (Add. 10,048.) of the 12th century, considered by some judges to be of Rouen use; which gives, as might be expected from its date, only the collects of the mass. In both these Rouen books, excepting a few variations in the early manuscript, the collects are Gregorian and not Sarum. Now this is contrary to the expectations raised by the common tradition, so universally accepted that it is looked upon by some as unnecessary to prove, that Rouen gave its rites to Salisbury. Nor does this theory receive any further support from a comparison of the Rouen scripture lessons or anthems, contained in the printed book of 1499, with those of Sarum. In the rare instances in which these differ, Rouen agrees more with the group headed by York or Durham than with that of Sarum. In one or two

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[1] A full collation of the Westminster, Sarum, and other English and Norman rites with the Gregorian sacramentary or early Roman missal will be given in the forthcoming fasciculus iii. of the Westminster Missal printed for the Henry Bradshaw Society.

[2] "Calendar before the Normans altered later at Evesham" says Mr. Edmund Bishop. (Richard Stanton, *A Menology of England and Wales*, London, 1887, p. 678.)

members of the Sarum group, the rites of Westminster and Abingdon, points of agreement with Rouen may every now and then be detected, though seldom: such as the gospel for the first Sunday in Advent which is *Principium* at Westminster, Abingdon, and Rouen. So the offertory on Holy Thursday is *Portas caeli* in these three rites, while it is *Viri Galilaei* in every other rite that I have examined (including Sherborne) except Coutances, which has *Ascendit Deus in iubilatione.*

There is quite as close an agreement with the Gregorian collects in the rite of Bayeux as at Rouen. Special attention has been directed to Bayeux by the words of Mr. Henry Bradshaw, which, however, seem to refer only to the constitution of the chapter.[1]

It is the same at Coutances, and so far as I have examined, at Evreux. The rite of Paris seems to me to have a closer connexion than the Norman rites with the late mediaeval Roman; and it may be feared that the assumption that the Paris and Dominican rites are so closely akin that they are almost identical will not stand the test of a comparison of the early printed books of the two uses.

And, contrary to what one might have expected from the relations of Sarum to Sherborne, we find that the Sherborne missal belongs to the Gregorian, not the Sarum group. Where the Sarum group differs from the Gregorian, the Sherborne book goes, not with the Sarum rite, but with the Gregorian sacramentary. This suggests the view that the Sherborne rite, in the days before the conquest, was represented by a sacramentary not unlike Vitellius A. xviii. to which are akin the Leofric missal, the missal of Robert of Jumièges, and the Winchcombe sacramentary, the Roman affinities of which group make one think of the 13th canon of the English council of Clovesho which ordered in 747 that the Roman Liturgy should be used.[2] And after the conquest, the main features of the Roman rite were continued at York, Durham, and Whitby in the north, and at Sherborne and St. Augustine's Canterbury in the south. But it may be asked what is the date of the introduction of the rite of the Sarum group? and where did it first appear? To neither of these questions can I give a satisfactory answer. The earliest manuscript belonging to the Sarum group that I know of is a mass book of St. Alban's Abbey in the Bodleian Library at Oxford which competent judges tell us was written about 1100. I have searched also a good number of the sacramentaries in the national library at Paris without discovering in them the set of collects that I have marked myself as distinctive of the Sarum group. I must mention that I have, however, found in the British Museum Add. MS. 10,048. which, as I have said, is believed to be of Rouen, some two or three, hardly more, of the Sarum collects, in their Sarum places. Other Sarum collects may be found in the Sacramentary edited by Ménard, in the Sacramentary of Gellone in the National Library at Paris, and another Sacramentary in the same library (fonds latin No. 1238) but not in sufficient number to lead one to the opinion that these sacramentaries of Gaul were the forerunners of the Sarum group.

Having made out in a sort of fashion the liturgical group to which the Sherborne missal belongs, it may be well to speak of some peculiarities of the rite in question. In Lent it has preserved, as other rites have done, the prayer *super populum* at the end of mass. In a good

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[1] In a letter to Mr. Lawley, April, 1882. "The only one which is precisely Osmund's *institutio* at Salisbury is Bayeux." (G. W. Prothero, *Memoir of Henry Bradshaw*, Lond. 1888. p. 283.)

[2] A. W. Haddan & W. Stubbs, *Councils and ecclesiastical documents*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1871. vol. iii. p. 367.

many instances, Sherborne has a *super populum* different from the other rites, often peculiar to itself in this place, though taken from the Gelasian and Gregorian sacramentaries. These peculiarities are very marked in the second week of Lent, when the *super populum* for Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Saturday at Sherborne is different from that of any other mediaeval use examined. So is the *super populum* for the Monday, Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday, after the Third Sunday in Lent; for the Monday, and Wednesday after Mid Lent Sunday. It would seem that this variation in the *super populum* reached its height at Sherborne towards the middle of Lent.

Some of the Thursdays in Lent show variations from the other uses. For example, the Thursday after the third Sunday has the three mass collects different. That after the fourth Sunday has the first mass collect different: it is *Da nobis domine observanciam*, the second Gelasian collect for the Wednesday in the third week of Lent; it is found in this place in none of the other uses that I have come across. That after the fifth Sunday has a different postcommon, *Vegetet nos domine* which may be found in Ménard's edition of the Sacramentary for the same day, and in a manuscript sacramentary (No. 1238. *fonds latin*) in the National Library at Paris.

So too the secret and postcommon for the Monday after Midlent Sunday seem peculiar to Sherborne. The secret, *Praesta quaesumus omnipotens deus ut ieiuniorum placatus sacrificiis remissionis tuae nos venia prosequaris. Per dominum:* I have not yet been able to find anywhere else. A larger proportion also than is usual of the collects in the *sanctorale* cannot be traced. But for further comparison of the Sherborne collects I must refer to the notes in the third fasciculus of the Westminster Missal, soon to be put forth by the Henry Bradshaw Society.

It may be worth while to mention that the lessons, tracts, and collects on Easter Even at Sherborne agree with those of Abingdon, Whitby, the Rosslyn missal, a manuscript in the Advocates Library at Edinburgh, shortly to be edited for the Henry Bradshaw Society by Mr. H. J. Lawlor. They agree also with the sixteenth century editions of the Paris, Rouen, Dominican, Cistercian, Charterhouse, and other earlier uses.

The sequences show many peculiarities; and some of the rarer have been here printed after the calendar. For Advent and Christmas the sequences are much as at Sarum, but here and in the paschal season Sherborne has in some instances a sequence different from that not only of Sarum but of any other English use known to me.

Thus to go more into the detail of the variations. The sequence for the fourth Sunday in Advent is *Gaudia mundo ventura*,[1] unknown, I believe, to other English rites. St. John Evangelist has *Vox respiret laude plena*, printed further on. (p. 23.) and St. Thomas of Canterbury *Sol in stella triumphavit* (p. 23.) For the Circumcision there is *Castae et incorruptae.*[2]

Easter Monday has *Zyma vetus expurgetur*, the well known sequence of Adam of St. Victor.[3] For Easter Tuesday *Lyra pulchra regi angelico canat per secla.*[4] For Easter Wednesday and the Saturday before Low Sunday, *Victimae paschali*, one of the few

[1] The text of this is printed in Misset and Weale's *Analecta liturgica*, pars II. i. Prosae, No. 249. It was sung on the first Sunday in Advent at St. Denys at St. Corneille.

[2] Also printed in *Analecta liturgica*, No. 188. It was sung at Arras at Candlemas.

[3] L. Gautier, *OEuvres poétiques d'Adam de S.-Victor*, Paris, 1858. t. i. p. 88.

[4] York, ii. 300.

sequences still sung in the modern Roman missal: it was sung also at Sherborne on every Sunday after Easter up to Pentecost. For the Thursday in Easter week, a variation of the *Dic nobis quibus* of this day at Sarum is appointed; for the Friday, *Prome casta concio*, also to be found in Sarum and York.

On Whitsun Tuesday *Veni sancte spiritus* was sung, another of the great sequences still remaining in the Roman mass book, while for the other days of the week that have sequences it is much as at Sarum. The sequences for Trinity Sunday and Corpus Christi are also as at Sarum.

There is more variation in the sequences on the saints' days. Besides those which follow after the calendar on p. 23. and those which are like the Sarum, there is for Candlemas *Concentu parili hic te Maria*,[1] which was also sung at Rouen on this day. On Lady Day in the Spring there is *Ave Maria gratia plena*, a sequence common to Sherborne on this day with Durham, Rouen, and the Dominican missal.[2] For St. George there is: *Martyr milesque christi Georgius fortis*.[3] For St. Mark: *Laus devota mente choro concinente christo*, a prose for Evangelists in the Hereford missal; also sung on St. Matthew's and St. Luke's days at Sherborne. The Invention of the holy Cross has *Laudes crucis attollamus*, the well known sequence of Adam of St. Victor. For St. John before the Latin Gate there is: *Iohannes ihesu christo*, as in Sarum and others for the festival at Christmas. For the translation of St. Nicholas in May there is *Congaudentes exultemus* as in the December feast at Sarum and other churches. St. Dunstan has a rare sequence, found, however, also at Westminster and Whitby, *Hodierna. Alleluia. Resonent gaudia*, while St. Augustine of Canterbury has *Christo regi laudes*,[4] which appears to be rarer; as it is found, according to Mr. Weale, only in the Book of Cerne and in an English manuscript missal in the Library of the Arsenal at Paris (No. 135.) My examination of this missal leads me to believe that it is according to the use of Sarum. The Nativity of St. John Baptist has *Exsulta caelum laetare terra*, which is common to Sherborne and Westminster.[5] SS. Peter and Paul have *Agmina laeta plaudant caelica*,[6] while the commemoration of St. Paul has *Laude iocunda melos*, as on the day before at Sarum, and several other English churches. The translation of St. Thomas in July has *Spe mercedis et coronae* as in York for the festival at Christmas. The translation of St. Benedict has *Sancti merita benedicti inclita*.[7] St. Bartholomew has *Diem festum Bartholomaei*[8] and SS. Simon and Jude *Alleluia nunc decantet universalis ecclesia*.[9] The Exaltation of the holy Cross has *Salve crux sancta arbor digna* as in Sarum and others for the Invention. *Superae harmoniae* is the sequence for St. Denys, rather rare in English uses. For St. Katherine of Alexandria there is *Laus resultet Katerinae cui cesserunt fragra minae*. St. Nicholas of Myra has *Christo regi cantica*, which is also the sequence at Westminster, Durham, and Whitby. The conception of Our Lady is celebrated with *Ave praeclara maris stella*, one of the sequences for the Assumption at Salisbury.[10]

It may be said that the sequences which are now and then brought to light by ritualists are hardly worth the trouble that is bestowed on them. All the gold from this mine would

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[1] For the text see Joseph Kehrein, *Lateinische Sequenzen des Mittelalters*, Mainz, 1873. No. 217. He attributes it to Notker Balbulus.

[2] The text is in Kehrein, No. 264.

[3] Kehrein, No. 589.

[4] *Analecta liturgica*, No. 414.

[5] York, ii. 291.

[6] York, ii. 292.

[7] York, ii. 315.

[8] Kehrein, No. 420.

[9] Sarum, 662.* (common of apostles.)

[10] Sarum, 879.

seem long ago to have been dug out, and the chances are small of the discovery of another *Dies irae* or *Veni Sancte Spiritus*. It is to be feared that the sequences from the Sherborne Mass book will do little to redeem the reputation of sequences in general, of which Cardinal Bona speaks but lightly.[1] They seem hardly to attain the standard of a modern English hymn, such as we have in *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, or the *Oratory Hymns*, of all of which Dr. Watts is the direct literary ancestor.

The grails vary far more than the sequences; and as far as I have studied them there seems no one of the sister rites to which the Sherborne grails can be said to be closely akin. This variation of the grails is highly marked in the paschal season, where it seems hard to make out any constant alliance with any other use.

To describe the missal more in detail.

The first 12 pages give the calendar. From p. 13 to p. 358 is the *Temporale* which ends with the verse: "Librum scribendo Iohannes Whas Monachus laborabat." Of the *temporale* it may be noticed that the Sundays after Trinity are called *post octavas Pentecostes* and that the weeks are provided with an epistle and gospel for the Wednesdays and Fridays.

The *Ordo* and *Canon Missae* are from p. 359 to p. 393.

The *Sanctorale* begins with St. Sylvester (December 31.) As an instance of the way in which St. Vincent is associated with St. Lawrence, the former is represented on p. 405. with a gridiron. Besides the saints named in the calendar, and some of whose masses or sequences will be given later on, there is a mass for St. Oswald Archbishop, (p. 425.) St. Hedda (p. 486.) St. Edwold confessor (p. 521.) St. Cucufas has a mass with St. Christopher, though St. Christopher alone appears in the calendar, and on July 26. not the 25. *Festiuitas sanctarum reliquiarum* is on p. 562, between St. Jerome and SS. Germanus and Remigius. The *Proprium* ends with St. Thomas the apostle. After the postcommon of this saint is written: "Ite missa est. Deo gracias. Sancte Thoma: ora pro nobis."

The *commune sanctorum* begins on p. 613. In the *commune unius virginis* there is a special mass for St. Austroberta (p. 655.) and this is the last mass of the *commune;* ending on p. 661. with these verses: Librum scribendo ion whas monachus laborabat. Et mane surgendo: corpus multum macerabat.

The votive masses begin on p. 663. At the end of the masses for the dead is: "finito libro: sit laus et gloria christo." But over leaf (p. 690) are added the three collects for the King, which have been also added to the Westminster missal, but in the lower margin of the mass for the King amongst the votive masses.[2]

It may be said once for all that in most cases the expansion of the contractions in the following transcripts has offered no difficulty; but that when doubt has arisen the letters supplied have been inserted in square brackets, or a symbol of contraction added to the imperfect word. An obelus after a word indicates that it has been printed exactly as it stands in the manuscript.

Owing to the distance of the manuscript from London, it has not been possible to

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[1] "Crevit deinde earum numerus, et irrepserunt nonnullae prorsus ineptae." (Ioh. Bona, *Rerum liturgicarum*, Lib. II Cap. vi. § 6. ed. Rob. Sala, Aug. Taur. 1753. t. iii. p. 141.)

[2] See Westminster Missal, col. 1145. note.

compare the proofs with the manuscript itself, and errors in the transcript or in the proof may thus remain undetected.

The *Ordo missae* before the prefaces and after the canon varies so much in the rites, that it has been thought well to print the Sherborne *ordo* almost at length, with the exception of the prefaces and canon, the text of which presents nothing very noteworthy.

The *ordo* begins on p. 359 with the music for the first four words of *Gloria in excelsis* for feasts in four copes, (for which there are four sets of music) feasts in two copes, in albs, twelve lessons, and others. The music is followed by the text of *Gloria.* Then follows the rubric governing the use of *Credo*, followed by its text. On p. 361. is :

Oracio sacerdotis ante. [*missam*]

Iudica me deus et discerne. *Antiphona* Introibo ad altare. Kyrieleison. Christeleison. Kyrieleison. Pater noster. Et ne nos.

Oracio.

Deus qui de indignis dignos de inmundis mundos de peccatoribus iustos facis. munda cor meum et corpus meum ab omni contagione et sordibus peccatorum. et fac me dignum atque ydoneum sacris altaribus tuis astare tibique ministrare. et concede ut sacrificium quod tibi oblaturus sum sit placens. michi et omnibus pro quibus illud offeram sit te miserante propiciabile. Qui uiuis et r[egnas.]

Benedictio super diaconum ante euangelium.

Dominus sit in corde tuo et in ore tuo ad pronunciandum sanctum euangelium dei. In nomine patris et filii et s[piritus sancti.]

Sacerdos inclinans dicat.

In spiritu humilitatis et in animo contrito suscipiamur domine a te. et sic fiat sacrificium nostrum ut a te suscipiatur hodie et placeat tibi domine deus.

Item benedictiones hostia[ru]m

Sanctifica domine hoc sacrificium quod tibi oblatum est ad honorem [et] gloriam nominis tui. et parce nobis ac omni populo tuo. Amen. Amen.

Sacerdos conuert' ad populum.

Orate pro me fratres. ut digne merear offerre sacrificium deo in odorem suauitatis.

Responcio populi.

Spiritus sancti gracia illuminet cor tuum et labia tua. et accipiat hoc sacrificium de manibus tuis digne pro peccatis et offensionibus nostris.

Ad missam pro defunctis.

Orate fratres pro animabus omnium fidelium defunctorum.

Responcio populi.

Requiem eternam dona eis domine. et lux perpetua luceat eis. quam olim habrahe promisisti : et semini eius. Amen.

In this *Ordo* no indication is given of the time at which the chalice is made, and there is only one prayer over the elements at the offertory. The response of the people to *Orate* is not unlike that at St. Albans, which is : "Spiritus sancti gratia illuminet cor tuum et labia tua, et accipiat dominus hoc sacrificium de manibus tuis digne pro peccatis et offensionibus nostris." Sarum and Rouen have also a response very nearly the same as at St. Albans.

The prefaces begin immediately after these prayers on p. 363 and at the bottom of the columns of music they have directions like these: 'leuate capita uestra' or 'leuate sursum oculos.' On page 371. is 'Verte folium' or on p. 373 'Verte folium frater.' The canon

begins on p. 381. It has some short rubrics: before 'Hanc igitur' is *Cum magna ueneracionc ;* before 'Quam oblacionem' is *Inclinans dicens ;* before 'Qui pridie' is *hic eleuet hostiam dicens* And on this second column of p. 383 there is something noteworthy in view of modern practice. It is now often impressed upon the printer that the prayer of consecration in the book of common prayer should be printed on one page, so that there shall be no turning over of leaves during the consecration ; and great pains are taken to secure this in printing. Now in the Sherborne Missal we have one of the most magnificent mass books that has come down to us from the middle ages, on which no pains have been spared, and yet we find the very words of consecration divided. For the last line of the second column of p. 383 runs thus: 'Hoc est enim corpus,' and the first line of the first column of p. 384 has the word 'meum' followed by the rubric: *hic accipiat calicem.*

Before 'Unde et memores' is: *Extendens brachia.* There is no direction for an elevation at the end of the canon, which comes on p. 388. There is no direction for the fraction of the host; but after 'Agnus dei' on p. 389 is *hic ponatur pars in c*[*alicem.*] with the prayer 'Hec sacro + sancta commixtio.' The *ordo* continues:

Tunc dicat sacerdos oremus

Domine sancte pater omnipotens eterne deus da michi hoc corpus et sanguinem filii tui domini nostri ihesu christi ita digne sumere ut merear per hoc remissionem omnium peccatorum meorum accipere. et tuo sancto spiritu repleri et tuam pacem habere. quia tu es deus et preter te non est alius. Quiuiuis &c.

Et dans pacem dicat

Pax christi et sancte ecclesie. exultet semper in cordibus uestris.

Postea dicat hanc oracionem ant'

Deus pater omnipotens fons et origo . . . ualeamus. Per eundem christum dominum nostrum.[1]

Oracio

Domine ihesu christe . . . Qui uiuis etc.[2]

Oracio

Sacrosanctum corpus et sanguinem tuum non sum dignus accipere domine deus. set confido in magna misericordia tua. ut des michi misero peccatori remissionem et indulgenciam de peccatis meis. et ut corpus tuum et sanguis proficiat ad salutem corporis et anime mee in uitam eternam. Qui cum deo patre &c.

Dum corpus sumitur.

Corpus domini nostri ihesu christi sit anime mee remedium in uitam eternam. Amen.

Dum sanguis sumetur.

Sanguis domini nostri ihesu christi couseruet animam meam in uitam eternam amen.

Cum aliis dederit.

Corpus et sanguis domini nostri ihesu christi proficiat corpori et anime tue in uitam eternam. Amen.

Post percepcionem corporis et sanguinis domini et post primam infuc[*ionem*]

Quod ore sumpsimus . . . sempiternum. Amen.[3]

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[1] See Westminster Missal, col. 518, almost word for word.
[2] See Westminster Missal, col. 520.
[3] See Westminster Missal, col. 521.

Post digitorum lauacionem infra calicem dicat.

Hec nos communio . . . consortes. Amen.[1]

Inclin[ans] dicat.

Gracias tibi ago domine deus qui me peccatorem saciare dignatus es corpore et sanguine tuo. teque precor omnipotens deus. ut hec sancta communio non sit michi ad iudicium neque ad condempnacionem pene set sit michi arma fidei et scutum bone uoluntatis ad euacuandas omnes insidias diaboli de corpore meo. et ad illud introire conuiuium me facias ubi lux uera est et ubi gaudia sunt sempiterna iustorum Amen.

Missa finita Inclinans se sacerdos ante altare dicat oracionem

Placeat tibi sancta trinitas . . . seculorum. Amen.[2]

Benedictio super mense lectorem

Domine labia mea aperies.
Saluum fac seruum tuum.
Deus neus† sperantem [*in te*]

Mitte ei domine auxilium de sancto.
Et de[*sion tueatur te*]

Dominus custodit te ab omni malo.
Custo[*diat animam tuam dominus*]

Dominus custodiat introitum tuum et exitum tuum et auferat a te spiritum elacionis.

From this *Ordo* it would seem clear that at Sherborne communion was given in the mass, not after; the direction *cum aliis dederit* appears immediately after the celebrant has communicated himself in both kinds and immediately before the "first infusion." Communion would also seem to have been given in this place at Westminster and St. Albans: but in these monastic houses the old custom may have survived after it had been forgotten in parish churches.

Another monastic custom is shown in the *Benedictio super mense lectorem* at the end of mass, like those which are found at Westminster, Whitby, and St. Albans.[3]

The calendar which follows has been printed entire, a few contractions have been preserved like *com.*' for *commemoracio* and *l'c.* for *lectionum.* The ordinary Roman type represents the feasts written in black; the Italic those written in red; the smaller black letter those written in purple; and the larger black letter those written in blue; in the manuscript. The dignity of the feast does not seem to be always indicated by the colour in which it is written; a surer guide is the entry on the right hand, *in cappis, in albis, xii.* or *iii. lectionum*, or *commemoratio.* Beyond the usual English saints there are some specially connected with Sherborne; for example, St. Wulsin on January 8th and his translation on April 28th. He is commemorated at Westminster on January 8th in the calendar of Nicholas Litlington's mass book, and of the fifteenth century prayer book, Rawlinson Liturg. g. 10 in the Bodleian Library, but his name has not yet been inserted in the calendar of a twelfth century psalter, 2. A. xxii. in the British Museum.[4]

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[1] Sarum Missal, col. 628.
[2] Westminster Missal, col. 524.
[3] See [Hergott] *Vetus Disciplina Monastica*, Parisiis, 1726. pp. 252. & 464.
[4] See Westminster Missal, pp. v. & 1385.

The Visitation has, of course, not yet been inserted on July 2, but St. Anne appears on July 26 in a second place. St. Juthware, the sister of St. Sidwell, is commemorated on July 13. St. Wulfran appears on October 15 on which day he is also seen in the Sarum and York missals.

The handiwork of Henry VIII.'s visitors may be discovered in the erasure of the name of St. Thomas of Canterbury in his two feasts, and of the word *pape* after the name of a canonized pope. An adjoining word or two as well as the name of St. Thomas have been erased in his mass.

The verses at the head of each month are perhaps not more corrupt than was to be expected; but it has been thought well to obelise some of the variations which cannot easily be construed.

[IANUARIUS.]

Prima dies mensis: et septima truncat ut ensis.

iii.	A	[Kal. Ianuarii.]		**Circumcisio domini**	in cappis
	b	iiii.	[Non.]	Octaue sancti Stephani	iii. l'c.
xi.	c	iii.	Non.	*Octaue sancti iohannis apostoli*	*xii. l'c.*
	d	ii.	Non.	Octaue sanctorum Innocencium	iii. l'c.
xix.	e	Non.		Octaue sancti [Thome[1]]	iii. l'c.
viii.	f	viii.	Id.	**Epiphania domini**	in cappis
	g	vii.	Id.		
xvi.	A	vi.	Id.	**Sancti Wlsini episcopi et confessoris**	in cappis
v.	b	v.	Id.	Sanctorum Iuliani et basilisse Martirum	com'
	c	iiii.	Id.	Sancti pauli primi heremite	com'
xiii.	d	iii.	Id.		
ii.	e	ii.	Id.		
	f	Idus.		*Octaue epiphanie*	*xii. l'c.*
x.	g	xix.	Kal.	Februarii. Sancti Felicis confessoris	iii. l'c.
	A	xviii.	Kal.	*Sancti Mauri abbatis*	xii. l'c.
xviii.	b	xvii.	Kal.	Sancti Marcelli [pape[1]]	iii. l'c.
vii.	c	xvi.	Kal.	Sancti Antonii abbatis	iii. l'c.
	d	xv.	Kal.	Sancte prisce uirginis et Martiris	iii. l'c.
xv.	e	xiiii.	Kal.	Sancti Wlstani episcopi et confessoris	iii. l'c.
iiii.	f	xiii.	Kal.	*Sanctorum fabiani et sebastiani martirum*	xii. l'c.
	g	xii.	Kal.	*Sancte agnetis uirginis et martiris.*	xii. l'c.
xii.	A	xi.	Kal.	**Sancti Vincentii martiris**	in cappis
i.	b	x.	Kal.	Sancte Emerenciane uirginis et martiris	iii. l'c.
	c	ix.	Kal.	Sancti babille episcopi cum sociis. *Sancti Cadoci confessoris*	iii. l'c.
ix.	d	viii.	Kal.	*Conuersio sancti pauli*	*in albis*
	e	vii.	Kal.	Sancti policarpi episcopi et martiris	iii. l'c.
xvii.	f	vi.	Kal.	Sancti Iohannis confessoris	iii. l'c.
vi.	g	v.	Kal.	Sancte agnetis secundo	iii. l'c.
	A	iiii.	Kal.		
xiiii.	b	iii.	Kal.	Sancte batildis regine	iii. l'c.
iii.	c	ii.	Kal.		

Nox habet horas xvi. dies viii.

[1] An erasure in the manuscript.

[FEBRUARIUS.]

Quarta subiit mortem : prosternit tercia fortem.

	d		Kal. Februarii.	Sancte brigide uirginis	iii. l'c.
xi.	e	iiii.	Non.[1]		
xix.	f	iii.	Non.	*Sancti blasii episcopi et martiris*	*xii. l'c.*
viii.	g	ii.	Non.		
	A	Non.		*Sancte Agathe uirginis et martiris*	*xii. l'c.*
xvi.	b	viii.	Id.	Sanctorum Vedasti et amandi episcoporum.	iii. l'c.
v.	c	vii.	Id.		
	d	vi.	Id.		
xiii.	e	v.	Id.	*Octaue sancte marie*	*xii. l'c.*
ii.	f	iiii.	Id.	*Sancte Scolastice uirginis.*	xii. l'c.
	g	iii.	Id.		
x.	A	ii.	Id.		
	b	Idus.			
xviii.	c	xvi.	Kal. Marcii.	Sancti Valentini martiris	iii. l'c.
vii.	d	xv.	Kal.		
	e	xiiii.	Kal.	Sancte Iuliane uirginis et martiris	iii. l'c
xv.	f	xiii.	Kal.		
iiii.	g	xii.	Kal.		
	A	xi.	Kal.		
xii.	b	x.	Kal.		
i.	c	ix.	Kal.		
	d	viii.	Kal.	*Cathedra sancti petri*	*xii. l'c.*
ix.	e	vii.	Kal.	Sancte Milburge uirginis	iii. l'c.
	f	vi.	Kal.	Sancti Mathie apostoli	in albis
xvii.	g	v.	Kal.		
vi.	A	iiii.	Kal.		
	b	iii.	Kal.		
xiiii.	c	ii.	Kal.		

Nox habet horas xiiii. dies x.

[1] There is no entry of the Purification in the manuscript, though the octave is marked.

[MARTIUS.]

Primus mandantem : dies† rumpit quarta bibentem.

iii.	d	[Kal.]	Marci.	Sancti dauid episcopi et confessoris.	[1]
	e	vi.	Non.		
xi.	f	v.	Non.		
	g	iiii.	Non.		
xix.	A	iii.	Non.		
viii.	b	ii.	Non.		
	c	Non.		Sanctarum perpetue et felicitatis martirum	com'
xvi.	d	viii.	Id.		
v.	e	vii.	Id.		
	f	vi.	Id.		
xiii.	g	v.	Id.	Sanctorum quadraginta militum martirum	com'
ii.	A	iiii.	Id.	Sancti Gregorii [pape[2]]	in albis
	b	iii.	Id.		
x.	c	ii.	Id.		
	d	Idus.			
xviii.	e	xvii.	Kal.	Aprilis.	
vii.	f	xvi.	Kal.	Sancti patricii episcopi et confessoris	com'
	g	xv.	Kal.	*Sancti edwardi regis et martiris*	*xii l'c.*
xv.	A	xiiii.	Kal.		
iiii.	b	xiii.	Kal.	Sancti Cuthberti episcopi	in albis
	c	xii.	Kal.	Sancti Benedicti abbatis	in cappis
xii.	d	xi.	Kal.		
i.	e	x.	Kal.		
	f	ix.	Kal.		
ix.	g	viii.	Kal.	Annunciacio sancte Marie	in cappis
	A	vii.	Kal.		
xvii.	b	vi.	Kal.	Resurrexio domini.	[1]
vi.	c	v.	Kal.		
	d	iiii.	Kal.		
xiiii.	e	iii.	Kal.		
iii.	f	ii.	Kal.		

Nox habet horas xii. dies xii.

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[1] No entry in manuscript of the number of lessons, copes or the like.

[2] An erasure in the manuscripts.

[APRILIS.]

Denus et undenus: est mortis uulnere plenus

	g	[Kal.] Aprilis.			
xi.	A	iiii.	Non.	Sancte Marie egipciace	iii. l'c.
	b	iii.	Non.	Sancti ricardi episcopi et confessoris	[1]
xix.	c	ii.	Non.	Sancti ambrosii episcopi	[1]
viii.	d	Non.			
xvi.	e	viii.	Id.		
v.	f	vii.	Id.		
	g	vi.	Id.		
xiii.	A	v.	Id.		
ii.	b	iiii.	Id.		
	c	iii.	Id.	Sancti Cuthlaci anachorite.	iii. l'c.
x.	d	ii.	Id.		
	e	Idus.			
xviii.	f	xviii.	Kal. Mai.	Sanctorum Tiburcii et Valeriani martirum	iii. l'c.
vii.	g	xvii.	Kal.		
	A	xvi.	Kal.		
xv.	b	xv.	Kal.		
iiii.	c	xiiii.	Kal.		
	d	xiii.	Kal.	*Sancti alfegi episcopi et martiris*	[1]
xii.	e	xii.	Kal.		
i.	f	xi.	Kal.		
	g	x.	Kal.	*Sancti Georgii martiris*	[1]
ix.	A	ix.	Kal.	Sancti melliti episcopi	iii. l'c.
	b	viii.	Kal.		
xvii.	c	vii.	Kal.	Sancti marci euangeliste	in albis
vi.	d	vi.	Kal.		
	e	v.	Kal.		
xiiii.	f	iiii.	Kal.	Sancti Wilsini episcopi translatio	in albis
iii.	g	iii.	Kal.	Sancti Vitalis martiris	iii. l'c.
	A	ii.	Kal.	Sancti Erkenwoldi episcopi	iii. l'c.
				Nox habet horas x. dies xiiii.	

[1] No entry in manuscript of number of lessons, copes, or the like.

[MAIUS.]

Tercius occidit: et septimus hora† relidit.

xi.	b	[Kal. Maii.]		Apostolorum philippi et Iacobi	in albis
	c	vi.	Non.	Sancti Athanasii episcopi et confessoris	iii. l'c.
xix.	d	v.	Non.	Inuencio sancte crucis	*in cappis*
viii.	e	iiii.	Non.		
	f	iii.	Non.		
xvi.	g	ii.	Non.	*Sancti iohannis ante portam latinam*	*in cappis*
v.	A	Non.			
	b	viii.	Id.	Aduentus sancti Michaelis	iii. l'c.
xiii.	c	vii.	Id.	*Translacio sancti nicholai*	*xii. l'c.*
ii.	d	vi.	Id.	Sanctorum Gordiani et epimachi martirum	iii. l'c.
	e	v.	Id.	Sancti Mamerti episcopi et confessoris	iii. l'c.
x.	f	iiii.	Id.	Sanctorum Nerei. achilei. et pancracii martirum	iii. l'c.
	g	iii.	Id.		
xviii.	A	ii.	Id.		
vii.	b	Idus.			
	c	xvii.	Kal. Iunii.		
xv.	d	xvi.	Kal.		
iiii.	e	xv.	Kal.		
	f	xiiii.	Kal.	*Sancti dunstani episcopi et confessoris*	*xii. l'c.*
xii.	g	xiii.	Kal.		
i.	A	xii.	Kal.		
	b	xi.	Kal.		
ix.	c	x.	Kal.		
	d	ix.	Kal.		
xvii.	e	viii.	Kal.	*Sancti aldelmi episcopi et confessoris*	xii. l'c.
vi.	f	vii.	Kal.	Sancti augustini anglorum apostoli	in albis
	g	vi.	Kal.		
xiiii.	A	v.	Kal.		
iii.	b	iiii.	Kal.		
	c	iii.	Kal.		
xi.	d	ii.	Kal.	Sancte petronille uirginis	iii. l'c.

Nox habet horas viii. dies xvi.

[IUNIUS.]

Denus psalescit : quindenus federa nescit.

	e	[Kal.]	Iunii	Sancti nichomedis martiris	iii. l'c.
xix.	f	iiii.	Non.	Sanctorum marcellini et petri martirum	iii. l'c.
viii.	g	iii.	Non.		
xvi.	A	ii.	Non.		
v.	b	Non.		Sancti Bonefacii martiris	iii. l'c.
	c	viii.	Id.		
xiii.	d	vii.	Id.		
ii.	e	vi.	Id.		
	f	v.	Id.	Translatio sancti edmundi epistopi	in cappis
x.	g	iiii.	Id.		
	A	iii.	Id.	Sancti Barnabe apostoli	in albis
xviii.	b	ii.	Id.	Sanctorum Basilidis. cirini cum sociis	iii. l'c.
vii.	c	Idus			
	d	xviii.	Kal. Iulii.	Sancti basilii episcopi	iii. l'c.
xv.	e	xvii.	Kal.	Sanctorum Viti et modesti martirum	iii. l'c.
iiii.	f	xvi.	Kal.	Sanctorum Cirici et Iulitte martirum	iii. l'c.
	g	xv.	Kal.		
xii.	A	xiiii.	Kal.	Sanctorum Marci et Marcelliani martirum	iii. l'c.
i.	b	xiii.	Kal.	Sanctorum Geruasii et prothasii martirum	iii. l'c.
	c	xii.	Kal.		
ix.	d	xi.	Kal.	Sancti leufredi abbatis.	iii. l'c.
	e	x.	Kal.	*Sancti albani martiris*	*xii. l'c*
xvii.	f	ix.	Kal.	Sancte atheldrithe uirginis Vigilia	iii. l'c.
vi.	g	viii.	Kal.	Natiuitas sancti Iohannis baptiste	in cappis
	A	vii.	Kal.		
xiiii.	b	vi.	Kal.	Sanctorum Iohannis et pauli martirum	iii. l'c.
iii.	c	v.	Kal.		
	d	iiii.	Kal.	Sancti Leonis [pape[1]] martiris	iii. l'c.
xi.	e	iii.	Kal.	Apostolorum petri et pauli	in cappis
	f	ii.	Kal.	*Memoria sancti pauli*	xii. l'c.

Nox habet horas vi. dies xviii.

[1] An erasure in the manuscript.

[IULIUS.]

Tredecimus mactat: iulii decimum† labefactat.

xix.	g	[Kal.]	Iulii	*Octaue sancti Iohannis*	*xii. l'c.*
viii.	A	vi.	Non.	Sancti Swithuni episcopi	in cappis
	b	v.	Non.		
xvi.	c	iiii.	Non.	*Translacio sancti Martini episcopi.*	[1]
v.	d	iii.	Non.		
	e	ii.	Non.	*Octaue apostolorum.*	xii. l'c.
xiii.	f	Non.		Translacio sancti [Thome[2]] martiris	in cappis
ii.	g	viii.	Id.	Sancti Grimbaldi confessoris	iii. l'c.
	A	vii.	Id.	*Octaue sancti swithuni episcopi*	xii. l'c.
x.	b	vi.	Id.	Sanctorum septem fratrum martirum	iii. l'c.
	c	v.	Id.	Translacio sancti benedicti	in cappis
xviii.	d	iiii.	Id.		
vii.	e	iii.	Id.	Sancte Iuthware uirginis et martiris	in cappis
	f	ii.	Id.		
xv.	g	Idus.		Translacio sancti swithuni episcopi	in albis
iiii.	A	xvii.	Kal.	Augusti.	
	b	xvi.	Kal.	Sancti kenelmi martiris	iii. l'c.
xii.	c	xv.	Kal.	Dedicacio ecclesie sancte marie schyrb'	in cappis
i.	d	xiiii.	Kal.		
	e	xiii.	Kal.	*Sancte margarete uirginis et martiris*	iii. l'c.
ix.	f	xii.	Kal.	Sancte Praxedis uirginis	iii. l'c.
	g	xi.	Kal.	Sancte Marie magdalene	in albis
xvii.	A	x.	Kal.	Sancti appollinaris martiris	iii. l'c.
vi.	b	ix.	Kal.	Sancte Cristine martiris. bigilia.	iii. l'c.
	c	viii.	Kal.	Sancti Iacobi apostoli	in albis
xiiii.	d	vii.	Kal.	Sancti christofori martiris. Sancte anne	iii. l'c.
iii.	e	vi.	Kal.	Sanctorum Septem dormiencium martirum	iii. l'c.
	f	v.	Kal.	Sancti Sampsonis episcopi	iii. l'c.
xi.	g	iiii.	Kal.	Sanctorum Felicis cum sociis	iii. l'c.
xix.	A	iii.	Kal.	Sanctorum Abdoni et Senni martirum	iii. l'c.
	b	ii.	Kal.	Sancti Germani episcopi	iii. l'c.
				Nox habet horas viii. dies xvi.	

[1] No entry in manuscript of number of lessons, copes, or the like.

[2] An erasure in manuscript.

[AUGUSTUS.]

Prima necat fortem : perdit secunda cohortem.

viii.	c	[Kal. Augusti.]		*Ad uincula sancti petri*	*xii. l'c.*
xvi.	d	iiii.	Non.	*Sancti athelwoldi episcopi*	*xii. l'c.*
v.	e	iii.	Non.	Inuencio sancti Stephani	in albis
	f	ii.	Non.		
xiii.	g	Non.		Sancti Oswaldi regis et martiris	iii. l'c.
ii.	A	viii.	Id.	Sanctorum sixti. felicissimi. et agapiti martirum	iii. l'c.
	b	vii.	Id.	Sancti Donati episcopi et martiris	iii. l'c.
x.	c	vi.	Id.	Sancti Ciriaci sociorumque eius	iii. l'c.
	d	v.	Id.	Sancti Romani martiris. Vigilia.	iii. l'c.
xviii.	e	iiii.	Id.	Sancti laurencii martiris	in cappis
vii.	f	iii.	Id.	Sancti Tiburcii martiris	iii. l'c.
	g	ii.	Id.	Sancti Edwoldi confessoris	iii. l'c.
xv.	A		Id.	Sancti Ipoliti cum sociis suis	iii. l'c.
iiii.	b	xix.	Kal.	Septembris. Sancti Eusebii confessoris. Vigilia.	iii. l'c.
	c	xviii.	Kal.	Assumpcio sancte marie	in cappis
xii.	d	xvii.	Kal.		
i.	e	xvi.	Kal.	Octaue sancti laurentii	*in cappis*
	f	xv.	Kal.	Sancti agapiti martiris	*in cappis*
x.	g	xiiii.	Kal.	Sancti magni cum sociis suis	[1]
	A	xiii.	Kal.	Sancti Piliberti abbatis	[1]
xvii.	b	xii.	Kal.		
vi.	c	xi.	Kal.	*Octaue sancte Marie*	*in cappis*
	d	x.	Kal.	Sanctorum Timothei et apollinaris martirum. Vigilia.	iii. l'c.
xiiii.	e	ix.	Kal.	Sancti bartholomei apostoli	in albis
iii.	f	viii.	Kal.	Sancti audoeni episcopi	iii. l'c.
	g	vii.	Kal.		
xi.	A	vi.	Kal.	Sancti Rufi martiris	iii. l'c.
xix.	b	v.	Kal.	Sancti augustini episcopi	in albis
	c	iiii.	Kal.	*Decollacio sancti Iohannis baptiste*	*xii. l'c.*
viii.	d	iii.	Kal.	Sanctorum felicis. et adaucti. martirum	iii. l'c.
	e	ii.	Kal.	Sanctorum aidani et paulini. episcoporum	iii. l'c.
				Nox habet horas x. dies xiiii.	

[1] No note in manuscript of the number of lessons, copes, or the like.

[SEPTEMBER.]

Tercia septembris : denus fert mala membris.

xvi.	f	[Kal.]	Septembris.	*Sancti Egidii abbatis*	*xii. l'c.*
v.	g	iiii.	Non.		
	A	iii.	Non.	Ordinacio sancti Gregorii.	iii. l'c.
xiii.	b	ii.	Non.	Translacio sanctorum Cuthberti et Birini episcoporum	iii. l'c.
ii.	c	Non.		Sancti Bertini abbatis	iii. l'c
	d	viii.	Id.		
x.	e	vii.	Id.	**Vigilia**	
	f	vi.	Id.	**Natiuitas sancte Marie**	**in cappis**
xviii.	g	v.	Id.	Sanctorum Gorgonii. et Dorothei martirum	Memoria
vii.	A	iiii.	Id.	Sancti athelwoldi episcopi	[1]
	b	iii.	Id.	Sanctorum Proti et Iacinthi martirum	[1]
xv.	c	ii.	Id.		
iiii.	d	Idus.			
	e	xviii.	Kal. Octobris.	**Exaltacio sancte crucis**	**in albis**
xii.	f	xvii.	Kal.	**Octabe sancte marie**	**in albis**
i.	g	xvi.	Kal.	*Sancte Edithe uirginis*	*xii. l'c.*
	A	xv.	Kal.	Sancti lamberti martiris	[1]
ix.	b	xiiii.	Kal.		
	c	xiii.	Kal.		
xvii.	d	xii.	Kal.	*Vigilia*	
vi.	e	xi.	Kal.	*Sancti Mathei apostoli*	*in albis*
	f	x.	Kal.	Sancti Mauricii sociorumque eius martirum	xii. l'c.
xiiii.	g	ix.	Kal.	Sancte Tecle uirginis	iii. l'c.
iii.	A	viii.	Kal.	Concepcio sancti iohannis baptiste	iii. l'c.
	b	vii.	Kal.	Sancti firmini episcopi et martiris	iii. l'c.
xi.	c	vi.	Kal.	Sanctorum Cipriani. et Iustine martirum	iii. l'c.
xix.	d	v.	Kal.	Sanctorum Cosme et Damiani martirum	iii. l'c.
	e	iiii.	Kal.		
viii.	f	iii.	Kal.	**Sancti Michaelis archangeli**	**in cappis**
	g	ii	Kal.	**Sancti Ieronimi confessoris**	**in albis**
				Nox habet horas xii. dies xii.	

[1] No entry in manuscript of the number of lessons, copes, or the like.

[OCTOBER.]

Tercia cum dena. clamat sis integra uena.

xvi.	A	[Kal.]	Octobris.	Sanctorum Germani et remigii episcoporum	iii. l'c.
v.	b	vi.	Non.	*Sancti leodegarii episcopi et martiris*	*xii. l'c.*
xiii.	c	v.	Non.		
ii.	d	iiii.	Non.		
	e	iii.	Non.		
x.	f	ii.	Non.	*Octaue sancti Michaelis*	*xii. l'c.*
	g	Non.		Sancti Marci [pape[1]] Marcelli et apulei martirum	iii. l'c.
xviii.	A	viii.	Id.	Sancti Demetrii episcopi martiris et sancti Iwii episcopi	iii. l'c.
vii.	b	vii.	Id.	*Sancti Dionisii cum sociis suis*	*xii. l'c.*
	c	vi.	Id.	Sancti Paulini episcopi	iii. l'c.
xv.	d	v.	Id.	Sancte Athelburge uirginis	iii. l'c.
iiii.	e	iiii.	Id.	Sancti Wlfridi episcopi	iii. l'c.
	f	iii.	Id.	Sancti Edwardi confessoris	in cappis
xii.	g	ii.	Id.	*Sancti Calisti* [*pape*[1]]	xii. l'c.
i.	A	Idus.		Sancti Wlfranni episcopi	iii. l'c.
	b	xvii.	Kal.	Nouembris. *Memoria sancti Michaelis*	*xii. l'c.*
ix.	c	xvi.	Kal.	Sancte atheldrithe uirginis	iii. l'c.
	d	xv.	Kal.	Sancti luce euangeliste	in albis
xvii.	e	xiiii.	Kal.		
v.	f	xiii.	Kal.		
	g	xii.	Kal.	Sancti Hilarionis Memoria[2] Sanctarum xi. M. uirginum	[3]
xiiii.	A	xi.	Kal.		
iii.	b	x.	Kal.		
	c	ix.	Kal.		
xi.	d	viii.	Kal.	Sanctorum Crispini. et Crispiniani martirum	iii. l'c.
xix.	e	vii.	Kal.		
	f	vi.	Kal.	*Vigilia.*	
viii.	g	v.	Kal.	Apostolorum Symonis et Iude	in albis
	A	iiii.	Kal.		
xvi.	b	iii.	Kal.	Ordinacio Sancti Swithuni episcopi	iii. l'c.
v.	c	ii.	Kal.	Sancti Quintini martiris *Vigilia.*	iii. l'c.
				Nox habet horas xiiii. dies x.	

[1] An erasure in manuscript.
[2] In manuscript there is only : Mo'.
[3] No entry in manuscript of the number of lessons, copes, or the like.

[NOUEMBER.]

Scorpius est quintus: et tercius est nece cunctis.†

	d	[Kal.	Nouembris]	Festiuitas omnium sanctorum	in cappis
xiii.	e	iiii.	Non.	Sancti Eustachii cum sociis suis	iii. l'c.
ii.	f	iii.	Non.		
	g	ii.	Non.		
x.	A	Non.			
	b	viii.	Id.	*Sancti leonardi abbatis*	*xii. l'c.*
xviii.	c	vii.	Id.	Sancti Willibrordi episcopi	iii. l'c.
vii.	d	vi.	Id.	Sanctorum quatuor coronatorum martirum	iii. l'c.
	e	v.	Id.	Sancti Teodori martiris	iii. l'c.
xv.	f	iiii.	Id.	Sancti Martini [pape[1]]	iii. l'c.
iiii.	g	iii.	Id.	Sancti Martini episcopi et confessoris	in cappis
	A	ii.	Id.		
xii.	b	Idus.		Sancti Bricii episcopi	[2]
i.	c	xix.[3]	Kal.	Decembris	
	d	xviii.	Kal.	Sancti Machuti episcopi	[2]
ix.	e	xvii.	Kal.	Sancti Edmundi episcopi	in cappis
	f	xvi.	Kal.	Sancti aniani episcopi	[2]
xvii.	g	xv.	Kal.	*Octaue sancti Martini*	*xii. l'c.*
vi.	A	xiiii.	Kal.		
	b	xiii.	Kal.	Sancti Edmundi regis et martiris	in cappis
xiiii.	c	xii.	Kal.	Oblacio sancte marie uirginis	in cappis
iii.	d	xi.	Kal.	*Sancte cecilie uirginis et martiris*	*xii. l'c.*
	e	ix.	Kal.	*Sancti Clementis martiris*[4]	xii. l'c.
xi.	f	ix.	Kal.	Sancti Grisogoni martiris	[2]
xix.	g	viii.[3]	Kal.	Sancte Caterine uirginis et martiris	in cappis
	A	vi.	Kal.	Sancti Lini [pape[1]] et martiris	[2]
viii.	b	v.	Kal.		
	c	iiii.	Kal.		
xvi.	d	iii.	Kal.	Sancti Saturnini martiris. Vigilia	[2]
v.	e	ii.	Kal.	Sancti andree apostoli	in cappis
				Nox habet horas xvi. dies viii.	

[1] An erasure in the manuscript.

[2] No entry in manuscript of number of lessons, copes, or the like.

[3]—[3] The scribe has mistaken the numbers of the calends from this place to the vi[th] below.

[4] There is no sign of any erasure here.

[DECEMBER.]

Septimus exanguis : uirosus denus et† anguis.

	f	Kal.	Decembris.	Sanctorum Crisanti et daria martirum	iii. l'c.
xiii. ii.[1]	g	iiii.	Non.		
	A	iii.	Non.	Sancti Birini episcopi et confessoris	iii. l'c.
x.	b	ii.	Non.		
	c	Non.			
viii.	d	viii.	Id.	Sancti Nicholai episcopi	in cappis
vii.	e	vii.	Id.	Octaue sancti andree	iii. l'c.
	f	vi.	Id.	Concepcio sancte Marie	in cappis
xv.	g	v.	Id.		
iiii.	A	iiii.	Id.		
	b	iii.	Id.	Sancti damasi	iii. l'c.
xii.	c	ii.	Id.		
i.	d	Idus.		*Sancte Lucie uirginis et martiris*	*xii. l'c.*
	e	xix.	Kal.	Ianuarii	
ix.	f	xviii.	Kal.		
	g	xvii.	Kal.	Sancte Barbare uirginis	[2]
xvii.	A	xvi.	Kal.		
vi.	b	xv.	Kal.		
	c	xiiii.	Kal.		
xiiii.	d	xiii.	Kal.	*Vigilia*	
iii.	e	xii.	Kal.	*Sancti Thome apostoli*	*in albis*
	f	xi.	Kal.		
xi.	g	x.	Kal.		
xix.	A	ix.	Kal.	*Vigilia*	
	b	viii.	Kal.	Natiuitas domini nostri ihesu christi	in cappis
viii.	c	vii.	Kal.	*Sancti Stephani martiris*	*in cappis*
	d	vi.	Kal.	Sancti Iohannis apostoli	in cappis
xvi.	e	v.	Kal.	*Sanctorum Innocencium*	*in cappis*
v.	f	iiii.	Kal.	Sancti [Thome martiris[3]]	in cappis
	g	iii.	Kal.		
xiii.	A	ii.	Kal.	*Sancte† siluestri†*	*xii. l'c.*

Nox habet horas xviii. dies vi.

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[1] Thus in the manuscript.
[2] No entry in manuscript of number of lessons or the like.
[3] An erasure in manuscript.

MASSES, COLLECTS, PRAYERS, AND SEQUENCES FROM THE SHERBORNE MISSAL.[1]

Sequence of Saint John Evangelist. (p. 41.)

Sancti Iohannis apostoli et euangeliste . . . Sequencia

Vox respiret laude plena. concors menti cantilena. grata fiat et serena. iohannis preconio. Qui potenter cuncta regit. et inferni claustra fregit. hunc post uidit et elegit. ad matris custodiam. Virgo quia fit electus. et a christo predilectus. christi uidit supra pectus. secretorum gloriam. Forma factus aquilina. perscrutatur sic diuina. quod confirmat summis yma. scribens in principio. Cristi fidem quam seruauit. cunctis palam predicauit. et uirtutes commendauit. uerbo factis opere. Ob hoc ergo uir beatus. fit in pathmos exulatus. set per christum liberatus. soluitur a carcere. Gratulatur plebs fidelis. collaudatur rex e celis. cuius nutu cuius uelis. ad ephesum rediit. Iuuenem resuscitauit. mulieri quam mors strauit quem uidere preoptauit. uite statum reddidit. Saxa fiunt margarite. auro silue sunt munite hinc per eum sunt sortite naturalem formulam. Venenosi uictor potus. in tormentis stat inmotus. mitis constans et deuotus fidem firmans credulam. Iohannes pro tuorum. dignitate meritorum. uiuens intras metethorum. ualedicens fratribus. Ductor bone matris dei. te precamur licet rei. locum nobis requiei. poscas in celestibus.

Sequence for Saint Thomas of Canterbury. (p. 45.)

Sancti Thome martiris . . . Sequencia

Sol in stella triumphauit. Stella solem reuelauit. mundi diffidencie. Que in spem tranformata† gracia set gratis data. diuine clemencie. Sole christus figuratur. stella [thomas *present*atur[2]] iam mater ecclesia. Que iam fuit desolata. modo uiret recreata. martiris constancia[m[2]] Thomas[3] christi sub figura. desperatis ad futura dat inuitatorium. Que sunt hec et quos inuitat. uita perpes et qui uitant mundi transitorium. Queris ad huc qui nocentur. omnes dei qui censentur conformes ymagini. Sunt gentiles an iudei. non tantum set omnes rei. sunt uocati domini. Murmurat hinc phariseus. tamen ascendens zacheus. contemplatur dominum. Hoc exemplo non desperet set in bono perseueret. omne genus hominum. Ad hoc bonum quis accedit. omnis qui perfecte credit. ihesum dei filium. Cecus hoc illuminatus. credit et est aduocatus. in christi collegium. T[homas reus[2]] iudicatus. fit reorum aduocatus. [thomas *est*[2]] a deo datus. pereunti seculo. Ergo martir preciose [sancte thoma[2]] gloriose. funde preces fructuose. pro deuoto populo. Amen dicunt omnia.

Prayers Before the Mass of Holy Thursday. (p. 248.)

Oracio bona in aurora

Gracias ago tibi domine ihesu christe qui me dignatus custodire in hac nocte concede michi domine diem uenturum sic peragere in tuo sancto seruicio. et da michi cum humilitate discrecionem ut tibi complaceat seruitus mea. Qui cum deo patre in unitate spiritus sancti deus.

Item.

In huius diei exortu domine deus tua nos benedictio sancta purificet. et a diaboli laqueis semper eripiat et presta piissime deus ut per totum diem honeste uiuamus et finem uite nostre. proficiendo consideremus. in omni quoque oracione nostra. tu nos hodie exaudias et ad horam uespertinam saluos et illesos perducas. et tecum in perpetuum uiuere facias. AmeN.

In die ascensionis domini ad magnam missam officium . . .

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[1] Some of the masses from the *Sanctorale* are now printed, together with a few sequences taken from the masses of the saints, which may perhaps be of interest to the hymnologist and ritualist.

[2] Words or letters within square brackets have been erased: syllables in italics are Mr. Dewick's suggestions.

[3] Restored.

confestim euocatur. districto iudicio. Immolare diis iubetur. set resistit nec terretur. deum uiuum confitetur. et hunc uerum hominem. Iubet preses ut ligetur. et ligatus fustigetur. et ut caro laceretur. adhiberi pictinem†. Set tortores et tormenta. quanto plura sunt inuenta. tanto patet minus lenta. martiris constancia. Missus ausu furiali. est in lacum expers mali. set postremo capitali. plectitur sentencia. Presul pie martir sancte. qui uirtutis extas tante. te pro nobis mediante. sit pax sit securitas. Ut post breue post modernum. quid sit longum sempiternum. speculetur in eternum. simplex mentis puritas. Ne nos nube uiciorum inuoluat obscuritas. amen.

COLLECT FROM THE MASS OF ST. OSWALD.[1] (p. 425.)

Sancti Oswaldi archiepiscopi . . . Oratio

Deus qui diuersarum nacionum populis preclaros uere fidei concessisti doctores concede quesumus omnipotens deus ut omnes qui sanctissimi confessoris tui oswaldi festa uenerantur. presentis uite prosperitatem. et future beatitudinem consequantur. Per dominum.

MASS OF THE TRANSLATION OF ST. WULSIN. (p. 440.)

Translacio sancti Wlsini Episcopi

[*Oracio*]

Deus cuius uirtute beatus Wlsinus presul eximius bona cuncta peregit. eius optentu nos propicius respice. ut cuius sacre translacionis sollempnia celebramus. omni tempore suffragia consequamur. Per.

Epistola

Ecce sacerdos magnus.

Gradale

Alleluya. ℣ Surrexit dominus uere. Alleluya. ℣ Iste sanctus.

Sequencia

Adest nobis.

Euangelium

Vigilate ergo.

Offertorium

Veritas mea et misericordia mea cum.

Secreta

Tuere nos misericors deus. et sancti pontificis tui Wlsini meritis et intercessione. celesti pane dignos nos effice. Per dominum.

Communio

Letabitur iustus in domino.

Postcommunio

Concede nobis quesumus domine deus noster. ut qui salutis eterne sacramenta percepimus intercedente glorioso pontifice tuo Wlsino. perpetua pace letemur. Per dominum.

MASS OF SAINT JUTHWARE.[2] (p. 489.)

Sancte iuthware uirginis

[*officium*]

Loquebar. ℣. Beati inmaculati.

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[1] St. Oswald is not commemorated in the calendar of the Sherborne mass book; but he appears in the Hereford missal on the 28th of February as "S. Oswaldi, episcopi, iii. lect." and there are three mass-collects in the *Sanctorale*.

[2] "In englond the feest of saynt Iuthware a virgyn, that by her stepmoder was falsly accused vnto her owne broder of fornicacyon, for the whiche in a fury he stroke of her heed, whiche heed she her self toke vp before hym and all his people, and there sprange vp a well and a grene tree growyng therby, than bare she her heed in to the chirche, were after were shewed many great myracles." (*The Martiloge in Englysshe after the Vse of the chirche of Salisbury*, ed. Procter & Dewick, Henry Bradshaw Society, 1893. p. 110 for July 13.)

oracio.

Deus qui beate uirgini tue iuthware cum uirginitatis gloria martirii coronam contulisti concede propicius. ut intercessionis eius a[d]miniculis. a cunctis exuamur periculis. et expiati peccati maculis. eterne uite connumeremur heredibus. Per dominum.

Epistola

Domine deus meus.

Gradale

Specie tua. Alleluya. ℣ Veni electa mea et ponam te.

Sequencia

Letus feruor lete mentis. nouitate pubescentis. iocundetur in presentis diei tripudio. Spes respiret a torpore. ne torpescat in merore. set allaudat cum feruore. iuthware preconio. Virgo felix uirgo mitis. sacre botrus sacre uitis. salutare prepeditis. prestat beneficium. Corde carne uirgo pura. castitatis fouens iura. nouercali sub litura. patitur supplicium. Fraude lactis sub ornata. stillat uestis delicata. ut sic partu reprobata. digna fiat stipite. Allegans caput benigne. penas soluit set indigne. recens signum et insigne suo signans capite. Ense fratris uisitata. manu portat rubricata. caput quod sic decollata. menbra† menbris† hereant. Ubi ceruix uirginalis. caput ictus uim letalis. fons emanat potu talis. ut potantes gaudeant. Miro ramorum dedecore. robur crescens nouo more. fontem seruans a feruore. totum estum uacuat. Ensis cadit presumptoris. perpetrata re furoris. mortem deplangens sororis. morte totus estuat. Dignus digne maceratur. pena iusta flagellatur. set ab illo tumulatur. castitatis specula. Virgo sidus puellaris. medicina salutaris. salua reos ab amaris. sub mortis nubecula. amen.

Euangelium

Simile est regnum celorum decem uirg[inibus]

Offertorium

Offerentur regi uirgines

Secreta

Susceptis nostre deuocionis hostiis esto nobis propicius deus. et sanctissime uirginis iuthware cuius festa gerimus meritis tribue ut in omnibus tue pietatis muniamur auxilio. et perpetue uite remuneremur brauio. Per.

Communio

Diffusa est.

Postcommunio.

Gracias agimus tibi omnipotens deus repleti celestis communione benedictionis suppliciter implorantes. ut beate uirginis iuthware supplicacione. nos in tua dilectionis honore. semper concedas persistere. Per.

Sequence of St. Margaret of Antioch. (p. 496.)

Sancte margarete uirginis . . . Sequencia.

Hac in die magnalia. christi laudans ecclesia. psallat leta. Qua post uite dispendia. celi scandit fastigia margareta. Claris orta natalibus ab annis puellaribus. mundum spreuit et ydola. In puellari corpore. uirili certat robore. celi fiat ut accola. Quis condignis extollat laudibus. quod forcia premat humilibus. admiranda summi regis potencia. Virgo sponsam non curat iudicem. ridet ymas spernit carnificem. detestanda dum intentat supplicia. Iudex certat ut subuertat blandis miscens aspera. Nunc precatur nunc minatur nunc infligit uulnera. Ignes. ungues. uerbera. menbra† uexant tenera. Ridet christi famula. tortores et uerbera. Dum cum ea palam congreditur. quis audiuit talia. A uirgine sathanas uincitur. O noua uictoria. Hostis uictus deicitur. et deiectus confunditur. et confusus inuoluitur. eterna miseria. Gaudet uirgo dum patitur. mortem uincit dum moritur. et triumphans extollitur. ad mansura gaudia. Tu formosa plusquam rosa. et candore et odore. repanda uincis lilia. Iam dilecto pre electo. iuncta dei faciei. dulci gaudes presencia. Tu stellis fulgidior. tu luna splendidior. superas solis lumina. Condigna martiribus. propria uirginibus. agno decantans carmina. Cuius nos dignos gracia. tua reddant suffragia. uirgo martir egregia. Ut in celorum curia. decantemus uoce pia. sit deo laus et gloria.

Sequence of Saint Anne. (p. 504.)

In festiuitate Sancte Anne . . . Sequencia

Salue o anna inclita. salue beata femina. et te tuo solamine. presentem nobis exhibe. Turris inexpugnabilis. turrisque fortitudinis. ab inimici facie. adesto nobis undique. O tu anna sanctissima. christi existens a uia. adesto supplicantibus. medelam confer languidis. Ad te mater clamantibus. sis presens fusis precibus. fer deo uota supplicum. te rite postulancium. O dei matris genitrix. nos tuis sanctis meritis. expurgans a criminibus. deo commenda celitus. Ad te nostra intencio. ad nos tua redempcio. euigilet ne dormiat. nos semper ut custodiat. O anna mater nobilis. suppremis uenerabilis. succurre nobis miseris. oppressis mole criminis. Per te nobis propicius. fiat celorum dominus. consociet nos angelis ihesus marie precibus. amen.

Sequence for the Finding of Saint Stephen. (p. 513.)

Inuencione sancti Stephani . . . Sequencia (p. 514.)

Patris et nati paraclitique unus amor et una concordia una est et caritas. Unum deus amat dilectio unica singularis caritas. Tantum ea que uectit unitas seruat caritas. Que dissipant lis et discordia fugit caritas. Martiria et elemosina angelorum hominum que linguas probat caritas. Manent tria fides. spes caritas. maior horum extat deo coeterna caritas. Ut christus nostram uellet gustare formam sua sit caritas. ut celi claram stephanus intraret aulam fecit caritas. O domine o quem fecit nostra petere una uisita tibi caritas. Stephane o quem fecit. celsa scandere ethram impensa tuis caritas. Credit cuncta suffert uniuersa atque sustinet cuncta caritas. Non est uana non est ambiciosa non querit sua lucra caritas. Est ipsa et flamma et lampas ignis carbo caritas. Est pater est et patris doxa flamen sacrum caritas. Monas trias est caritas.

Sequence for St. Augustine of Hippo. (p. 533.)

Sancti augustini episcopi . . . [Sequencia]

Splendescit hodierna dies ingenti leticia. In qua catholica gloriatur ecclesia. Atque angelica in celis ouant agmina. Augustine festa patris nostri renouando celebria. De cuius doctrina ecclesia fulget per mundi climata. Cuius eloquia redolent ultra thimiamata. Studens qui carmina scripsit multa ualde utilia. Norma clericos indidit uiuere congrua. Ut communia essent omnia queque sua nec haberent ultra propria. Gaudet affrica de tanto patrono predita. Atque ciuitas yponis illa que doctrina claruit illius sedula. Ergo nostra chorea resultet domino carmina cum cantu rithmica. Sit uoci mens consona ut placeant nostra que deo pangimus cantica. Omnis una conclamemus uoce celsa mente fida fide pura ut in terra deus nostra regat opera. Qui hec festa sancti sui gloriosa celebramus atque digna et in celis nos eterna ditet gloria. O beate augustine presul digne nos tua iuuent suffragia. Tu presulum flos et gemma prece pia pro nobis dominum supplica. Ut nostra exaudiat clemens precamina. Et ducat ad celica regna quo letemur in gloria per cuncta secula amen.

Sequence for Saint Leger. (p. 564.)

Sancti leodegarii martiris et episcopi . . . Sequencia

Regi regum gratulemur omnes una qua tenemur ad eius preconia. Voci mentes non discordent. oda pari set concordent. et pari symphonia. Per quem suus uicarius. sanctus leodegarius subegit nequiciam. Ebroini fraudulentis. et ut uir illese mentis. peregit maliciam. Qui decepto ducens altum. de terrenis fecit saltum. ad celeꝑ palacium. Soli deo militauit. per quem cruces non expauit. uirorum fallacium. Set ouile cum uallarent. uel ut gregem lacerarent omni spreto pugnore. Vel pastorem iugularent. duo lupi nec cessarent. a nefando scelere. Pastor sponte nec cum bile. dat se lupis ut ouile. totam solus redimat. Nec ocellos eruentes. fiunt sibi metuentes. quis hoc scelus adimat. Mox ocellis uir orbatus. atque lingua de hinc priuatus. trahitur per salebras. Nudis plantis et per spinas. poscens dei medicinas. ad opacas latebras. Set rex noster et athleta. cui cuncta sunt secreta iugiter patencia. Hinc certantur in agone. lingua ditat et sermone. diuina clemencia. Rursus martir accusatur. quod loquela sibi datur. et tiranno presentatur passurus supplicia. Hinc ad nemus religatur. tantum nephas ne noscatur quod iniuste decollatur. celi fretus gloria. Letus in quo modulatur alleluya.

Mass of Saint Ivy. (p. 566.)

Sancti Iwii confessoris.

[*oracio*]

Auxilium tuum quesumus domine nobis placatus impende. et quicquid nostris meritis non presumimus. sancti iwii confessoris tui atque pontificis quesumus precibus conferre digneris. Per.

Epistola

Omnis pontifex.

Euangelium.

Videte uigilate et ora[te.]

Secreta

Sit tibi domine nostre deuocionis oblacio acceptabilis. ut beato iwio confessore tuo intercedente utrumque et tue placeat maiestati. et nostre proficiat saluti. Per.

Postcommunio

Omnipotens sempiterne deus. qui nos sacramentorum tuorum participes efficis et ministros. presta quesumus. ut intercedente beato iwio confessore tuo atque pontifice. et fidei proficiamus augmento et beatitudinis ipsius iungamur consorcio. Per dominum.

Sequence for All Saints. (p. 581.)

In die [*omnium Sanctorum*] . . . *Sequencia*

Sanctorum gloria recolenda hodiernam eya. Christo inclita candida nostra canant melodia agmina. Laudes omnibus dancia sanctis per hec sacrata festalia. Maria primum uox sonet nostra per quam nobis uite sunt data premia. Regina que es mater et casta solue nostra per filium peccamina. [A]ngelorum concio sacra et archangelorum turba inclita. Nostra diluant iam peccata prestando supera celi gloria. Tu propheta preco lucerna atque plusquam propheta. In lucida nos pone mundans nostra pectora. Apostolorum princeps atque. cuncta iuncta caterua. Nam corrobora uera in doctrina plebis pectora. Sthephane† gloriose rutilans in corona sanctorum que martirum turba ualida. Forcia date corda corpora atque firma sacra ut hostem uincant cuncta spicula. Martine inclite et presulum omnis caterua. Suscipe nunc pia modo nostra clemens precata. Regina uirginum pre maxima tu mater incorrupta uirgo et grauida. Sacrata domino et castitas nostras seruant animas mundaque corpora. Monachorum ueneranda suffragia omniumque sanctorum contubernia. Per peccata assidua nostra gubernant tempora Nosque ducant ad supera polorum uera gaudia. Subiungant pium omnia amen redempta.

Sequence for St. Edmund the King and Martyr (p. 591.)

Sancti edmundi regis . . . *Sequencia*

Dulci simphonia. omnis fidelium ecclesia. christum collaudet hac die clara. In qua despecta et calcata uite labentis gloria Ad permansura sulleuauit regem edmundum gaudia. Hic namque magnificus natus ex prosa pia Magnifice superna plenus uixit gracia. Iuste mansuete ab ipsa uiuens infancia. Christo deuotus adherebat per omnia. Prepotens in mundo mundana spreuit atque sola Fide deuotus ambiebat celestia Qui et debellata perfidorum insania Felix triumphauit hodie nectus ad astra Hostis instat ut consumat Ihesus obstat et expugnat Hostis prosternit nec tamen superat Martir occumbit et tamen triumphat O singularem christi potenciam O diuine pietatis predicandam graciam Cui morientes uiuunt atque famulantes regnant O quam preclara uiri uictoria O uirtutis gloriose gloriosa premia. En beate semper uiuit atque uite dat certa indicia. Caput abscisum edit loquelas fit uox uirtute non natura. Sistit latrones huic tollit lumina illi concedit amissa. Vir felix edmunde fac nos prece benig[na] uita[1] frui eterna. amen.

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[1] Read *benigna uita.*

Mass for the Presentation of Blessed Mary (p. 592.)

Sancte marie uirginis oblacio.

Gaudeamus. ℣ Eructauit.

Oracio

Deus qui beatam dei genitricem semper uirginem mariam hodierna die in templum domini presentari uoluisti. respice ad deuotam tibi plebem et presta, ut qui presentacionis eius festa ueneramur. ipsi templum in quo habitare dignetur efficiamur. Per.

Leccio ysaie prophete

Hec dicit dominus deus. Egredietur uirga de radice iesse: . . . . . et fides: cinctorium renum eius.

Graduale

Benedicta et uenerabilis es uirgo maria que sine tactatu pudoris inuenta es mater saluatoris. ℣. Virgo dei genitrix quem totus non capit orbis in tua se clausit uiscera factus homo. Alleluya. ℣. Per te dei genitrix nobis est uita perdita dataque de celo suscepisti prolem et mundo genuisti saluatorem.

Sequentia

Alma dei genitrix eterni luminis aula . . . Celis angelicam ut mereamur habere coronam.[1]

Secundum lucam.

In illo tempore: Exurgens autem maria: abiit in montana . . . Et exultauit spiritus meus in deo salutari meo.

Credo in unum.

Offertorium.

Aue maria gracia plena dominus tecum benedicta tu in mulieribus et benedictus fructus uentris tui.

[*Secreta oracio*]

Munera domine pro beate dei genitricis semperque uirginis marie in templum domini oblacione tibi dicata benignus assume. et ea ad nostram uegetacionem animarum prouenire concede. Per.

Communio

Beata uiscera marie uirginis que p[ortauerunt.]

Postcommunio

Saciati muneris diuini participacione supplices te domine deprecamur. ut qui beate dei genitricis semperque uirginis marie in templum presentacionem celebramus. dignis conuersacionibus in eius laude uiuamus. Per eundem.

Sequence for Saint Cecilia (p. 594.)

Sancte cecilie martiris . . . Sequencia

Sponsa christo dilecta [ce]cilia cape nostra dignanter seruicia Tu mundi labentis gaudia honores et opes et prospera. Spreuisti secura dominum ab ipso perceptura centuplum Tu orando angelica meruisti eloquia et dulcia ipsius solacia Hic tibi dedit coronas de paradiso aliatas odore florentes ineffabili Fratres ergo duos idolorum famulos fidei uinxerat catholice. Tu minas crudelis respuendo tiranni brauium sumis de manu dei Ecce quia manet in claritate perpetua firmiter stabilita Potes audire et aspicere quecumque loquimur aut agimus Sis nostri miserans sapiens uirgo in cunctis adesto nobi[s] aduersis Senciat ex te sibi leuamen uenisse quicunque inuocabit tuum nomen.

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[1] York Missal, ii. 208.

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SAINT ALBAN'S DAY AND SAINT MARY MAGDALENE'S DAY IN THE CALENDAR OF 1662.

BY

LORD ALDENHAM, F.S.A.

The difference between the date of the Festival of SAINT ALBAN in the Calendar of our present Prayer-book and in the ancient Calendars of the Church is well known. Our Calendar prescribes the 17th of June for his Feast-day; whereas in the old Calendars and in the Martyrologies he is commemorated on the 22nd of that month, the day, namely, on which his martyrdom is said to have taken place nearly 1,600 years ago, in or near the city now called after his name.

The change is commonly supposed to have been caused by a joint blunder of the transcriber and the printer of the revised book of 1662, who mistook the ill-written number XXII for XVII.

But the fac-simile of the 1662 corrections of the Prayer-book printed in 1636, from which the "book annexed" to the Act of Parliament of that year (14 Car: II c. 4) was transcribed, makes it certain that the error which, if any, then crept in could not have sprung from the printer's fault; for the Feast of SAINT ALBAN is quite plainly written into its designed place—between the 16th and 18th—in clear Roman letters, both in the corrected book and in the "book annexed"; so that the printer could not have altered its position otherwise than of malice aforethought.

Nor, for the same reason, could it have been a blunder of the transcriber of the corrections into the "sealed book."

The only other possible suggestion was this: It has been supposed that the Commemoration of the British Protomartyr was new to the reformed English Church, seeing that in none of the Prayer-books, 1549, 1552, 1603 (folio or quarto), 1604, or 1637 (folio or octavo) does he appear at all; nor is he in the Primer of 1557, nor in the Sarum Primer of 1558.

The blunder then, if any there was, in that year must be laid on the shoulders of the writer of the corrections of the 1636 book, or of the maker of the notes from which he adopted them. But it is difficult to believe that any such notes would have been made otherwise than on an old Calendar; in copying which it would have been impossible to make the mistake.

Moreover, it is now certain that, if any one made a *blunder* in the matter, it was not the Reviser, Transcriber, or Printer of 1662; but what induced the revisers who restored the

Commemoration of SAINT ALBAN to go so far out of their way to follow such feeble examples as those which I shall presently mention it is not easy to guess. Possibly in the Bishop of Durham's interleaved Prayer-book, or in the notes of Mr. Niel or Bishop Andrewes, all of which were consulted, some explanation might be found. Here are all the examples, real and imaginary, of the 17th of June for the Festival of SAINT ALBAN which I have been able to find before the 1662 revision. Dr. Nicholson, a former rector of Saint Albans, in his *Handbook to the Abbey*, says that a Prayer-book of 1642 gives the 17th of June as the date; and so it is true the copy in the British Museum appears to do. But Dr. Legg, who has kindly examined the book for me, finds that that copy at least lacked a Calendar, and that its binder had borrowed one of a later date than 1660, containing the Restoration of King Charles II. May 29th, and King Charles the Martyr January 29th: so that example falls to the ground. The only true instances as yet forthcoming are in two books in my possession—the very rare little Prayer-book of 1617 and the Book of *Preces Privatæ* of 1564 (*regia auctoritate approbatæ*) and its second edition of 1573;[1] all three of which have SAINT ALBAN'S Festival on the 17th. It is, I think, highly improbable that the revisers of 1662 should have taken either of these little books for a competent authority on the point; though in one case there is a curious coincidence which I will mention later on.

So then we have traced the new date for the Festival to ninety-eight years earlier than 1662; but I can make no guess at any earlier source, knowing no Sarum or any other book which departs from the traditional 22nd. It is much to be wished that some one with more leisure and opportunity than I have would seek for an earlier appearance of this change. Until some source is found, it is, I think, permissible to believe it to be a blunder, and to treat it accordingly, as Blunt does, *sub silentio*, in his *Annotated Book of Common Prayer*.

I have carefully compared the Calendars of the two books of 1564 and 1617, and collated them with the *Sarum Missal* and the Book of *Sarum Horæ* of 1535. They are as well supplied with saints as the latter book is; but though probably copied from some Sarum book, they neither of them accord with the book of 1535, nor are they sufficiently like one another to have been framed on the same book of any other date.

One curious coincidence there is, to which I have already alluded: namely, that the acknowledged misreading of ENURCHUS (Bishop of Orleans) for EVURTIUS[2] (September 7th), though not found in the 1617 book (in which the day is blank, as it also is in the Revised Calendar of 1561), is found in 1564; which would almost lead us to suppose that the 1662 revisers had indeed selected their black-letter saints from that book; but we may rather, and with greater probability, infer that there was some one earlier source for both errors. Certainly the revisers did not follow either the 1564 or the 1617 Calendar implicitly; for LAMMAS (August 1st) comes not from that Calendar, but from 1604 and 1617; and CHAD of March 2nd in the *Sarum Missal* is preferred to his brother CEDDE,[3] who is commemorated (wrongly) on the same day, instead of on January 7th, in the *Horæ* of 1535, in the *Preces Privatæ* of 1564, and in the Prayer-book of 1617. KING EDWARD (June 20th), from the *Missal* and the *Horæ*, is preferred to GERVASIUS and PROTHASIUS, to whom that day is

[1] Since writing the above I have seen a note by Mr. H. Gough in *Herts Notes and Queries* of October last, in which mention is made of the 17th June being given as the Festival of St. Alban in the *Preces Privatæ*.

[2] St. Evurtius is said by Baring-Gould to have been Bishop of Arles, but this, he tells me, was an error.

[3] The authorised folio, and the Tower "sealed book" have "Cedde or Chad."

wrongly given in the *Preces Privatæ*, and of course supersedes the birthday of James I, who occupies that day in the 1617 Calendar, though it honestly confesses that he was born on the 19th. Besides these differences, our revisers retained the O SAPIENTIA of the Sarum books and of the 1617 Prayer-book in preference to SAINT MELINUS who is found in the Calendar of 1564. There are other curious things, especially in the ill-printed book of 1617, on which I have remarked in the Notes to the comparative Table which accompanies this Paper.

To return to SAINT ALBAN. In the 1617 Calendar he appears as ALBANE (the spelling of the Elizabeth Primer of 1559) on the 22nd of June, *as well* as on the 17th. Is it possible that the 17th is a legitimate day, and commemorates the Translation of his Bones? We commemorate SAINT ETHELDREDA on the day of her Translation; and so does the Calendar of 1617 by the name of ELTHRED, a version of her name which I have never seen elsewhere, the 23rd of June being marked by her more usual name AUDRY. Another explanation of the second ALBANE in 1617 might perhaps be found in the SAINT ALBAN or SAINT ALBIN who is venerated at Cologne, and has a splendid shrine, placed about 1185 in the church of Santa Maria in Schnürgasse, with an inscription on the wall "SANCTUS ALBANUS PROTOMARTYR ANGLORUM." A French *Book of Horæ* (15th century) in my possession gives SAINT AUBIN on the 22nd; three Flemish *Horæ* of the same age giving ALBAN on the 21st; and a Memorandum Book of about the same date, with a beautiful Calendar attributed (without authority) to a daughter of Jan van Eyck, commemorates SAINT ALBIN on the 21st of June. The book of the *Acta Sanctorum* argues the case of the Reliquary very fairly as between ALBANUS and ALBINUS, deciding for the latter as the saint commemorated at Cologne.

The error in the date of the Festival of SAINT MARY MAGDALENE is less well known, because, though it has the authority of Convocation and Parliament, the error was immediately discovered, and, so far as it could be done in the absence of statutory or canonical sanction, promptly corrected in some of the sealed books, and (after some years) in many of the printed editions. I believe the false date (21st) is now never repeated.

It cannot, I think, be supposed that the revisers of 1662 went out of their way to follow the example of the Primer of 1546 or the Prayer-book (folio) of 1605, which alone of those which have come under my eye have that date; the real source of the error being quite clear. The writer who copied the book "annexed" to the Act of Uniformity from the MS. corrections of the book of 1636 fell into a trap unwittingly laid for him by the revisers. They found July 21st blank, thus:

21	
22	MAGDALENE

and, writing in an S before the name, added MARY up over; and then, fearing that this might perhaps be unintelligible to the transcriber, crossed out the words with the pen and wrote them fair in the upper line. So that they read thus:

21	*S. MARY MAGDALENE*
22	~~Mary.~~ ~~S. MAGDALENE~~

and the copyist might well be pardoned for his mistake.

The authorized folio, copied from the "book annexed," gives of course the 21st as the Feast Day, and so does the quarto of the same year (1662); but the "sealed books," that at Saint Paul's, for instance, corrected it thus:

21 S. MARY MAGDALENE
22 *

and the book at the Tower[1] must have corrected the error in that or some like way; for the so-called fac-simile printed for Pickering in 1844 gives the 22nd.

Looking back at the Anglican Calendars, I find that the first Prayer-book—of

1549 has the 22nd as the Festival of SAINT MARY MAGDALENE, while
1552 omits her altogether; but
1552 the authorized French Translation has the 22nd; and so also have the following:
1560 the authorized Latin Translation,
1594 another Latin Version,
1603–4 the revised Book of KING JAMES,
1612 the quasi-authorized Spanish Translation,
1616, 1617, 1636, 1639 English Prayer-books,
1634 the Welsh Translation, and
1637 the Scottish Book of KING CHARLES I., all of them following the ancient Calendars, and those of all the Primers and *Books of Horæ* with which I am acquainted, except the Primer of 1546 above-mentioned.

I have not before me any English Prayer-books between 1662 and 1701, except that of 1671, which follows the error of 1662 (as do the Greek Translation of 1665, the French Translation of 1667, and the Latin of 1681), so that I cannot say whether the printers during those 38 years all clave to the reading of the authorized folio, or whether every man did that which was right in his own eyes; but I have books of 1701, 1706, 1715, 1754, 1756, 1779, and 1801, which give the 22nd; and books of 1704, 1710, 1712, 1716, and 1717, which give the 21st, since when, so far as I know, the present century has, in this respect, walked in the old paths.

Here are a great many words on a very small matter; and I cannot hope that the dissertation will be very interesting to the members of the Saint Paul's Ecclesiological Society; but even small matters sometimes deserve careful attention; and the investigation, such as it is, has been interesting to me. If there shall be found to be anything new in it which may deserve the attention of the Society, it will be an additional pleasure to me. In any case, I feel that I owe them some apology for taking up so much of their time with so little.

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[1] There are other variations between this book and the printed folio; as for example, Blasius (February 3rd) is absent in the former, and added in the latter; so of St. Matthias and St. Ambrose appears in the former, but not in the latter. The sealed book has "Ven. Bede Pre.," the printed book "Presbyter" in full. So also the former has "Eves" in the Table of Fasts, the latter "Evens."

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF THREE CALENDARS.

Sarum Horæ, 1535. [Black Letter.]

Hore beatissime | virginis Marie ad legitimum Sarisburiensis Ecclesie ritum, cum quindecim oratio|nibus beate Brigitte, ac multis aliis orationi|bus pulcherrimis, & indulgentiis cum tabula | aptissima iam ultimo adiectis, 1535

Venumdantur Parisiis a Francisco Regnault
In vico Iacobi sub signo Elephantis

[Colophon 25 May 1536]

Preces | Privatæ, in | studiosorum gra'tiam collectæ, et Regia | auctoritate appro'batæ. | Matth 26. | Vigilate & orate, ne intretis | in tentationem. | Londini | Excudebat Gulielmus Seres | Anno Domini 1564. | Cum priuilegio Reginæ.

[Roman letter]

The Psalter, | or Psalmes of Da'uid, after the transla'tion of the great Byble, | poynted as it shall be | said or sung in | Churches: | with the addition | of Morning and | Euening Prayer.
Imprinted at London for | the Company of Sta'tioners. 1617.

[Text in black letter. Title in Roman, and Italic.]

JANUARY.

	Sarum Horæ 1535|6.	*Preces Privatæ* 1564.	*Common Prayer* 1617.
1.	*Circumcisio domini.**§	*Circumcisio dom.*§	*Circumcision*§
2.	Oct. Scti. Stephani* ptho.	Octa. S. Stephani	Oct. Steven
3.	Oc. s. Joh.* Genovefe vg.	Octa S. Johannis	Oct. John
4.	Oct. sctor. Innocen. mar.*	Octa. Innocent.	Oct. Innoc.
5.	Oct. sancti Tho.* Depositio sancti Edwardi*	Depositio Edwar. Re.	Deposi. Odw.‡
6.	*Epyphania dni.**	*Epiphania domini*	*Epiphani.*
7.	Felic' & Ja. [*Claues septuagesime*‖]	Felicis & Ianuarij	Fe. & Jan.
8.	Luciani:* pbri & Socior. ej*.	Luciani presbi.	Lucian
9.	Sancti Judoci	Iudoci	Paul here.‡
10.	Pauli p'mi Heremite & conf.	Pauli primi here.	*Sun in Aquaries*
11.	Iginij pa. *Sol in Aquario*	Iginij ma. *Sol in aqua.*	Arcadi. mar.
12.	Archadii martyris	Archad. mart.	Feli. priest
13.	Hylarij* episcopi. Octave epyphanie*	Oct. Epipha. Hilarij ep.	Hillary
14.	Felicis presbyteri & martyris*	Felicis pres.	February
15.	Mauri. Abbatis.* Sancti Ysidori	Mauri & Isidori	Mauri ab.
16.	Sancti Marcelli Pape & Martyris*	Marcelli mart.	Marcil bishop
17.	Sulpitij* epi. Depositio sancti Antonij*	Anthonij. Sulpit.	Antony
18.	Prisce* virginis & martyris	Priscæ virg. Init. Reg. Edwar. 6‡	Prisca
19.	Wlstanni* episcopi & confessoris	Vlstanij epis.	Wolst. bishop
20.	Fabiani & Sebastiani* martyrum	Sebastiani & Fabiani	Fabian
21.	Agnetis* virginis & martyris	Agnetis virg.	Agnes
22.	Vincentij* & Anastasij martyrum	Vincentij mart.	Vincent
23.	Emerentiane virginis & martyris	Emerentianæ virg.	Emerice
24.	Sancti Timothei	Timothei epis.	Timoth. bishop
25.	*Conuersio sancti Pauli** *apostoli*	Conuer. Pauli	Conuer. Paul
26.	Polycarpi episcopi & martyris	Polycarpi mart.	Policar. bishop
27.	Juliani* episcopi & confessoris	Iuliani confes.	Julian virgin
28.	Agnetis secundo.* Thome de Aquino	Agnetis secundæ	Tho. de Aqua.
29.	Valerij episcopi discipuli sancti Petri	Valeri. epis.	Valerie bishop
30.	Batildis* regine virginis & martyris	Batildis Reginæ	Battel King
31.	Saturnini & Victoris martyrum	Saturni & victoris	Saturnine

* These are also in the Calendar of the Sarum Missal (ed. 1555). Those unstarred are not in the Missal. but only in the Sarum Horæ 1535|6. ‡ See Notes. ‖ Not in Sarum Horæ 1535.
§ The Italics throughout, except as otherwise noted, represent red letter printing.

FEBRUARY.

Sarum Horæ 1535|6.	*Preces Privatæ* 1564.	*Common Prayer* 1617.
1. Bridgitte* virgin. Ignatii epi.	Brigittæ vir. *Vigilia*	Brigit *Fast*
2. *Purificatio b. Marie* virg.*	*Purificatio b. Mariæ*	*Puri. of Ma.*
3. Blasii* epi. & martyris	Blasii epis. & mart.	Blazi
4. Gilberti confessoris	Gilberti confess.	Gilb. bishop
5. Agathe* virginis & mar.	Agathæ vir.	Agathe
6. Vedasti* & Amandi* epōr. Dorotheæ virginis	Dorotheæ vir.	Dorothye
7. Anguli episcopi	Anguli episc.	Angul. bishop
8. Pauli e. Luci. & Ciri:‡ m.	Pauli episc.	*Sun in Pisces*
9. Apollonie virginis & mar.	apolloniæ vir. *Sol in*	Paul bishop
10. Scholastice* v. *Sol in Pisce.*	Scholastice vir. *Pisc.*	Appolin vir.
11. Eufrasie.‡ [Translatio sancte Frideswide‖]	Sotheris‡ epis.	Scola virg.
12. Eulalie virg.	Eulaliæ virg.	Eufrace
13. Wlfrani epi. & confessoris	Vlfrani epis.	Wolfra. bishop
14. Valentini* episcopi	Valentini epi.	Valentine
15. Sanctorum Faustini & Jovite	Faustini episc.	Faustine
16. Juliane* virginis & martyris	Iulianæ virgin.	Julian virgin
17. Policroni episcopi & martyris	Policronii episco.	Policio bish.‡
18. Simeonis episcopi & martyris	Simeonis epis.	Simeon bish.
19. Sabini & Juliani martyrum	Sabini & Iuliani	Sabin mar.
20. Sancte Mildrede virginis	Mildredæ virg.	Mild: virgin
21. Sanctorum sexaginta novem martyrum	Septuag. nouem mar.	LXIX Mart.
22. *Cathedra sancti Petri* apostoli*	Cathedra Petri	Cathed. pe.
23. Policarpi episcopi	Policarpi epis.	Polic. *Fast*
24. *Matthie Apostoli**	*Mathiæ apost.*	*S. Matth.*
25. Inventio sancti Pauli apostoli	Constantiæ virg.	Inven: Pau.
26. Alexandri episcopi	Alexandri epis.	Nestor. bishop
27. Sancti Augustini episcopi	Augustini epis.	Austen doct.
28. Oswaldi episcopi & confessoris	Oswaldi epis. & conf.	Oswald bishop

* See January foot-note. ‡ Notes. ‖ Not in Sarum Horæ 1535..

MARCH.

Sarum Horæ 1535|6.	*Preces Privatæ* 1564.	*Common Prayer* 1617.
1. David* epi & confessoris	Dauidis epis.	David‡
2. Sancti cedde*‡ epi. & conf.	Cedde epis.	Cede
3. Sanctorum Maurini & Auste.	Maurini & Asterii	Martine‡
4. Sancti Adriani martyris	Adriani mart.	Adrian mar.
5. Sanctorum Foce, Eusebii et per.‡	Focæ & Eusebii	Focas. Eusib.
6. Sanctorum Victoris & Victo	Victoris mar.	Victor & Vic.
7. Perpetue et felicitatis.* Thome de Aquino	Perpetuæ	Perpetue
8. Depositio sancti felicis epi.	Apollonii mart.	Depos. of Fe.
9. XL Marty.	Quadraginta mar.	Fortie mar.
10. Agapiti	Agapit. mart.	Agapit. mar.
11. Sanctorum quirini & candidi *Sol in Ariete*	*Sol in Ariete*	*Equinoctium.***
12. Gregorii pap*‡ [*Claves pasche*‖] *Equinoctium* [*vernale*‖]	Gregorii epi. rom.	Gregory.
13. Theodore matrone	Theodori mart.	Theo. mar.
14. Petri martyris	Leonis epis. & Zacha.	(13) *Sun in Aries*‡
15. Longini martyris. *Principium veris*	Longini. Gabri. arch.	(14) Leo bishop
16. [*Introitus noe in arcam.*‖] Hylarii & tacoani martyrum	Hilar. & Tace.	(15) Hillarie
17. Patricii* episcopi. Gertrudis virginis	Gertrudis. Patricii	(16) Patrik Bish.

* See January foot-note. ‡ See Notes.
‖ Not in Sarum Horæ 1535. ** Small Roman in original.

MARCH—*continued.*

Sarum Horæ 1535|6.	*Preces Privatæ* 1564.	*Common Prayer* 1617.
18. *Edwardi regis & mar.** Anselmi episcopi	Edwardi Regis	(17) Edward
19. Joseph sponsi beate Marie virginis	Ioseph spon. Mariæ	(18) Jos. spon. Mar.
20. Cuthberti* episcopi & confessoris	Cuthberti epis.	(19) Cuthbart Abot
21. Benedicti Abbatis*	Benedicti abbatis	(20) Benedict
22. Affrodosii episcopi	Affrodosii epis.	(21) Astrodo. bishop
23. Theodori presbyteri	Theodori pres.	(22) Theo. priest
24. Sancti Agapiti marty.	Pigmenii. *Vigil.*	(23) Tran. of a frn‡
25. *Annunciatio beate Marie**	*Annunciat. Mariæ.*	(24) *Init Reg: Jac* [24]‡**
26. Castoris mar. & Ludegeri episcopi	Castorii martir‡	(25) *Anun. of Mary*
27. *Resurrectio Domini**	Dorotheæ virg.	(26) Dorothe‡ virgin
28. Dorothee virginis	Ruperti epis.	(27) Benedict Ab.‡
29. Sancti Victorini	Victorini mart.	(28) Victorine
30. Quirini martyris	Quirini mart.	(29) Quirine mar
31. Aldelmi episcopi. Et Sabine virginis	Adelmi epis.	(30) Adelme bishop

* See January foot-note. ‡ See Notes. ** Small Roman in original.

APRIL.

Sarum Horæ 1535|6.	*Preces Privatæ* 1564.	*Common Prayer* 1617.
1. Theodore virginis	Theodoræ virg.	Theod. virgin
2. Marie egyptiace	Mariæ Aegypt.	Mary Egyp.
3. Richardi epi.* Pancra. epi.	Richardi conf.	Richard bishop
4. Ambrosii epi. & conf.*	ambrosii episc.	Ambrose bishop
5. Vincentii confessoris. Martiniani & Martia.	Martiniani episc.	Mart. mar.
6. Sixti pape & martyris	Sixti episc.	Sextus pope
7. Eufemie virginis	Euphemiæ.	Euphemie
8. Egesippi & sociorum ejus	Egesippi & Socior.	Odulphus‡
9. Perpetui episcopi	Perpetui epis.	Perp. bishop
10. Passio sanctarum septem virg.	Passio septem virg.	*Sun in Taurus*
11. Gutlachi confessoris	Guthliaci *Sol in Tauro*	Buthlake‡
12. Julii pape & Constantini. *Sol in Tauro.*	Zeni epis.	Simon‡ mar.
13. Eufemie virginis	Eufemie virg.	Julian‡
14. Tyburcii* & Valeriani.* [Maximiani‖], mar.	Tiburt. mar.	Maii
15. Oswaldi archiepi. *Claues rogatio.*	Oswaldi archiepis.	Sother
16. Isidori martyris	Isidori epis.	Isidore
17. Aniceti pape & martyris	Aniceti epis. Rom.	Anicete
18. Eleutherii & Anthio.	Eleutherii	Eluther
19. Alphegi* archiepiscopi et martyris	Alphegi mart.	Apleg. bishop
20. Victoris pape & martyris	Victoris mart.	Victor pope
21. Symeonis episcopi & martyris	Simeonis epis.	Simeon bish.
22. Sotheris. Inventio sancti Dionysii	Sotheris epis.	Sother *Fast*
23. *Sancti Georgii martyris**	Georgii mart.	*S. Mark Euan*:‡
24. Wilfridi epi. & confessoris. Vigilia	Vlfridi confess.	S. George
25. *Marci evangeliste**	*Marci euang.*	Wilfr.
26. Cleti pape & martyris	Cleti epis. Rom.	Clete
27. Anastasii pape & martyris	Anastasii epis. Rom.	Anastase
28. Vitalis martyris	Vitalis mart.	Vitalis mar.
29. Petri Mediolan. Egressio noe de arca.	Petri Mediolan.	Petr. of Mil.
30. *Depositio sancti erkenwaldi* episcopi Londoñ.*	Dep. Erken. ep. *Vigil.*	Erkenwold

* See January foot-note. ‡ See Notes. ‖ Not in Sarum Horæ 1535.

MAY.

Sarum Horæ 1535|6.	*Preces Privatæ* 1564.	*Common Prayer* 1617.
1. *Philip. & Ja.** apo.	*Philip. & Jacobi.*	*Philip & Jac.*
2. Athanasii epi. & confesso.	Athanasii epi.	Arthan. bishop
3. *Inventio sancte Crucis** [Alexandri & Eventii]‖	Inuentio crucis	Inv. of the Cros
4. Festum Corone spinee Dñi	Christoferi	Christopher
5. Godardi archiepiscopi	Godardi	Godard
6. Johannis ante portam Latinam*	Iohan. ante port. lat.	*John Port La.***
7. Johannis de Beverlaco*	Iohan. de Beuerlaco	John of ben‡
8. Apparitio s. Michaelis		Aper of Mi.
9. Transla. scti. Nicholai* episcopi	Transla. S. Hier.‡	Trans. of Mi.‡
10. Gordiani & Epimachi*	Gordiani epis.	Gordian bishop
11. Anthonii Martyris	Anthonii mart.	*Sun in Gemini.*‡
12. Nerei* Achil* & Pancratii* mart.	*Sol in Gemini*	Antony Mar
13. Seruacii confessoris	Seruasii confes.	Seruast con.
14. Bonifacii Martyris	Bonifacii mart.	Cervis bishop
15. Isidori Martyris *Sol in Gemini*	Isidori mart.	Isidore mart.
16. Brandini episcopi & confessoris	Brandani epi.	Junij
17. Translatio sancti Bernardi	Translatio Barnar.	Trans. of bar.
18. Dioscori Martyris	Dioscori mart.	Diosc. mart.
19. Dunstani archiepiscopi & confessoris* [Pudentiane]‖	Dunstani epi.	Dunstan bishop
20. Bernardini. Ethelber.	Bernardini	Barnardine
21. Helene Regine. Vitalis presbyteri	Helenæ Regi.	Helen queen
22. Juliane virginis & martyris	Iulianæ virg.	Julian
23. Desiderii martyris	Desiderii mart.	Deside. mar.
24. [Festum sancti Saluatoris]‖. Transl: sancti Francisci	Seruul. mart.	Trans: of Mar‡
25. Adelmi episcopi & confessoris.* [Urbani‖]	Aldelmi & Vrba.	Adelme bishop
26. Augustini anglorum apostoli*	Augustini angl. epi.	Augustine
27. Sancti Bede presbyteri	Bedæ presb.	Bede priest
28. Germani episcopi & confessoris*	Germani epis.	German bishop
29. Coronis martyris	Maximi epi.	Julian virg.
30. Felicis pape. Huberti episcopi	Felicis epis.	Felix bishop
31. Sancte Petronille virginis*	Petronillæ virg.	Patron. virg.

* See January foot-note.
‡ Notes.
‖ Not in Sarum Horæ 1535.
** Small Roman in original.

JUNE.

Sarum Horæ 1535|6.	*Preces Privatæ* 1564.	*Common Prayer* 1617.
1. Sancti nicomedis mar.*	Nichomed. Iustin.	Nicho. mart.
2. Marcellini & petri* mar.	Marcellini mart.	Marcelline
3. Erasmi epi. & mar.	Erasmi epis.	Erasmus
4. Petrocii confessoris	Petrocii conf.	Petroce
5. Bonifacii* cum so. martyrum	Bonifacii epis.	Boneface
6. Mellonis archiepiscopi	Claudii epis.	Claud bishop
7. Transla. scti Wlstani epi.	Pauli epis. constan.	Tran. Dol‡
8. Wilhelmi archiepiscopi. Medardi* episcopi [& Gildardi‖]	Medardi epis.	Medard bishop
9. Translatio scti Edmundi [mar.‖] [Primi & Feliciani‖]	Primi & Felici. mar.	Edm. bishop

* See January foot-note.
‡ Notes.
‖ Not in Sarum Horæ 1535.

JUNE—*continued.*

Sarum Horæ 1535 6.	*Preces Privatæ* 1564.	*Common Prayer* 1617.
10. Transla. scti Yvonis confes.	Getulii mart.	John con:‡
11. *Barnabe apli.** Anthonii	Barnabæ apost.	Barna. apost.
12. Basilidis confessoris.* [Cyrini & Naboris*‖] *Solstitium estiuale*	Basilidis *Sol in Cancro*	*Sun in Cancer*
13. Anthonii ordinis minorum	Antonii con.	Solsticisi esti.
14. Basilii epi. & confess.* *Sol. in Cancro*	Exuperii epis.‡	Julianus
15. Viti. Modesti & Crescen.*	Viti & modesti.	Vita mod.
16. Translatio sancti Richardi* [Cyrici & Julitte‖]	Cirici. & Iulitæ	Tran. Rich.
17. Botulphi confessoris	Albani mart:‡	Alban‡ mar
18. Marci & Marcelliani marty.* *Solstitium estivale*	Botolphi confes.	Botul. conf.
19. Gervasii & prothasii martyrum*	Marci & Marcel.	Mary‡ & Ma.
20. *Translatio sancti Edwardi regis & mar.*	Gervasii & Proth.‡	*Nat. Reg. Ja.*‡**
21. Walburge virginis	Walburgæ virg.	Walb. virg.
22. Albani prothomartyris*	Paulini epis.	Albane mar.‡
23. Etheldrede virginis. Vigilia	Etheldredæ *Vigil*	Audre *Fast*
24. *Nativitas sancti Johannis baptiste**	*Nat. Joh. Bapt.*	*John bap.*
25. Translatio sancti eligii episcopi	Amandi epis.	Crans.‡ Eleg:
26. Johannis & Pauli martyrum*	Ioh. & Pauli mar.	John & paul
27. Sancti Crescentis	Crescentis	Crescence
28. Leonis pape & confessoris. [Vigilia‖]	Leon. ep. ro. *Vigil*	Leo. *Fast*
29. *Petri & Pauli Apostolorum**	*Petri & Pauli*	*Peter Apos:*
30. *Commemoratio sancti Pauli**	Commemor. s. Pauli.	Com. of paul

* See January foot-note. ‡ Notes. ‖ Not in Sarum Horæ 1535.

JULY.

Sarum Horæ 1535|6.	*Preces Privatæ* 1564.	*Common Frayer* 1617.
1. Oct. scti. Johannis Bap.*	Octa. Ioh. bapt.	Visitation Ma.‡
2. *Visitatio bte. Marie.**	Visita. Mariæ	Tran. tho. ap.
3. Transla. scti Thome Apo.	Gregorii epis.	Martine.
4. Transl. & Ordina. sci. Mar.*	Translat. Martin.	Zoe virgin
5. Zoe virginis & martyris	Zoæ virg.	Oct: Pe. & Pa.
6. Oct. aplōrum Petri & Pauli.*	Oct. Pet. & Paul.	*Dog daies begin*‡ **
7. *Transla. scti Thome mar.**	*Dies caniculares incipiunt*	Grimbald
8. Depositio scti Grimbaldi		Siril bishop
9. Cirilli epi. & mar.	Cirilli epis.	Se bre ma‡
10. Septem fratrum martyrum*	Septem frat. mart.	Trans Bar‡
11. Translatio scti Benedicti*	Benedicti ab.	Nabor. & fe.
12. Naboris & Felicis mar.	Naboris & felicis	*Sun in Leo*
13. Scti. privati martyris	Priuati mart.	Prim‡ mar.
14. Divisio popul^{m}‡ *Dies caniculares. Sol in Leone*	Herac. ep. *Sol in Leone*	Tran. Osmo.‡
15. Translatio sancti Swithuni & sociorum eius*	Swith. &c.	Swithine
16. Translatio sancti Osmundi*	Eustachii‡	Augustine‡
17. Kenelmi regis & martyris*	Kenelmi regis	Kenel king
18. Arnulphi episcopi & martyris*	Arnulphi epis.	Arnold‡ bishop
19. Rufine & Justine martyrum	Rufinæ & Iustinæ	Ruff. & Just.

* See January foot-note. ‡ See notes. ** Small Roman in original.

JULY—*continued.*

	Sarum Horæ 1535|6.	*Preces Privatæ* 1564.	*Common Prayer* 1617.
20.	Margarete virginis & martyris*	Margaretæ virg.	Margaret
21.	Praxedis virginis*	Praxedis virg.	Prac. virg.
22.	*Sancte Marie Magdalene**	Mariæ Magdalenæ	Mary Magda.
23.	Apollinaris episcopi & martyris*	Appollinaris epi.	Appol. bishop
24.	Christine virginis* [& mar.‖] Vigilia	Christine vir. *Vigil.*	Christina fast
25.	*Jacobi Apostoli.** Christofori & cucufatis	*Jacobi apostoli*	*James Apo.*
26.	*Sancte Anne Matris Marie**	Annæ matris Mariæ	An. mo. of M.
27.	Septem dormientium* [mar.‖] Marthe hospite Christi	Septem dormien.	The vij sleep.
28.	Sampsonis episcopi & confessoris*	Sampsonis epis.	Sam. bishop
29.	Felicis & sociorum eius. [et Faustini]‡ martyrum*	Marthæ virg.	Albon‡ mar.
30.	Sanctorum Abdon & Sennes*	Abdon & sennes	Abdon & fe.
31.	Germani episcopi et confessoris*	Germani.	Germane bish.

* See January foot-note. ‡ See Notes. ‖ Not in Sarum Horæ 1535.

AUGUST.

	Sarum Horæ 1535|6.	*Preces Privatæ* 1564.	*Common Prayer* 1617.
1.	Petri* ad vincula	Petri ad vincula	Lammas‡
2.	Stephani pape & mar.*	Stephani epis.	Steven confess.
3.	Inuen. s. Stephani Prothom:*	Inuent. S. Steph.	Inven. of St.
4.	Justini presbyteri	Iustini pres..	Justin pr.
5.	Festum nivis* Marie virginis.* Oswaldi B.M.*	Mariæ de Niuis	*Gowrie Conspiracy*
6.	Transfiguratio Domini	Transfig. Dom.	Transfigu.
7.	Festum dulcissimi nominis Jesu.* [Donati epi.‖]	Fest. nom. Iesu.	Name of Jesus
8.	Ciriaci cum sociis mart.*	Ciriaci & sociorum	Ciri. & his fe.‡
9.	Romani marty.* Vigil.	Romani mart.	Romain
10.	*Laurentii martyris**	Laurentii mart.	Laurence
11.	Tyburtii martyris*	Tiburtii & Susan.	Tibur. mar.
12.	Clare virginis	Claræ virg.	Clere virgin
13.	Ipoliti & sociorum eius mart.*	Hyppoliti & socio.	Ipo. & his fe‡
14.	[Oct: Nom: Jesu*‖] Eusebii.* vig.	*Sol in Virgine*	Septembris
15.	*Assumptio beate Marie virginis**	Assumpt. Mar	*Sun in Virgo*
16.	Rochi Confessoris *Sol in Virgine*	Rochi *Dies canic. exeunt*	Roche
17.	Octa. sancti Laurentii*	Oct. Lau.	Oct. of Lau.
18.	Agapyti Martyris*	Agapeti mart.	Agape mar.
19.	Sancti Magni Martyris*	Magni mart.	Mary Mag‡
20.	Ludovici episcopi & confessoris	Ludouici epis	Lewis bishop
21.	Bernardi confessoris	Bernardi confes.	Barnard ab.
22.	Octa. assumptionis beate Marie*	Anastasii mart.	Oct. Assump.
23.	Timothei & Appollinaris* Vigilia	Timoth. &c. *Vigil.*	Timot. *Fast*
24.	*Bartholomei Apostoli**	*Bartholomei apo.*	*Barthol. Ap.*
25.	Ludovici Regis Francorum	Ludouici regis	Lewys king
26.	Sancti Severini	Zepherini episc.	Seuerine
27.	Ruffi martyris*	Ruffi mart.	Ruffe mar.
28.	Augustini epi. & confessoris*	Augustini epis.	Augustine
29.	Decollatio sancti Johannis baptiste*	Decol. Ioh bap.	Hea. of John
30.	Felicis & Adaucti martyrum*	Felicis & Audacti	Felic. & Ag.
31.	Cuthberge virginis* & Paulini episcopi.	Paulini epis.	Cuthert Virgin.

* See January foot-note. ‡ Notes. ‖ Not in Sarum Horæ 1535.

SEPTEMBER.

Sarum Horæ 1535|6.	*Preces Privatæ* 1564.	*Common Prayer* 1617.
1. Sancti Egidii Abbatis*	Aegidii ab.	Giles
2. Anthonii Martyris	Antonini mar.	Anton. mart.
3. Ordinatio scti Gregorii pa.	Lupi epis.	Ord. of Gre.
4. Translatio s. Cuthberti*	Moysi proph.	Tran: of Cut.
5. Bertini* abba. *Finiunt dies caniculares*	Bertini abb.	Dog dayes end
6. Eugenii confessoris	Eugenii conf.	Eugenius
7. Euurtii epi. & confessoris	Enurchi epi.	‡
8. *Nativitas beate Marie* virginis*	Natiuitas Mariæ	Nat. of Mar.
9. Gorgonii* martyris	Gorgonii mart.	Grego: mart:‡
10. Siluii epi. & confessoris	Hilarii epis.	Sylvi bishop
11. Prothi & Jacinthi mar.	Prothi & hyacin.	Prot. & Iac.
12. Martiniani epi. & confes.	Martiniani epis.	Marci bishop
13. Maurilii episcopi & confes.	Syri & Iuuentii ep.	*Sun in Libra*
14. *Exal. s. crucis.** [Cornelius & Cyprian‖]	Exalt. cr. *Sol in Libra*	Holy crosse
15. Octa. nativita. beate Marie* *Equinoctium estivale* [*autumnale*‖]	Philippi ep.	*Equinoct. autumnale.***
16. Edithe virginis* *Sol in Libra*	Edithæ virg. *æquinoct. autum.*	
17. Lamberti epi. & martyris	Lamberti epis.	Lamb. bishop
18. Sanctorum Victori & Corone	Victoris & Coro.	Vict. & Cor.
19. Sancti Januarii Martyris	Ianuarii mart.	Janua. mart.
20. Sancti Eustachii Vigilia	Eustachii *Vigil*	Eustace *Fast*
21. *Matthei Apostoli & euangeliste**	*Matthæi ap. & euan.*	S. *Mathew*
22. Mauricii &* sociorum eius martyrum	Mauricii & socio.	Ma. & his fe.
23. Tecle virginis* & Lini pape & marty.	Teclæ virg.	Tecla virg.
24. Andochii martyris	andochii mart.	Andoc. mar.
25. Firmini episcopi & martyris*	Firmini epis.	Firmin bish.
26. Cypriani & Justine martyrum*	Cipriani & Iusti.	Cypri. bishop
27. Cosme & Damiani martyrum*	Cosmæ & dam.	Co. & Dami.
28. Exuperii epi. & confessoris	Exuperii epis.	Exuperie *Fast*
29. *Michaelis Archangeli**	*Michaelis arch.*	S. *Michael*
30. Hieronymi Presbyteri	Hieronymi doct.	Hier. priest

* See January foot-note.
‖ Not in Sarum Horæ 1535.
‡ Notes.
** Small Roman in original.

OCTOBER.

Sarum Horæ 1535|6.	*Preces Privatæ* 1564.	*Common Prayer* 1617.
1. Remigii epi.* [Germani‖]. [Vedasti*‖]. Bavonis*	Remigii & Bauon.	Remige
2. [Thome Herefordensis*‖]. Leodegarii* epi. & confesso. [melori‖]	Leodegarii epis.	Leodogary
3. Candidi martyris	Candidi mart.	Cand. mar.
4. Francisci confessoris	Francis. conf.	Francis conf.
5. Apollinaris martyris	Apollin. mart.	Appol. mar.
6. Fidis virginis*	Fidis virg.	Faith
7. Sanctorum Marci & Mar.*	Marci & Marcell.	Marke
8. Pelagie virginis	Pelagiæ virg.	Pillag. mar
9. Sanctorum Dionisii* Rustici & Eleutherii	Dionisii & soc.	Dennis
10. Gereonis & sociorum eius* mar.	Gereonis & soc.	Geron. & Vic.
11. Nicasii epi. & [sociorum eius] martyr.	Nichasii epis.	Nicase bish.
12. Sancti Wilfridi epi.	Wilfridi epis.	Wilfri. virg.

* See January foot-note.
‡ See notes.
‖ Not in Sarum Horæ 1535.

OCTOBER—*continued.*

Sarum Horæ 1535|6.	*Preces Privatæ* 1564.	*Common Prayer* 1617.
13. *Translatio sancti Edwardi regis**	Trans. Edwardi.	Edward
14. Calixti pape & marty.*	Calixti *Sol in Scorp.*	*Sun in Scorpio*
15. Sancti Wlfranni episcopi [et confes‖]	Vlfra. ep.	Wolfra. bish.
16. *Michaelis archangeli** [*in monte tumba*‖] *Sol in Scorpione*	Luciani	Nouembr.
17. Etheldrede virginis*	Etheldredæ virg.	Elthred *Fast*
18. *Luce Evangeliste**	*Lucæ euang.*	*Luke Euan.*
19. Fredeswide virginis*	Fredeswide virg.	Fredill Virg.
20. Austreberte virginis	Austrobertæ virg.	Astreb. virg
21. Undecim milium virginum*	Vndecim mil. virg.	Ursula virg.
22. Marie Salome	Mariæ Salomæ	Mary Salo.
23. Romani episcopi & confessoris*	Romani epis.	Roman mart.
24. Maglorii episcopi & confessoris	Maglorii epis.	Mag. bishop
25. Crispini & Crispiniani* martyrum [Johan. de Beverlaco‖]	Crispini & Crispi.	Crispine
26. Evariste pape: &. Amandi epi. & confessoris	Euaristæ ep.	Euer. bishop
27. Florentii martyris. Vigilia*	Florentii ma. *Vigil.*	Flor. *Fast*
28. *Symeonis & Jude** *apostolorum*	*Simonis & Iudæ*	*Sim. & Jude*
29. Narcisci episcopi & confessoris	Narcisci epis.	Narcis. bish.
30. Germani & Capuani episcoporum	Germani & Capua.	Germane
31. Quintini episcopi & martyris*	Quintini *Vigil.*	Quintine

* See January foot-note. ‖ Not in Sarum Horæ 1535.

NOVEMBER.

Sarum Horæ 1535|6.	*Preces Privatæ* 1564.	*Common Prayer* 1617.
1. *Festum omnium sanctorum*	*Festum omnium sanct.*	*All Saints*
2. *Commemoratio animarum*	Commemor. defun.	All Soules
3. Wenefrede virginis* Huberti episcopi	Wenefridæ virg.	Wenefr. virg.
4. Sanct. Amantii & Vitalis	amantii & Vitalis	Amantius
5. Cleti presbyteri & confes.	Læti pres.	Lete priest
6. Leonardi Abbatis*	Leonardi ab.	Leonard
7. Willibrordi archiepi.	Willibrodi arch	Wilfrid arch.‡
8. Quatuor coronatorum*	4. Coronatorum	The iiij cro.
9. Sancti Theodori mar.*	Theodori	Theodore
10. Sancti Martini pape	Martini epi.‡	Mar. b. of Ro.
11. Sancti Martini epi. [& confessoris.‖ Mennas‖]	Martini epi Rom.	Martin bish.
12. Sancti Paterni marty.	Paterni mar. *Sol. in Sagit:*	*Sun in Sagit.*
13. Bricii epi. & confessoris*	Britii epis.	Bryce
14. *Transla. Erkenwaldi** *epi. Lond.*	Trans. Erken.	Decembris
15. Macuti episcopi* [et confess.‖] *Sol in Sagittario*	Machuti epis.	Macute
16. Depositio sancti Edmundi archiepiscopi*	Edmundi arch.	Edmond arch.
17. Hugonis episcopi et confessoris*	Hugonis epis	S. Hugh
18. Octave sancti Martini*	Dedic: pet. & pau. *Init. Reginæ Elizab.*‡	Hugh bishop‡
19. Elizabeth matrone	Elizabeth matr.	Oct. mart.
20. Edmundi regis* [et martyris‖]	Edmundi regis	Edmond king

* See January foot-note. ‡ Notes. ‖ Not in Sarum Horæ 1535.

NOVEMBER—*continued.*

Sarum Horæ 1535|6.	*Preces Privatæ* 1564.	*Common Prayer* 1617.
21. Presentatio beate Marie virginis	Present. Mariæ	Prele Mar.
22. Cecilie virginis & martyris*	Ceciliæ virg.	Cecely
23. Clementis pape & martyris*	Clementis epis.	Clement
24. Sancti Grisogoni martyris*	Chrysogoni mart.	Griso. martyr
25. *Katherine virginis & martyris**	Katherinæ virg.	Katherine
26. Lini pape & martyris*	Lini epis.	Lyne bishop
27. Sanctorum Agricole & Vita	Agricolæ & Vitalis	Agricol.
28. Sancti Ruffi Martyris	Rufi mar.	Ruffe. mar.
29. Saturnini* & Crisantis [& Sisinnii‖] mar. Vigilia	Saturnini. *Vigil*	Satur. *Fast*
30. *Sancti Andree Apostoli**	*Andreæ apost.*	*Andrew Apo.*

* See January foot-note. ‡ Notes. ‖ Not in Sarum Horæ 1535.

DECEMBER.

Sarum Horæ 1535|6.	*Preces Privatæ* 1564.	*Common Prayer* 1617.
1. Eligii episcopi & confesso.	Eligii epis.	Elegii bishop
2. Sancti Libani	Libanii	Libian
3. Barbare virginis & mar.	Barbaræ virg.	Depos. Os.‡
4. Osmundi epi. & confesso.*	Osmundi epis	Barba. vi.
5. Sancti Sabbe abbatis.	Sabæ abb.	Sabe abbot
6. *Nicholai epi. & confesso.**	Nicolai epis.	Nicholas
7. Oct. scti. Andree apostoli.*	Faræ virg.	Oct. of an.
8. *Conceptio b. Marie virginis.**	Concept. Mariæ	Concep. Ma.
9. Cypriani abbatis	Cipriani abb.	Cipria. mar
10. Eulalie virginis	Eulaliæ virg.	Elalia
11. Damasi pape & confesso.	Damasi epis.	Damas.
12. Pauli episcopi & confes	Pauli epis. *Sol in Capric.*	*Sun in Capricorn*
13. Lucie virginis & martyris.* *Principium hyemis.*	Lucie vir.	Lucie
14. Othilie virginis	Othiliæ virg.	Januarij
15. Valerii epi. *Solstitium* [*hyemale*‖]	Valerii epis.	Valerius
16. O Sapientia *Sol in Capricorno.*	Melerii *O sapientia*	O sapient
17. Lazari epi. & confessoris	Lazari epis.	Laza. bishop
18. Gratiani epi. & confessoris	Graciani epis.	Graci. bishop
19. Wenesie virginis	Venesiæ virg.	Crepin
20. Julii martyris. Vigilia	Iulii mar. *Vigil.*	July *Fast*
21. *Sancti Thome apostoli**	*Thomæ apost.*	*Thomas Ap.*
22 Sanctorum triginta Martyrum	Triginta mart.	xxx mart.
23. Sancte Victorie virginis	Victoriæ virg.	Victor. vir.
24. Sanctarum Virginum xl. Vigilia	40. Virgi. *Vigil.*	Candidi *Fast*
25. *Natiuitas domini nostri Jesu Christi*	*Natiuitas domi.*	*Christmas*
26. *Stephani prothomartyris**	*Steph prothoma.*	*S. Steven*
27. *Johannis apostoli & evangeliste**	*Johan apo. & euan.*	*S. John Eu.*
28. *Sanctorum Innocentium**	*Sanct. Innocent.*	*Innocents*
29. *Thome archiepiscopi & martyris**	Thomæ arch. Cant.	Thom. Beck.
30. Translatio sancti Jacobi	Transl. Iacobi	Trans. of Ja.
31. Syluestri pape* & martyris	Siluestri epis.	Syluester bi.

* See January foot-note. ‡ Notes. ‖ Not in Sarum Horæ 1535.

NOTES.

January 5 (1617). "Odw:" is misprinted for "Edw."

9, 10 (1617). Paul the Hermit (10th) is pushed out of his place by "Sun in Aquaries" and occupies the day (9th) belonging of right to Judocus.

11–14 (1617). The compiler allows the note of the Kalends of February to remove St. Felix from his place on the 14th and gives him the 12th belonging to S. Arcadius, and Arcadius the 11th to the exclusion of St. Hyginus.

18. See *Errata* at end of *Preces Privatæ*, 1564. "Initium Regni Edwardi .6. quod in Calendario .18. diei Mensis ianuarij falso ascribitur, referatur in .28. diem eiusdem Mensis."

February 8. S. Ciri: in the Sarum Horæ is Cyriacus martyred at Rome with Paul and Lucius. The entry "Sun in Pisces" drives S. Paul from the 8th to the 9th, Apollonia from the 9th to the 10th, Scholastica from the 10th to the 11th, and extrudes Frideswide altogether.

11, 12. Alban Butler gives Sotheris to the 10th February, and Euphrasia to the 13th of March.

17. Policio misprinted for Policro: in 1617.

March 2. Cedde in all three books substituted for his brother Chad, who is commemorated in the Anglican Calendar, and in the Sarum Book in English Edition, 1884.

3. in 1617 "Martini" is apparently misprinted for "Maurin."

5. I do not understand 'per' in the Sarum Horæ: perhaps a misprint for pet, meaning Peter of Castelnau commemorated on this day.

11 (1617). *Equinoctium* takes the place of S. Quirinus.

12. Here and elsewhere 1564 has "Bishop of Rome" in place of "Pope"; 1617 usually, but not always, replacing "Pope."

13. The figure 13 is duplicated in 1617, and the following numbers are all misprinted accordingly, the second 13 being really the 14th, 14 the 15th and so on. I have entered them as they should be, the Lectionary being rightly printed.

24 (23). "Tran. of a frn." I cannot explain this entry in 1617.

25. The "Init: Reg: Jac:" which was really on the 24th is entered in 1617 on the 24th (error for 25th), relegating the Annunciation to the 25th (error for 26th).

26. Castorius in 1564 is, I suppose, Castulus.

27. 1564 and 1617 have Dorothea on this day instead of as in Sarum Horæ on the 28th. According to Baring Gould 27th was the Translation. Butler does not mention her.

28 (1617) here repeats St. Benedict (in the Octave).

April 8. Alban Butler gives July 18 as S. Odulph's day.

11. "Buthlac" misprint in 1617 for "Guthlac."

12. Simon (in 1617) is perhaps a mistake for Zeno.

13. Julian (in 1617) perhaps an error for Justin, whom Gould places on this day, but A. Butler on the 14th; or else for Pope Julius whom both place on the 12th.

23. St. Mark is placed (1617), wrongly, on St. George's day, St. George on St. Wilfrid's (24th), and St. Wilfrid on St. Mark's (25th).

May 7 "ben" misprinted in 1617 for "beu."

9 (1564). The translation of St. Jerome on this day is thus recorded in the Roman Martyrology: Romæ Translatio sancti Hieronymi Presbyteri et Ecclesiæ doctoris, ex Bethleem Judæ ad basilicam sanctæ Mariæ ad præsepe.

9 (1617). "Mi" is perhaps misprinted for "Nic," the "Mi" in the day before catching the printer's eye.

10 (1617). "*Sun in Gemini*" forces S. Antony down to the 11th, and excludes S. Pancratius.

12 (1564). Sol in Gemini excludes St. Pancratius.

24 (1617). This is Martha Vidua, S. Symeonis Junioris Stylitæ mater.

June 7 (1617). Unintelligible. "Dol" perhaps stands for "Wul."

10 and "John" perhaps for "Ivo."

14 (1564). The Day of St. Exuperius seems to be Sept. 28, q.v.

17. 1564 and the Edition of 1573, and 1617, give this day to St. Alban instead of the 22nd as in the Sarum books, 1617 having him (Albane) on this last date also, and another (Albon) on the 29th July (possibly the date of some translation). The entry on the 17th in 1564 was not accidental; for by it St. Alban moves St. Botolph, whose day it was also, and pushes SS. Mark & Marcellian, SS. Gervasius & Prothasius one day on,

totally excluding the Transl. of S. Edward on the 20th; on which day 1617, which followed the precedents of 1564, excludes also SS. Gervasius & Prothasius for K. James's birthday, giving however the true date, the 19th.

19. "Mary" misprinted for "Mark" in 1617.

25. "Crans." misprinted in 1617 for "Trans."

July 1. Following the error of the Revisers of 1604, 1617 places the Visitation B.V.M. on the 1st and accordingly shifts the occupants of the first 15 days one day back. This was repeated in the book of 1650, but corrected in the revision of 1662. Thus, on the

6th. The Dog days take the place, not, as shown in the 1617 book, of SS. Peter and Paul, but of the Transl: of St. Thomas.

9. The Seven brethren (1617) should be on the 10th.

10 (1617). So also Transl of Bar: belongs to the 11th, and "Bar" is probably a misprint for Ben[edict].

12. "Prim" (misprint in 1617 for "Priv"[atus].

14. Divisio popul[m]. Probably in error for the usual "Divisio apostolorum," which is thus explained in *The Martiloge in Englysshe after the vse of the chirche of Salisbury* (printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1526, and reprinted for the Henry Bradshaw Society in 1893, ed. Procter and Dewick):—"The .xv. daye of July. . . . . This daye also is remembred y[e] diuisyon & insonder departynge of the .xij. apostles in to the worlde abrode to preche y[e] fayth of Chryst."

14. } Translation of St. Osmund. This was properly on the 16th (1457) but has been pushed
16. } out of its place by the August Kalends wrongly printed "Augustine" in the 1617 book.

18. No doubt Arnold (in 1617) is an error for Arnulph.

29. This other Alban is inexplicable unless it commemorates a translation.

August 1. Lammas; as in 1604, 1660, and 1662.

9–13. "fe" in 1617 for "fellows."

15. "Sun in virg." takes the place of the Assumption (1617); but it appears on the Octave (22nd).

19. Mary Magd. Perhaps a printer's error in 1617 for the very doubtful S. Magnus, of Sarum and 1564.

Sept. 7. Enurchus (instead of Evurtius as in Sarum Horæ) in 1564 and 1662. The day is left blank in 1617. In 1569 (see below) we have, "Enurch bis."

9. "Grego:" in 1617. Perhaps an error for "Gorgo"[nius].

22. See Aug. 9.

Nov. 7. Wilfrid. I suppose an error in 1617 for Willibrord.

10, 11. The two SS. Martin are transposed in the 1564 book.

18. St. Hugh appears both on this day, and on his proper day, the 17th, in 1617, occupying the Octave of St. Martin, which is placed in error on St. Elizabeth's day.
Queen Mary died on the 17th Nov.

21. "Prele" in 1617 wrongly printed for "Prese"[ntation].

Dec. 3, 4. SS. Barbara and Osmund are transposed in 1617.

*** Mr. Dewick has called my attention to another occurrence of St. Alban on June 17th in the calendar of a very rare Psalter of 1569, which is at present in the hands of Messrs. Ellis and Elvey, the well-known booksellers in New Bond Street. The title of the book is, "The Psalter, | or Psalmes of Da|vid, after the translation | of the great Bible, | poynted as it shall | be sayd or song in | Churches. | With the morning and | evening prayer, and certaine | additions of Collects, and | other the ordinarie service, | gathered out of the | booke of common | prayer. | Imprinted at London by | William Seres | Anno 1569." |

This book, like the *Common Prayer* of 1617 not only has "Alban mar." on June 17, but also on June 22 and July 29. Many of the mistakes in the book of 1617 are found also in that of 1569. Amongst them we notice: Jan. 30, Battel King; Feb. 17, Policio bish.; March 3, Martine; Apr. 13, Buthalke; April 12, Simon mar.; May 2, Arthan bishop; Aug. 19, Mary Mag.; Oct. 12, Wilfri. virg. It thus seems probable that the printer of 1617 had the book of 1569 before him, and this conjecture is confirmed when we find that the days of March are all wrongly numbered in 1569. The first day has no number, and the days which ought to be 2–31 are numbered 1–30. In 1617 the numbering of the first 13 days has been put right, but the wrong numbering has been followed for the latter half of the month. In some few cases 1617 has mistakes which are not found in 1569. Thus on June 7, 1569 has: Trans. Wol. [i.e. Wolstan], but 1617 has: Trans. Dol.

NOTES ON THE DAY ASSIGNED TO ST. CYPRIAN OF CARTHAGE IN THE PRAYER BOOK CALENDAR.

BY

DR. J. WICKHAM LEGG, F.S.A.

The discussion upon the change in the day of the month on which St. Alban is commemorated in the Prayer Book Calendar has led me to note that there is yet another Saint's day in the same Calendar with the placing of which some are not satisfied. There are Calendars in existence purporting to follow the lines of the Book of Common Prayer, in which the commemoration of St. Cyprian of Carthage is moved from September 26th, which it now fills, to September 16th, the day on which this Saint is commemorated in the modern Roman Calendar. If, however, this change be considered to be a return to antiquity, nothing could be more unfortunate, for before the sixteenth century no St. Cyprian was commemorated on September 16th.

To understand better the commemoration of St. Cyprian of Carthage, let us look at the history of the calendar of the Prayer Book. In the Calendar of the book of 1604, there is, on September 26th, this simple entry: Cyprian. It is the same in the Calendar of the book of 1636. Now, a black letter edition of this date served as the foundation of the new edition of 1662, in which the revisers made their changes and additions in writing; and this book has been happily preserved. It has been photolithographed in modern times,[1] and thus made easy of access. In this book the letter "S" has been prefixed to the plain entry "Cyprian," and after it come the words "Archb. of Carthage, and M." In the Book annexed to the Act of Uniformity this entry appears as: "S. Cypr: Ar. B. of Carth & M."[2] which is duly expanded in the ordinary Prayer Books of daily use.

The "Cyprian" commemorated in the Calendar of 1604 is probably the Cyprian commemorated on this day with Justina, a virgin, in the Sarum and York Calendars, not to speak of others yet in manuscript. This Cyprian, also a bishop and martyr according to the Calendars, had been originally a magus, or wise man: I suppose we should call him now-a-days a quack: he was hired by one Idas to give love philtres to Justina, but in this unholy work he met his equal, and Justina converted the quack, and both were martyred together:

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[1] *Fac-simile of the Black-letter Prayer Book containing manuscript alterations, &c* London: Longman, 1871.

[2] *Fac-simile of the original manuscript of the Book of Common Prayer, signed by Convocation December 20th, 1661, &c.* London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1891.

at Nicomedia under Decius according to Simeon Metaphrastes,[1] under Diocletian according to the Roman Martyrology; a difference of over fifty years: and had not Dr. Ramsay, the professor of humanity at Aberdeen, taught us caution in rejecting entirely the legends of the saints, we might be inclined to set aside the whole story as mythical.

So much for SS. Cyprian and Justina. Let us return to the great St. Cyprian of Carthage. He was martyred on September 14th. On the same day, a few years before, his contemporary Cornelius, bishop of Rome, had died, perhaps a natural death, though the Church has held both for martyrs. They were commemorated together on September 14th in all Calendars of the West down to the sixteenth century; but the festival of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross caused these martyrs to be commemorated in the second place, even as the introduction of the festival of St. Thomas Aquinas on March 7th has now displaced the ancient saints Perpetua and Felicitas; these, although highly honoured by their mention amongst the saints in the canon of the mass, are now reduced to a mere commemoration in the second place in the modern Calendar of Pius V.

This remembrance of Holy Rood and of SS. Cornelius and Cyprian on the same day went on through the middle ages up to the ill-fated sixteenth century. The Calendars before this century show the commemoration of these two saints on this day with surprising uniformity.

One exception may be in the ancient Mozarabic Calendar printed by Leslie at the end of his Mozarabic Missal, in which St. Cyprian, without Cornelius or any mention of the Holy Cross, is celebrated on September 14th.[2] So on a marble slab, said to be of the ninth century, belonging to the church of St. John Baptist at Naples, St. Cyprian appears without St. Cornelius, and after St. Cyprian there is: "et exaltatio S. Crucis."[3] The precedence given to St. Cyprian and St. Cornelius over the Exaltation of the Holy Cross sometimes extends into the middle ages. In the Westminster Missal, which is of the fourteenth century, SS. Cornelius and Cyprian, pontiffs, come first in the Sanctorale, and the Exaltation of the Cross second.[4]

The earliest indication of a change that I have found is in the Calendar of the first recension of the Quignon Breviary where the saints are moved to September 15th with the remark: *Fuerunt heri.*[5] In the Calendar of the second recension they are moved to September 17th with the remark: *Fuerunt* 14. *huius*, and they are kept also on the same date in the reformed Breviary of the Humiliati which was published in 1548.[6] In the Calendar of the Cordovan Missal of 1561,[7] both Cornelius and Cyprian, and Justina and Cyprian, have been moved: the former appear on September 17th, the latter on September 18th.

But in the Pian reform of the Roman Breviary in 1568 SS. Cornelius and Cyprian were placed upon September 16th, and, as may be imagined, this change has had great influence upon all Western Calendars. On the other hand, the Ambrosian Missal of 1594, said to have

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[1] L. Surius, *de vitis sanctorum*, Venetiis, 1581, t. v. p. 120.b.

[2] *Missale Mixtum secundum regulam beati Isidori dictum Mozarabes*, Romae 1755, p. 632.

[3] A. S. Mazochii *in vetus marmoreum s. neapolitanae ecclesiae Kalendarium commentarius*, 1755, vol. iii. Copperplate at end of volume.

[4] *Missale ad usum ecclesie Westmonasteriensis*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 1893, fasc. ii. col. 945.

[5] *Breviarium Romanum, a Francisco Cardinali Quignonio editumet recognitum*, Cambridge University Press, 1888, p. xli

[6] See the *Transactions* of this Society, 1886-90, vol. ii. p. 288.

[7] *Missale Cordubensis Ecclesiae*, Cordubae, 1561.

been prepared by St. Charles Borromeo, but not published till some years after his death, changed SS. Cornelius and Cyprian to September 12th, on which day these saints continue to be remembered in the church of Milan. The Cistercians resisted any change to 1617, for both Missal and Breviary published in that year have SS. Cyprian and Cornelius on September 14th, though in a Cistercian *Diurnum* of 1666 I find the two saints on the 16th, the modern place.[1] But the Charterhouse monks[2] still cleave as ever to the old paths, and the last edition of their Missal has Cornelius and Cyprian on September 14th, with Holy Cross Day. The Carmelites seem to have long done as Rome does;[3] the Dominicans for near a couple of hundred years have kept SS. Cornelius and Cyprian on September 18th,[4] while the Austin Friars in 1697 kept Cornelius and Cyprian with Cyprian and Justina on the 26th,[5] the very day on which the Calendar of the Book of Common Prayer has St. Cyprian of Carthage alone.

In the Como Breviary of 1523, the old commemoration is preserved;[6] but in the Breviary of 1585 Cornelius and Cyprian are both commemorated on September 17th.[7] This Aquileian rite was abolished almost immediately after the publication of this edition of the Breviary by the Patriarch, named Barbaro.

Now, during the last century, the French bishops and chapters, in the exercise of their *ius liturgicum*, published an immense number of reformed Breviaries and Missals, and the alterations in these Breviaries in a very large number of instances were suggested by the reformed Clugny Breviary of 1686,[8] and by the *Breviarium Ecclesiasticum*,[9] published at Emmerich in Holland in 1726, a scarce book, a copy of which I am lucky enough to possess; another belongs to Dr. Sparrow Simpson, one of the vice-presidents of this Society.

In the Clugny Breviary we find, for the first time, as far as I am aware, the two saints Cornelius and Cyprian separated from one another. Cornelius is still commemorated on Holy Cross Day, but Cyprian of Carthage is kept as *semifestivum* on September 16th. The same separation has taken place in the *Breviarium Ecclesiasticum;* but St. Cyprian is kept as a feast of three lessons on September 17th. Once suggested, this idea of the separation of the saints was widely followed. In the Paris Breviary of 1700 the saints were commemorated together in the modern Roman fashion on September 16th, while in the Ventimillian reform of 1736 Cornelius is commemorated with Holy Cross on September 14th, and St. Cyprian appears alone as a semi-double on September 16th.

As a rule, the French reformed Breviaries of the last century seem to follow the example set by Clugny and the *Breviarium Ecclesiasticum:* or they may follow the modern Roman.

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[1] *Diurnum Cisterciense*, Lut. Par. apud Franciscum Muguet, 1666.

[2] *Missale Sacri ordinis cartusiensis*, Cartusiae S. Mariae de pratis, 1883.

[3] *Breviarium fratrum, et monialium ordinis. B. Virginis Mariae de Monte Carmelo*, Venetiis, 1760, p. xxiii.

[4] *Missale sacri ordinis Praedicatorum*, Romae, 1705. *Breviarium juxta ritum sacri ordinis Praedicatorum*, Mechliniae, Dessain, 1865. Pars 1. p. xxix.

[5] *Breviarium Augustinianum ad usum fratrum, et monialium ordinis Eremitarum S. Augustini*, Venetiis, 1697.

[6] *Breviarium secundum ritum patriarchalem Comensis ecclesie*, Comi, Gotard de Ponte, 1523, xxx April, 8°.

[7] *Breviarium Patriarchinum nuncupatum secundum usum Ecclesiae Comensis*, Comi, Hieron. Frovam, 1592, 8°. (Colophon has 1585 as date.)

[8] *Breviarium monasticum ad usum sacri ordinis Cluniacensis*, Parisiis, Muguet et Martin, 1686.

[9] *Breviarium Ecclesiasticum*, Embricae, sumptibus Arnoldi Nicolai, 1726, in two parts.

But sometimes they strike out a path of their own, and celebrate St. Cyprian on a day that they have chosen for themselves. For example, the Breviary of Laon (Paris, 1748) has Cornelius and Cyprian both on September 18th. That of Montauban (1784) has Cornelius on the 17th, and Cyprian on the 19th. At Vienne (in 1783) St. Cornelius was on the 16th, St. Cyprian on the 17th. At Comminges (in 1773) St. Cornelius was on the 17th, and St. Cyprian on the 19th. At Meaux (in 1836) they have St. Cyprian on the 16th, but St. Cornelius on the 26th, the day on which we commemorate St. Cyprian.

It is thus seen that the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries were busy in changing the days on which SS. Cornelius and Cyprian were to be commemorated, and it may be remarked that until our own times, and in our country, there was no such idea as we see now tacitly expressed by the critics of the Prayer Book, that a saint having once been commemorated on a particular day, the commemoration must there abide without suffering change: like the law of the Medes and Persians which altereth not. No one acquainted with modern or mediæval Calendars would be so rash as to hold this opinion. To take a few examples ready at hand from the mediæval Calendars: St. Mary of Egypt is usually commemorated on April 2nd, but at Lincoln she appears on April 1,[1] and at Peterborough[2] and in the Missals of Leofric and Robert of Jumièges,[3] at Aquileia, Basle, Brixen, Freising, and many German mediæval Calendars, she is commemorated on April 9th.[4]

St. Mark the Evangelist is usually kept on April 25th, but in England he was kept on May 18th, as the Calendar of the Leofric Missal shows.[5] Mr. Warren tells us that the Bollandists look upon this custom as particular to England.

The Transfiguration of Our Lord is usually kept, as we all know, on August 6th, but it was kept on July 27th at Paris in 1501. and 1543 and at Cambray in 1562.[6]

The Visitation of Our Lady is usually kept on July 2nd, yet at York it was kept on April 2nd, and the incongruity of keeping the Visitation after the birth of St. John Baptist seems to have been felt by the compilers of the *Breviarium Ecclesiasticum*, who fixed the Visitation on June 17th. Nevertheless, the date chosen by the Convocation of York seems better than either the common date or that of the French reformers.

In the Calendars up to the end of the fourteenth century, and longer, Venerable Bede was kept on the same day as St. Augustine, the apostle of the English; in the Prayer Book and Sarum Calendars of 1530 and 1546 Ven. Bede is commemorated on the day after St. Augustine.

Then, to take a modern saint: St. Alphonsus Liguori is commemorated on August 2nd at Rome; on August 19th by the Dominicans; on August 22nd at Milan.

These are instances in which there can be no manner of doubt about the festival: not as when two different saints come near each other like the two St. Barbaras, one on December 4th, the other on December 16th.

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[1] Christopher Wordsworth, *A Kalendar or Directory of Lincoln Use*, in *Archæologia*, 1888. Vol. li. p. 19. 'Mariae Ægyptiacae. Sed in crastino secundum quosdam."

[2] Chr. Wordsworth, *op. cit.* p. 32.

[3] *The Leofric Missal*, ed. F. E. Warren, Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1883, p. 26. *Missal of Robert of Jumièges*, ed. H. A. Wilson, Henry Bradshaw Society, 1896, p. 12.

[4] H. Grotefend, *Zeitrechnung des deutschen Mittelalters*, Hannover, 1892. Bd. II. Ab. i. *passim.*

[5] *Leofric Missal*, p. 27.

[6] *Missale ad usum ecclesie Parisiensis*, Parisiis, Thielman Keruer, 1501. and another edition, Bernard de Leau, 1543. (Colophon 1542.) *Annuale sive officiarium curatorum insignis ecclesiae Cameracencis*, Cameraci, 1562.

But I could go on with similar instances till I wearied the Society. In fact, if anyone will take up a few mediæval Calendars, he will see that there is no hard-and-fast rule binding each bishop and chapter to any particular day for the saints in their Calendar. In the last century, indeed, as we may see, the French bishops left the old lines entirely, but they appear to have been quite within the bounds of the *ius liturgicum* in doing so. Apparently they moved the saints' days from January to June or from June to December, just as seemed to them convenient. Whether, indeed, such revolutionary methods will approve themselves to liturgical students is another matter; but when once these changes are made by authority, private persons can only obey.

This liberty of moving the commemorations of saints from one day to another being shown to be an acknowledged practice, there is no longer any reason for astonishment that the fathers of the English Church moved St. Cyprian of Carthage from the old seat that he had occupied on September 14th for so many hundred years. The new feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross had ejected him and St. Cornelius from their ancient day. The question now was only on what day St. Cyprian was to be placed, and what ancient rules should be followed in fixing the commemoration.

Some of us who have looked at martyrologies and calendars have been struck by the frequence with which saints of the same name are commemorated on one and the same day. On July 1st it would seem that in the early martyrologies the death of Aaron the high priest on Mount Hur was commemorated. So, later, in some editions of Usuard, we find Aaron and Julius martyrs, companions of St. Alban in Great Britain, added to that of the high priest. And we must not forget the two Saint Valentines, which are found on February 14th, even in the first text of Usuard. One is a priest beaten with rods and then beheaded under Claudius Caesar; the other, a bishop of Interamnis, likewise beheaded.[1] Now the confusion between these two martyrs has given rise to much lamenting over the ignorance of the compilers of the Book of Common Prayer: that there is ignorance somewhere cannot be denied, but it does not seem to be with the fathers of 1662; for the Sarum Missal with the Prayer Book commemorates the bishop, while some other rites, including the Roman, commemorate the priest. One rite, that of Como in 1523, commemorates both: the bishop first, the presbyter second.

This practice of placing two saints of the same name on the same day may be well seen in the Martiloge of Richard Whitford, the "wretch of Syon," lately so admirably edited for the Henry Bradshaw Society by Mr. Dewick.[2] This Martiloge (after the use of the church of Salisbury) will show to any one who will look at its index how many saints of the same name are placed on one and the same day. To give a few instances: there are two with the name of Pachomius, on May 14th: two, of Sextus, on August 6th: two, of Donatus, on August 7th: two, of Agotho, on December 7th: two, of Anselm, on July 5th: and so on.

We find the same practice in Du Saussay's *Martyrologium Gallicanum*. Take St. Bartholomew, the Apostle, who, with the rest of the Western dioceses, is kept on August 24th, not, as at Rome, on August 25th. There is on the same day another St. Bartholomew, quite

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[1] *Martyrologium Usuardi monachi quod ad karolum magnum scripsit*, Coloniae Agrip. 1521.

[2] *The Martiloge in Englysshe after the use of the chirche of Salisbury*, ed. Procter and Dewick, Henry Bradshaw Society, 1893.

modern, one who after the death of his wife became a Cistercian monk.[1] At Metz we find a St. Clement, the first bishop of that see, commemorated on November 23rd, the day on which St. Clement, the bishop of Rome, is commemorated.[2]

These cases are enough to show that in the minds of ancient, mediæval, and modern calendar makers there was a feeling in favour of finding a saint with a particular name, and then, somewhat to the confusion of students perhaps, placing upon that saint's day another of the very same name; two saints of the same name being commemorated on one day. If they could not conveniently put the later saint on the very same day, then he was put as near to the first as they could find a vacant spot. Witness the two St. Albans; one, the German, the other, the British martyr; one on June 21st, the other on June 22nd.

With these instances before them, the makers of the Calendar of the Prayer Book might well be led to place St. Cyprian of Carthage on the same day that St. Cyprian of Antioch had taken. They felt obliged to move him from Holy Cross day; and the place most in accordance with mediæval practice was to place him on the same day that St. Cyprian of Antioch had occupied, just in the way that the Austin Friars have done in their Breviary of the seventeenth century.

The confusion between St. Cyprian of Carthage and St. Cyprian of Antioch is of early growth. St. Gregory Nazianzen certainly combines the events in the life of St. Cyprian of Antioch with the events in the life of St. Cyprian of Carthage,[3] and it seems likely enough that Prudentius has done the same thing.[4] Besides, Baronius affirms that amongst the Greeks the confusion is almost universal.[5] Mr. Howard Frere tells me he has found a Sarum Calendar in manuscript with *archbishop* written after Cyprian of Antioch's name on September 26th, which would indicate that even in England there was a like confusion during some part of the middle ages.

At all events, we may be very thankful to the fathers of the Restoration for having put beyond doubt their intention of honouring the great saint of Carthage rather than one of the same name whose very existence seems dubious. It was an indication of the mind of the Church of England; and a warning to the Puritans who even now declaim against St. Cyprian as the father who first corrupted the purity of Christianity by the introduction of sacerdotal doctrines, foreign to the simplicity of the Gospel. Whatever the doctrines taught by St. Cyprian may be, the Church of England has taken pains to approve them by so carefully replacing their author amongst the saints in her reformed Calendar.

Martyrologium Gallicanum, ed. A. du Saussay, Lutetiae Parisiorum, 1637, pp. 544 and 547.

[1] See Rev. E. S. Dewick, "On a MS. Pontifical of a Bishop of Metz of the fourteenth Century," in *Archæologia*, 1895, Vol. liv. p. 412.

[2] Sancti patris nostri Gregorii theologi vulgo Nazianzeni *Opera omnia*, Oratio xxiv. §§ vi-ix. Benedictine ed. Parisiis 1778, t. i. p. 440.

[3] Aurelii Prudentii Clementis *quae exstant carmina*, ed. Albertus Dressel, Lipsiae 1860. Peristephanon xiii. Passio 6. Cipriani martyris, v. 20.

[4] *Martyrologium Romanum* . . . auctore Caesare Baronio Sorano, Venetiis 1587. Septembris 26.

THE ECCLESIOLOGY OF OGHAM INSCRIPTIONS

BY

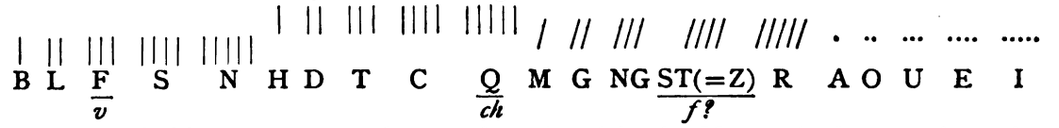
R. A. S. MACALISTER, M.A.

When the officers of the St Paul's Ecclesiological Society did me the honour, at a recent meeting, of asking me to read a paper on Ogham Inscriptions, I was confronted by a serious difficulty. The study of this most remarkable and fascinating branch of Epigraphy is attractive for its antiquarian and philological importance—antiquarian, because these inscriptions are the oldest "contemporary documents" of our islands: philological, because, jointly with the obscure Gaulish inscriptions of the continent, they present the oldest fragments of the Celtic family of languages, and illustrate a period in the history of that important group of tongues untouched by its great manuscript literature. But as monuments of Christianity, in which aspect principally they would appeal to this Society, their value is comparatively small; and we need not expect to find any light thrown by them upon the problems of the early Celtic church, its ritual or organization. In fact, as ecclesiastical documents, they stand in precisely the same position as do the tombstones in English country churchyards. It is true some have thought they found the Irish words for "priest" "bishop" "presbyter" upon some of them; but with the possible exception of the last the transcript has in each case proved erroneous, or the interpretation, to say the least, uncertain.

It seemed to me the best solution of the difficulty to preface my paper with a few preliminary remarks upon the subject in general, which may be useful in elucidating the inscriptions selected; and then cursorily to discuss the more important of those inscriptions which from internal or external evidence seem clearly to be Christian monuments. It may also be useful incidentally to touch upon monuments which seem to bear no definite marks of Christianity (not therefore necessarily non-Christian), and to point the contrast between the two.

The first question to consider is the nature and origin of the script. Respecting this there are two erroneous opinions popularly current: first, that it is a cryptic method of writing; and secondly that it is a variant of the Runic alphabet. The notion that Ogham inscriptions are cryptic received credence some time ago, partly because some vague speculations in Irish manuscripts seemed to favour the idea, and partly because the grammatical forms of Ogham inscriptions are not compatible, at first sight, with those of Celtic MSS. But chaos has been gradually settling into order, and though much relating to these inscriptions remains to be cleared up, nothing is plainer than that they were intended as straightforward documents. There is even less excuse for considering the Ogham as a variant of the Runic Alphabet, with which it has nothing to do. It has a superficial resemblance to the tree-runes or crypt-runes: these however are not runes at all, but arbitrary combinations of strokes (to which meanings are assigned on different principles, all however derived from the order of the letters in the Runic futhork, or alphabet) probably actually suggested by the general appearance of the Ogham alphabet.

The alphabet, or more strictly ***beith-luis-nion*** (from the names of some of its first letters), is as follows. For typographical convenience the stem-line, round which the letters are grouped, is here omitted. It is usually the arris or edge of the stone.



The capital letters represent the sounds assigned in the Manuscript keys to the various letters; but other values, represented in italics, are deduced from an examination of the monuments themselves. The third character is more often *v* than *f*; it is always rendered *v* in the bilingual inscriptions of Wales, even when initial: in Ireland it is only *f* when initial, and that only in late inscriptions—thus we have *Feqreq*, *Furuddrann*. Such equations as *Ivacattos* = *Ebicatos* confirm the secondary value, for a *b* could not represent an *f*. The inscription at Rathcroghan, co. Roscommon, *Fraicci maqi Medvvi*[1] gives us both values of this character. Sometimes, indeed, it represents the semivowel sound after *q*; as in *macv* (= maq) in a Welsh inscription, and *Qveci* and possibly *maqva* in Irish ones. The character *q* is always *qu*, probably *qv* when final; never *k*. As however it is convenient to have a single letter to represent a single character we transliterate it *q*, not *qu* or *qv*. In one inscription the common word *maqi* is written *macui*; which, coupled with the *macv* already quoted, demonstrates the proper pronunciation. In some late inscriptions it seems to stand for *ch*; as in *Feqreq*, which is identical with the *Fiachrach* of the Manuscripts: but it should be understood that the fact that *q*, ||||, has the same number of scores as *ch*, |||| |, is merely a coincidence. The fourth letter of the third group only once occurs in a Celtic Ogham, and that is a very difficult text: we must therefore wait for further discoveries before removing the query from the suggested value *f*, which has been assigned by Prof. Rhys on the strength of very ingenious arguments. It seems to fit very much better than the value assigned in the MSS into the Pictish inscriptions (where the letter occurs several times)—so far as we can understand anything about these texts. It is a curious coincidence that the arranger of the alphabet has hit on the order into which the vowels were classified by the later grammarians.

There is a fifth group of five characters to which diphthongal values are assigned in the MSS: but in the inscriptions, as they are more often than not found between vowels, they must be generally consonantal in value; these consonantal values can be assigned by induction only. When they occur in positions which do not require a consonantal value, they appear rather to be single vowels than diphthongs. The characters are—

(1) a saltire, intersection on the stem-line. *fa* in the MSS, *e* when vocalic in inscriptions. Occurs about 20 times in Celtic Oghams, only in Ireland; in the majority of cases consonantal. The true value is given us by an inscription at Dunloe, co. Kerry, where the name *Toicaχi* corresponds to *Toicaci* on a neighbouring stone. Hence this character = *c*, but to distinguish it from *c* it will be convenient to transliterate it *k*. This character has been confused with the fourth in the same group, and given its value *p*: but *p* will not work in satisfactorily in a single instance.

(2) an oval, like the letter O, crossing the stem-line. *oi* in the MSS, *o* on the stones; where, however, it only occurs two or three times.

[1] If this transcript be correct—I have as yet had no opportunity of verifying it. Fraicci corresponds to the Manuscript form Fraech, and Medvvi to Medb. Compare the oscillations between *g* and *k*, *t* and *d*, in transliterations of 11th century Runic inscriptions.

(3) a spiral, under or to the right of the stem-line. *ui* in the MSS, *u* probably on the stones; but does not certainly occur in any monument, though it is reported on an illegible stone at Rathcroghan, co. Roscommon, and may perhaps appear in a charm cut on a bead from co. Clare, now in the British Museum.

(4) a saltire, under or to the right of the stem-line. *ia* in the MSS: occurs twice in the monuments, once at Crickhowel in Brecon where an associated Latin inscription translates it *p*: it has the same value on a stone in co. Kerry, where it is found in the name *Erpenn*. In the MSS. it is drawn with double lines, but for convenience it is cut with single lines on the stones. Theoretical lapidary value *i*.

(5) Four upright and four horizontal strokes crossing one another—*æ* in MS. keys: only used once, in a note in a MS.; there it has the sense of *sc* or *cc*. Theoretical lapidary value *a*.

When, where, or how this script originated is still a matter of speculation. The Bishop of Stepney's theory, that it is the development of a finger-alphabet invented for secret communication is the most reasonable and satisfactory yet put forward, but it tacitly presupposes the free use of *alphabetic* writing among its inventors previous to its invention. As we do not know the time of the invention, we cannot say whether such was the case or not.

That the character is an invention of the British Islands is probable: for nothing like it has been found elsewhere—not even in Celtic Brittany. It is not easy, however, to decide between the rival claims of Wales and Ireland; the following considerations, however, seem to favour the latter country:—

(I) The language of the Welsh inscriptions is Gaelic, not Cymric: suggesting that they may be the monuments of an Irish colony. Nothing Cymric has been found in Ireland.

(II) The Irish inscriptions preserve older grammatical forms than the Welsh. [These might however have survived later in Ireland than in Wales.]

(III) Had the script been invented in Wales and carried into Ireland we should have expected to find the majority of Irish inscriptions on the eastern side of the country. The exact contrary is, however, the case.

(IV) The Romano-British inscriptions found in Wales shew a considerable amount of Oghamic influence. Unlike inscriptions written in Roman and cognate characters elsewhere, they are inscribed vertically, not horizontally: and they mostly give little but the name and parentage of the person commemorated—such an inscription as VLCAGNI FILI SEVERI is typical. These are the characteristics of Oghams, and in that script are perfectly intelligible. The arris or edge of the stone served as a stem-line, and consequently the inscription was written vertically: and as arris-space is limited, there was generally little room to give more than the name and parentage of the individual. Moreover, the Romano-British inscriptions preserve the very remarkable and unique principle of Oghams, in putting *both* the man's name and his father's in the genitive—the first governed by "gravestone" or some such word, understood, the second governed of course by *maqi* (=*fili* of the Romano-British inscriptions), itself a genitive in apposition with the first name: compare the inscription just given with *Doveti maqqi Cattini*, a Kerry Ogham inscription. As no other comparable class of inscriptions present these characteristics, we must regard Romano-British inscriptions as influenced in style by Oghamic traditions: *i.e.*, we must consider Ogham inscriptions as older, as a class, than Romano-British. In Wales, however, both classes are contemporary: in all but one or two exceptional cases the Ogham is interpreted by an associated Latin

inscription: in one instance the Ogham is cut on a cast-off Roman altar. Hence, to find the oldest Oghams we must look for inscriptions free from Roman influence: and we only find such in Ireland.

If then Ireland seems to be the cradle of the Ogham character, let us commence our Ogham tour in that ancient country. As we do not know for certain whereabouts in the country the invention took place, we shall simply start from the capital and proceed southwards. It is remarkable that most of the inscriptions are on the sea-board, so that by coasting round the country we shall pass on our way all of importance.

The East coast is, as already hinted, unproductive. Co. Dublin has yielded only one inscription, which is illegible: Wicklow contains two. One lies, or lay when I saw it, prostrate by the road-side at Castletimon: in the field behind are two gigantic menhirs or standing pillar-stones; a little distance in the opposite direction is a dilapidated dolmen. Paganism is stamped on the surroundings: and there is nothing in the inscribed stone to contradict it: there is no cross: and the inscription simply reads *Netacari Netacagn(i)*—(Stone) of Netacar son of Netaca. This is an extremely interesting and valuable monument, as it well illustrates the formation of Oghamic proper names. These are formed from a simple element—itself a name—by prefixing or postfixing certain syllables, which probably were significant, though it would be rash to attempt to assign meanings to them in the majority of cases. The most frequent prefix is *Neta:* thus we have *Llominacca, Netta-l(a)minacca: Fraicci, Nuata-froqi, Niotta-frecc.*[1] Of postfixes we have (in the genitive) *-gni, -ini, -iti* (or *-eti*, later *-ett*), *-aidonas* (later *-aidona*), *-viccas* (later *-vicca* and *-viq*), and perhaps *-lo;* thus from the simple name *Erc*, we have *Eraqetai, Ercaidana, Ercavicca.* From *Bevv* we get *Biviti, Bivaidonas*, from *Dov-* (not yet found in a simple form) *Dovi-nia(s), Doveti, Dovaidona.* That the suffix *-gni* had a patronymic value is shewn by the Monataggart (co. Cork) inscription *Dalagni maqi Dali*, and this value is required by such an inscription as this at Castletimon: *-ini*, which was probably cognate with this, was either patronymic or diminutive: compare the Romano-British SEVERINI FILI SEVERI at Llan Newydd. That these suffixes were not always intrinsic parts of the name is shewn by a bilingual inscription at Camp, co. Kerry, where *Conun-ett* answers to *Cununi;* and by one at Llanfechan, Cardigan, where *Trenaccat-lo* answers to TRENECATUS. It is curious that couplets of names formed from the same simple name, with different suffixes, often occur in neighbouring situations. *Eraqetai* and *Ercaidana* are from two stones in the same group: so are *Doveti* and *Dovinia. Ercavicca* and *Erc* are not far off from one another, neither are *Cattini* and *Catuviqq.* On the other hand community of suffix often distinguishes names from the same locality. There is a little crop of *-viqs* at Drumloghan in Waterford: *Calunoviq, Laveac, Denaveq. Bivaidonas* and *Dovaidona* are both at Ballaqueeny, Isle of Man. VINNEMAGLI FILI SENEMAGLI occurs at Gwytherin, Denbigh: and from Glannawillen, Cork, comes the nearest parallel I can find (with regard to the formation of the names) to this at Castletimon, *Dumanesco maqi Dovalosci.*[2]

The other Wicklow stone happens to be at Donard, one of the ecclesiastical foundations of St Patrick's great predecessor Palladius. There is nothing about the inscription to occupy

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[1] Oghamic orthography is perfectly arbitrary.

[2] This is the nearest I can get to a transcript of this inscription, which I only know from a paper squeeze. There is another angle inscribed, but I can make nothing certain of it.

us at present, though it is of considerable interest. It may or may not be connected with the Palladian church, or else with the numerous megalithic and other prehistoric remains which add the charm of antiquity to that lovely spot. It is not associated by its position with either, and at present its date must remain ambiguous.

About four or five miles from Donard, just within the boundary of Kildare, lies the ancient cemetery of Killeen Cormaic, one of the most remarkable sites in Ireland. Its origin is wrapped in the mists of weird folklore. However old it may be originally, it was certainly used as a burial-place in early christian times and retains that use to this day—an almost unique circumstance, as the prehistoric cemeteries of Ireland are generally carefully reserved for the unbaptized or for suicides. There is not the slightest sign of a church ever having existed here.

There were four very remarkable monuments in the cemetery: three of these are at present intact, the fourth has within the last few years been destroyed in order to supply material for a boundary wall for the cemetery! This illfated stone bore a very interesting name *Macdeccedda*, genitive *Maqideccedda*, which also occurs, once in Cork, thrice in Kerry, once in Anglesea, and once in Devonshire. It was probably a name denoting some characteristic—"son of" (such a quality) being equivalent to "one who possesses or displays" (that quality).[1] It has commonly, though erroneously I think, been taken as a tribal name = *Mac Deccedda*, son of (one of the race of) Decced. There are three objections to this: first, the persons bearing the name are too much scattered to have belonged to one tribe[2]: secondly, Macdeccedda is always (with one exception) the personal name of the owner of the stone, never his ancestor's name: thirdly, *muco*, not *mac*, is the word to denote a tribesman.

Another Killeen Cormaic stone bears two inscriptions, one in Ogham the other in Latin. It is in memory of one Uvan: the Latin *seems* to give his father's name—IVVENE DRVVIDES, Iuvan son of Drui; the Ogham gives his grandfather's, *Uvanos avi Ivacattos*, of Uvan grandson of Ivacatt. Only three bilinguals exist in Ireland.

A third stone is interesting as bearing an extremely rude, and seemingly very ancient, bust of Our Lord, engraved at its head. There is an appearance of scoring on one angle, but nothing definite. The fourth inscription is now illegible.

Unimportant fragments alone await us in Carlow and Wexford. We shall therefore turn aside into Kilkenny, which stands at the threshold of the Ogham country.

Kilkenny is an excellent county for the ecclesiologist. The remains of no less than seven abbeys exist in the city of Kilkenny (though considerable remains of one or two alone exist) as well as St Canice's Cathedral, a perfect architectural gem, containing a marvellous collection of sepulchral effigies and incised slabs; there are also many quaint though dilapidated buildings in the same city. Jerpoint, Gowran, Freshford, Ullard, are, or ought to be, well known names in connection with interesting and beautiful architectural works of art: the doorway of Freshford church is perhaps as fine a small Romanesque composition as is to be seen anywhere. We must not, however, linger over these remarkable buildings at present; but in connection with

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[1] A similar name is *Mactreni*, perhaps = "son of the strong one" or "son of strength." That it is not *Mac Treni* (filius Treni) is proved by the Cilgerran inscription TRENEGUSSI FILI MAQVITRENI. Compare the Buckland Monachorum SA$^{R}_{B}$INI FILI MACCVDECHETI.

[2] Contrast the monuments of the races of Toicac at Dunloe and of Duibne in Corcaguiney.

three of the co. Kilkenny churches are found Ogham inscriptions, and as these three stones are useful types of well-marked classes, it will be important to pay some attention to them.

The first class to consider is that in which we have a presumably christian monument, standing in an ancient churchyard. An example of this we find at Tullaherin, some four or five miles from Kilkenny. The ancient church at this village is of high interest; the building as it stands may not be very old, but it is built on the site of a church the character of whose masonry brings us back perhaps to the earliest ages of Christianity in Ireland. Three feet or so of these venerable walls remain above ground, forming the substructure of the later building. Near the south-west corner of the church is the stump of a once superb round tower: and in the churchyard, on the south side of the church, is a fragment of an Ogham pillar. This is either *in situ*, marking the grave of some ancient Christian who was wont to worship here, or else has been appropriated from elsewhere as a convenient stone to mark the humble grave of some modern villager whose friends were too poor to afford a regular tombstone—such pathetic memorials are to be found in almost every country cemetery in Ireland. But what seems to negative the latter hypothesis is the fact that the stone is of sandstone, which is not the local stone; the whole neighbourhood is limestone, and it is in the highest degree unlikely that a sandstone block would be imported as a makeshift of poverty. The round tower is also sandstone: perhaps we may infer from this that the person commemorated was contemporary with that building—possibly was even concerned with its erection. Tullaherin Church was founded by St Ciaran in *circa* 520 A.D., but the tower is probably of a date three or four hundred years later. I am inclined to refer the ancient part of the church walls to St Ciaran's time.

Four miles from Tullaherin, in a north-easterly direction, we reach the little town of Gowran. It has always been a matter of surprise to me that the beautiful church which stands in its midst should be so little known: with the exception of an inferior cut and plan in Grose's Antiquities, I have failed to find any illustration of it. It is a very striking Lancet church, once apparently cruciform, with central tower; the west window is of exceptionally graceful design. The roofless nave is strewed with a large collection of monumental effigies and incised slabs, many of great interest.

Among the monuments in the church is to be found an Ogham inscribed stone, on which I will dwell for a little, as it presents some important features. I do not give a reading of the inscription here, for it is still a subject of dispute: let it suffice to say that the inscription is engraved on two angles, and runs over the head of the monument: at the opposite end a conspicuous cross is engraved.

Moreover, there is no question that the inscription contains the name *Eracias*, an archaic genitive form: we have therefore to explain the cross on the stone, for from grammatical considerations alone one would be almost inclined to regard this inscription as pre-christian. It should be explained that its connection with the church is apparent rather than real. It was found built into the chancel wall some fifty years ago when that part of the church was rebuilt for worship.

When the stone was placed erect either the cross or the upper part of the inscription must have been buried. There is a story in one of the MSS about a buried Ogham, but such an arrangement would have been so absolutely futile and absurd in real life that we can scarcely credit it: the object for which the inscription was cut at all would be by no means obvious. Yet such a theory has been put forward by scholars of high learning. Their

"explanation" is a gratuitous assumption that the persons commemorated by these monuments had some stain on birth or character, and that therefore their monuments were obscured by being inscribed in a cryptic character, which was then concealed underground. This ingenious trifling however defeats its own ends. There was an Ogham inscription found at Knockoran, co. Cork, which is read thus (I do not say whether correctly or not—I have had as yet no means of knowing)—

+ ANNACCANNI MARI AILITTAR
(Stone) of Annaccann, Mary's pilgrim

—and it is pointed to as an instance of a buried legend, for it would not be possible to erect the stone without concealing the cross or the end of the legend. It has escaped those who treat the inscription thus that the sinner's *name* would remain in broad daylight, the redeeming fact that he was "Mary's pilgrim" being the portion concealed! We may likewise reject the hypothesis of the burial of the cross; and are compelled to accept the view that the cross was cut subsequently to the inscription. Some early Irish Christians, who could not, or did not care to, read the inscription, annexed the stone as a convenient memorial of one of their own friends: they carved the symbol of their religion on the butt-end, where they had the widest space (they were probably illiterate, so added no epitaph), and stuck the inscribed portion in the earth, where it probably remained till seized by the Gothic builders for masonry material. The second class is thus the (conceivably) pre-Christian stone re-appropriated for a christian memorial.

The third class of Ogham with Christian associations is the stone used as material for a church building. In the little oratory at Claragh, between Gowran and Kilkenny, we have such a stone actually built into the church wall. This is a most interesting building: the nave is apparently of the 14th century, without any remarkable features; the chancel however displays the primitive Celtic masonry, and may be 7th or 8th century. A pretty little Romanesque window has been inserted in the east wall; and the masons who executed this work adapted an Ogham-inscribed stone as a sill for the window. When discovered the scores were so concealed by the masonry that they could not be read: the local antiquaries of Kilkenny have now brought the stone forward a little and it has been satisfactorily deciphered. Nothing can be clearer than the fact that it had lost all sentimental associations when the little early window was inserted, I suppose in the 11th century. The stone has been used much as even comparatively modern tombstones are often used—torn from their proper places to form grass-plot borders and (*horresco referens!*) paving stones.

As a late example of the use of Ogham may be mentioned a series of seven proper names engraved on a beautiful silver brooch of c. 11th century workmanship, found at Ballyspellan in this county and now in the National Museum at Dublin. The names are probably those of the owner and her ancestors, or else of successive owners—the fact that one name recurs favours the former hypothesis. One of the names *Maelmaire*, "tonsured servant of Mary" is of a sufficiently ecclesiastical type.

As we proceed westward from Kilkenny we find a rapid increase in the number of these inscriptions. Waterford has nearly 40 examples as yet known. These Waterford monuments present some points of interest. There seems to have been some provincialisms of pronunciation in this district in Oghamic times; two of its inscriptions, for instance, shew a tendency

to change *c* to *g*; these are at Drumloghan, where *magu Nogati* = *macu Nocati* (*macu* being dative of *maq* and *Nocati* a well known name) and at Ardmore, where I think *Dolatibigais* would elsewhere be *Dolativiccas:* the termination *-vic* has already been commented upon. The latter name also illustrates the tendency displayed by the Waterford monuments to broaden vowels into diphthongs; with the primitive *-s* termination remaining we have *Rottais*, on a valuable inscription at Drumloghan: elsewhere we have, without the *s*, *Colinea*, *Cunee*, *Tonea*, *-enai*, *Cunalegea*, and, I believe, *Firiqorboi;* and in the middle of words *Nuata-froqi* and *Deagos*. Similar expansion is found elsewhere (especially in the neighbouring county of Cork); but it does not appear so persistently as in Waterford.

Of Waterford Oghams, even of those found on Christian sites, there are none that bear any definite marks of Christianity. They are mostly found in or near prehistoric cemeteries. Thus there is a group of 10 at Drumloghan which have been taken at some later time to form a curious subterranean chamber; another group of 3 at Stradbally; 4 at Kilgrovane; 7 at Seskinan; 2 at Old Island. The Seskinan stones have been nearly all built into the walls of a church now ruined: they have been shockingly maltreated by the masons, and in all probability fragments of others may yet be found in the building. There is a fair number of stones inscribed on three angles—everywhere a rarity; Waterford contains four such. One at Drumloghan reads *Cunalegea maqi Cetai desxadc Qveci*, where the fourth word remains unexplained. Another at Stradbally reads *Qrit . . . i maqi Lobaton avi Nia Gracolinea*, "stone of Qrit . . . . son of Lobaton, grandson of Nia Gracolin." Another at Ardmore, one of the longest we have, reads *Lugudeccas maqi Dolatibigais gob . . . (mu)coi Netasegamonas* —of Lugdach son of Dolativic the smith (?) son [*i.e.*, of the race of] Netasegamain. The name *Lugudeccas* is interesting, as on various stones it illustrates all the changes through which the genitives of nouns passed during the Ogham period. At Kilgrovane we find the *s* gone, and get *Lugudeca;* at Kilcullen in Cork *Luguduc*, where the *a* has also gone. This stone and two others were found built into the walls of the famous ecclesiastical remains at Ardmore.

Cork has so far yielded nearly 80 inscriptions. In the early part of this paper we remarked on the general absence of Latin influence in the Irish Oghams. But one inscription in the eastern part of the county gives us a startling exception in the name *Drutiquli*, where the diminutive seems unquestionable.

Another, now lost, read *Sagittari*, which may or may not have had some reference to the Latin *sagittarius*.

At Coolineagh, in East Muskerry barony, were formerly six stones; only two are there now, the rest being deposited in public or private museums. One of these introduces us to a new word, and that a perplexing one, *anm*, which is obviously a contraction for something, though what it is is not certain. If it be a noun it must have the meaning of "resting-place" or something similar; if it be a verb it must be equivalent to *hic jacet*. There is something to be said for either of these possibilities. The inscription begins *Anm Corre . . .*, but the rest is obscure.[1] Some rough crosses have been scratched on this stone, and an ingenious person has cut a line across the last *t*, making a cross of it. Popular tradition calls this St Olan's stone; but the name of St Olan appears neither in the inscription nor in hagiology.

[1] Various copyists, all of course anxious to get an accurate transcript, have made *maq(i) Guudgeatt*, *mac Suidd-aptt*, *mac Fuiddeguptt*, and *maq Fu(r)ddegeatt:* this illustrates the extreme difficulty of transcribing Ogham texts correctly, when the loss of, or carelessness in cutting, a single score may upset an entire reading.

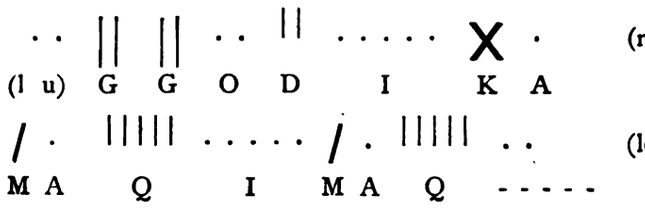
At Monataggart, not very far from the last-named site, a ost interesting and valuable collection of stones came to light some 20 years ago. As is often the case, they had been utilised in constructing an underground sepulchral chamber, and in consequence were in an unusually perfect state of preservation. The only one of the four stones which shews any considerable sign of weatherwear is a magnificent block nearly 8 ft. long. It bears a long but only partially intelligible inscription, displaying the *-s* genitives prominently throughout. The fact that this stone, from its condition, is manifestly the oldest of the four, and had evidently endured a much longer exposure than its fellows before they were reappropriated, is very strong corroborative evidence of the deductions drawn by philologists from the varying grammatical forms of these inscriptions. On the other hand another of these inscriptions is very late in date: perhaps it is even as late as the 10th century. The inscription is meant to read *Feqreq moqoi Glunlegget;* but the engraver has been foolish enough to interchange the side-scores, *i.e.* to write a *t* for an *f*, an *n* for a *q*, and so on throughout. Decadent eccentricities such as this are common in the latest period of an alphabetic system, as in that of an architectural style. Runic inscriptions offer some curious parallels. Again, the letter *q* has become practically *ch;* for *Feqreq* = *Fiachrach.* Thirdly, the words, at least the first two words, are divided by a well marked space: a feature unfortunately unknown in all the earlier Oghams. It is curious that such a late inscription as this bears no cross.

One or two other Cork inscriptions have been found in close connection with ecclesiastical sites, but those I have mentioned are the most important.

In Kerry we reach the culminating point; about 100 inscriptions are there to be found. Fully half of these are concentrated in Corcaguiney, the peninsula between Dingle and Tralee. It is strange that only one example has been found to the North and East of Tralee.

The Corcaguiney group is very interesting in many ways. Several of them bear the name of Duibne, in the Oghamic form Dovinia. She was the ancestress of the sept after which this barony was named—Corco ui Dhuibhne. These are all of early date and it would be beside the purpose of the present paper to discuss them. But there is one very remarkable little slab from Aglish, now in the Dublin Museum, about whose Christian origin there can be no question. The early Christian Irish form of standing tombstone is well-known: a flat slab, set upright in the ground, bearing a well-designed cross cut on one face. More often than not it is uninscribed: a few bear Irish inscriptions: only one is inscribed in Oghams—this Aglish example. A very neat "Maltese" cross inscribed in a circle is cut on one face; it seems to have had a stem, now much worn: on either side of the stem, curiously enough, is a swastica. The inscription, contrary to the usual custom, commences on the right angle of the main face and runs over down the left. The blank butt end, by which the stone was secured to the ground, is lost, and a few scores from the bottom end of each angle are lost too. The inscription runs—

The loss of one or more scores from an *n*, for instance, will reduce it to *s*, *v*, *l*, *b*, *bv*, *bl*, *bb*, *ll*, *lb*, *vb*, or *bbb*; and this gives an idea of only one of the many difficulties with which the decipherer has to contend, the presence of accidental flaws being even more perplexing. I only know this stone from a paper squeeze and so will not commit myself to a reading: the end looks as though it might be *maqva Maiddarett.*



(Stone) of Lugdach, son of Maq . . . .[1]

In Ballintaggart, near Dingle, is a remarkable cemetery, containing no less than nine Ogham inscriptions, cut, not as usual, on angled pillar-stones, but on rounded boulders. Several of these bear crosses. In one the cross has evidently been added later; it is a rough cross of two lines, and the inscription relates to some Mac Erca (in the eccentric form *Maqiiariki*) who was a descendant of Duibne. Another bears the strange name *Akevritti*, which at first sight resembles nothing so much as the Anglo-Saxon *Ecgfrith;* it is tempting to read the χ as *þ* here, and regard the monument as that of some wandering Pictish *Ipevoret*—this would throw welcome light on the stone at St Vigean's. But the name can be reconciled with Celtic forms.

This paper must be kept from running to an inordinate length: these few examples will suffice. If we leave Kerry and continue our itinerary we find the inscriptions suddenly cease. After finding about 170 stones in Cork and Kerry it is certainly singular to find only three in Limerick; three in Clare (one of them of doubtful authenticity); none in Tipperary; one in Mayo; two in Roscommon; and notwithstanding the county's great antiquarian wealth, none in Sligo. There may be some more in these counties yet undiscovered; but we can scarcely expect to make a sufficient number of discoveries to upset the enormous disproportion that exists in Oghamic distribution. The fact is unquestionable and for the present unexplained.

Another very late example of the use of Oghams occurs on a little leaden inkbottle, found many years ago at Kilmallock, in Limerick. This inscription attests the ownership of the bottle; as read by Prof. Rhys it runs *Niglas meiq Gillmocholmog, i.e.*, "Nicholas McGillmocholmog." Like the Maelmaire brooch, this name—"son of the servant of (St) Mocholmog"—suggests ecclesiastical associations.

Another late Ogham is the monument of "Colman the poor" formerly in the cemetery of Clonmacnoise, King's County. Whether appropriated in simple ignorance by the neighbouring peasantry, or stolen by Yankee curiosity-hunters, stone after stone, each bearing a beautiful incised cross and a humble request for prayer, has disappeared from this historic spot: the Ogham among them. The stone bore the name COLMAN in Irish letters of about the 11th–12th century, and the word *bocht* (poor) written backwards in Ogham. The loss of this touching epitaph is much to be regretted, as this was the only scrap of Ogham ever found in connection with an important ecclesiastical site.

The Northern counties are equally bare of Ogham writing. One each in Cavan, Meath,[2] Armagh and Tyrone, with three from Fermanagh, is as yet the total record. I need not

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[1] The inscription on the right angle is usually read downwards making, with the erroneous value of χ already alluded to, *apiloggo* or *apilogdo*. The many conjectures that have been made to explain this away shew that it does not strike scholars as satisfactory. Moreover, save for one strange, enigmatical inscription in far-off Cornwall, it is a thing unheard-of to read both angles of an inscribed stone downwards.

[2] The discovery of another Ogham in Meath is announced as the proofsheets of this paper go to press.

discuss any of these at present, as they are all (save in geographical position) comparatively unimportant.

The English and Welsh oghams are similar in style, language and character to the Irish, except for the Latin renderings with which they are nearly always accompanied. It will therefore be unnecessary to describe any of them at length. Several bear crosses; the *-s* genitive is very rare. So far as I can find, there are 3 Oghams in Brecon, 5 in Caermarthen, 3 in Cardigan, 1 in Denbigh, 3 in Glamorgan, 12 (and one more, doubtful) in Pembroke: notice again, as we noticed in Ireland, their extraordinary predominance in the South-western promontory. The English examples are few in number: 2 in Cornwall, 2 in Devon, and the famous stone whose discovery at Silchester took everyone by surprise, comprise the total record.

The British Museum contains two very interesting examples of the South British group, which afford ample materials for study. One is from Pant y Cadno in Brecon, and is worthy of the minutest examination. It bears evidence of having been used for different purposes at three periods. On one face is a single cup-marking. On the same face, running downward as usual, is the Latin (M)ACCVTRENI + SALICIDVNI, corresponding to the Ogham on the right angle running up, *Maqitreni Saliciduni* (M. (son) of S.).[1] On the other face is an extraordinary medley of iconography, which demands patient study and high scholarship to unravel: I shall not presume to make any suggestions here, and it would be beside my subject to do so. What however must be noticed is, that whichever is the older, the inscriptions and the figures are not contemporary. The former are *rubbed*, the latter *picked* out: when the stone was placed standing so as to display the inscription, the figures were partially buried, and *vice versa;* in the present position of the stone in the Museum, the inscriptions are the right way up, but the figures are upside down. The other British stone in the Museum is from Fardell in Devon. It also has been used three times. Besides the Ogham, it bears two inscriptions in Roman letters, one on either face; and, what is very unusual, if not unique, the three inscriptions have no mutual connection. The Ogham reads *Svaqquci maqi Qici.* Very interesting is the longer Roman inscription, in that it transliterates, but does not translate, the ordinary key-word of the Ogham stones—it reads FANDINI MAQVI RINI. The third inscription, whose existence, owing to the unfortunate position of the stone in the Museum, probably not one in ten thousand visitors suspects, is a simple name, SAGRANVI.

Five Oghams have been found in the Isle of Man. Four of these associate themselves in all respects with the Irish type. The fifth is a graffito; if anything, more of the character of the strange Scottish type.

The 14 Scottish inscriptions known are all in the *eastern* side or the northern islands. They are in an entirely different language from the Irish and South British stones; the language of the Picts, which was, as far as we can understand anything about it, not only non-Celtic, but non-Aryan. Eccentric forms of the characters are used; and one stone, at Newton in Aberdeen, is associated with an inscription in letters more difficult to classify and understand even than the Ogham. On the whole, the decipherment of these inscriptions is as yet in such a nebulous condition that it would be sheer waste of time to discuss them in a paper such as this. Many of them are accompanied by symbolical sculpture, and by those strange emblems

[1] It has also been rendered "Stone of Mactreni of the Willow-Town."

which are distinctive of the Pictish stones. When all else about Ogham inscriptions has been found out, the Scottish inscriptions will probably remain the ultimate difficulty to overcome; and we are a long way off from that stage as yet.

I hope I have indicated in some measure the nature of the interest which these inscriptions possess. I fear it cannot be asserted that they advance ecclesiology: but I can bear testimony to their peculiar fascination; and as monuments of the ancient people and tongue of these islands their value passes all price.

THE REASONABLENESS OF THE ORNAMENTS RUBRIC, ILLUSTRATED BY A COMPARISON OF THE GERMAN AND ENGLISH ALTARS.

BY

J. N. COMPER.

The incidental part of the present paper I owe to some notes of a recent visit to a few German towns. Even so slight a comparison between the ornaments of contemporary German and English churches as these notes afford, would, it seemed to me, help towards the better understanding of our own rules. On the one hand, the very unusual preservation of old German furniture aids us in realising the forms of many of our own ornaments, which are now little known to us except through the antiquated language of inventories and other ancient documents. On the other hand, a study of the points of difference between German and English churches suggests the reasons which underlie the customs peculiar to ourselves.

The use of the comparison.

For in ecclesiology, as in every other science, the knowledge of details is of little practical value without a grasp of the principles by which these details are ruled, or from which they take their liberty. Until these principles are understood, ecclesiology remains a matter of mere antiquarian, or æsthetic, interest, confined to a few.

Nevertheless, however much ecclesiology may, in name, be put aside, for matters which are deemed of more importance, by the majority of those who are most seriously engaged in the Church's work, it is evident that in practice it cannot be dismissed altogether, and hence that it is a living thing of real consequence deserving the most earnest attention. If, therefore, the ecclesiologist is to bring his science to the aid of the Church, which, it must be admitted, never stood in greater need of it than now, it will not suffice for him to produce an array of ancient rules; but he must shew their reasonableness and suitability to the Church to-day.

The Lent cloths an instance of reasonableness.

For instance, to give an extreme case, if any practical person not an ecclesiologist is told that the English liturgical colour for this season of Lent[1] is white, he receives the intelligence as the latest extravagance of the ceremonialist, resolving in his own mind that he will adhere to the use of some sombre colour that will bring the season better home to the understanding of the people. But tell him that it was the custom in England to take away, so far as possible,

[1] This paper was read in the Lent of 1897.

all decoration from our churches in Lent; either by removing ornaments,[1] or, where that could not be done, by covering them up with cloths of coarse linen, of the same colour as the white stone or plaster of the walls, so that the ornaments remained as little conspicuous as possible; and that, for this same reason, the ministers wore white linen vestments, just as the priest does to-day, who wants to resume the use of the chasuble without making it conspicuous[2]; tell him, in short, that the meaning of white for Lent is the putting out of all decoration from a church by reducing the gorgeousness of the furniture to the blankness of the walls, and he will at once see its reasonableness. Shew him, if you could, an English church furnished as it was when this custom prevailed, and then shew him the same church to-day after it has been stripped by the Puritans, (I cannot add white-washed, for white walls were the rule long before), and he would feel the force of the change. Or, to take a simile from nature: a flowering thorn in a green meadow has admittedly nothing penitential about it; but let the meadow be as white with snow as the tree with blossom, and it would be felt to be austere enough.[3]

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[1] Dr. J. Wickham Legg gives me the following interesting illustration: "Sabbatho in capite Quadragesimæ, Post vesperas appenditur velum inter chorum et altare: et cuncta aufferuntur ornamenta. Quæ vero aufferri nequeunt, velantur." Joannes a Bosco, *Floriacensis vetus Bibliotheca Benedictina.* Lugduni, 1605: I. p. 394.

[2] Not long ago, being shewn some two or three coloured vestments in a remote country church, and asking what was used in Lent, the priest told me that his first chasuble was of white linen and that, having added the coloured vestments for festivals, he retained this for use in Lent. I found that he did it simply as a matter of convenience, being quite unaware of the old English custom.

[3] The evidence for this use of white in Lent is to be found in Mr. W. H. St. John Hope's paper *On the English Liturgical colours* in *The Transactions of the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society*, Vol. II. pp. 233–272, 1889. The following analysis of the examples given in these eight pages, dating from 1220 to 1560, that is, well into the reign of Queen Elizabeth, will be found to be fairly accurate. Out of 118 instances of Lent vestments named as for the altar, or the ministers, or both, there are 77 definitely mentioned as white; 18 named simply as of linen, canvas, cloth, or Lent cloth; 2 instances of white and blue altar cloths; 4 of blue; 6 of red; one double cloth for the high altar at Lincoln of white and red; 4 yellow or tawny; 2 black; one purple chasuble at Exeter; one cloth of black and tawny at York; and two examples which give neither material nor colour. The exceptions therefore to the English custom as given by Mr. St. John Hope are very few in number. Six instances of red is the greatest number in any one colour, and, as pointed out by him, these red vestments were probably used for the last fortnight in Lent, red being the common use for Passiontide. It may be noticed also that the other colours, viz., yellow, blue, black and purple, are as a rule connected with the larger churches and do not displace the use of white, but are found in conjunction with it.

Blue seems often to have been used with the white for the Lent veil. Mr. St. John Hope mentions seven instances. But he names 7 other instances, scarcely less definite, of its being white; 10 instances in which it is said to have been of linen or cloth, and from which it may be inferred that it was white; 3 cases in which neither materialn or colour are named; and 5 instances of other colours, viz. black, purple, yellow and blue, red and white, green and red. In all 32 instances which scarcely shew that the veil was usually blue and white, but that, like the vestments, it was usually white. In the same way there are 5 instances of white veils mentioned for covering images, lectern, pulpit, &c.; and 10 instances of similar coverings and banners, described simply as linen or cloth, including one of "an Hanging of Linnen Cloth, to cover the Pictures of the chappel in Lent time, round about from the one Arch to the other," in Lady Hungerford's chantry at Salisbury. While the only other instances named are 3 which were blue.

Lastly in regard to the veil for the great rood there are 13 examples given of which 3 are described as white and the rest as of linen or cloth; so that all the examples given may reasonably be inferred to be white.

The seven examples of red and green cross cloths which are mentioned on pp. 245–246, appear to be something different from the examples named above, in such terms as the "weyle for the Croce," or the "grit clothe to hange before the rode;" while there are other entries in Kent inventories, such as "a crosse staff of

The object of this paper is, therefore, to take a few of the most important and often the most neglected of the ornaments authorised by the English Church, and to shew their value by reason of the principles which underlie them. And the most important ornaments are necessarily those connected with the altar.

The Altar the principal object of the church.

Now these ornaments may be divided into two classes, viz., those which are essential to the altar and depend immediately upon it, and those which equally depend upon it but are less immediately connected with it. And the principle underlying both kinds of ornaments is that they shall fulfil their purpose of adding dignity to the altar, and, contrariwise, that they shall in no way detract from the supreme importance of the altar itself, the altar being, beyond all doubt, the chief object of a Christian church.[1]

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latten and a crosse clothe of grene sylke," (at Willesborowe 3 December, 6. Ed. VI. *Archæologia Cantiana* Vol. XIV. Lond. 1882, p. 300), and "on crosse of copper and gilte with on crosse cloth of grene sarcenett with on picture of St. Michell painted with gold and silver foyle the ffrenge therof yelowe and red silke," (at Wylmyngton 23 November, 6. Ed. VI. *Ib.* p. 302), which seem to prove that the cross cloths were used in connexion with processional crosses, and that they were not the Lenten coverings for the great rood of the church. And Mr. Hope tells me that he has come to the same conclusion.

A careful study of the evidence contained in Mr. St. John Hope's paper will shew that the Lenten white is everywhere found; but that it is in no proper sense a liturgical colour, being only the natural colour of the cloths with which all richly coloured ornaments were, as far as possible, covered, and of the linen which was used for the vestments, it being the simplest and plainest material of which they can be made. It is true there are occasional exceptions, such as the use of white silk, which seem to contradict this idea; but they only shew that in the course of time the meaning of this custom was in some rare cases obscured by too sumptuous gifts. As for the paintings on the cloths may they not in many cases, (e.g. the "white saten with pagentes of the pacion in white and black" at Christ's, Cambridge,) have been done in greys, like the pictures on the outsides of the shutters of some Flemish and German triptychs which would be seen when the triptychs were closed at penitential seasons? This use of white was not confined to Lent: e.g. in 1440 at Somerby, Lincolnshire, we meet with "a vestment of white demyt for lenten and vigils."

And in regard to other seasons it is hard to see the evidence for any recognition of a stiff and fast rule of colour even within the limits of one diocese, or one cathedral church, although in some points, such as the use of white for feasts of our Lady, there seems to have been a general agreement everywhere. If, then, it shall prove that the English Church knew no more binding rules for liturgical colours than the early Church, or the Eastern Church of to-day, using simply the richest and most beautiful vestments on the greatest days, what is there to hinder our enjoyment of this liberty, or why must we bind ourselves by the ordinary Roman sequence, or any other drawn up in the same hard and fast spirit and omitting the brilliant festival blue, so prominent in the Old Dispensation and in the inventories of English churches, and which in many country places lingered, as the only colour of the altar frontal, until our own day, and, no doubt, is still to be found?

[1] Everyone will admit to-day that the high altar should be the principal object of a parish church. But that our old parish churches were built and furnished so as to secure this end is denied by some who have supposed that the rood screen, and not the altar, was the principal object in them. The following evidence from a contemporary writer may therefore be here quoted with advantage. In some rhymes for the instruction of the unlearned, written by Dan John Lydgate, the monk of Bury, about 1470, a man, as he enters the church, is not told to look at the rood, but at the high altar, where the pix hangs;

"And to the chyrche take the waye,
Whan thou comste to the holy place,
Caste holy water in thi face,
And pray to god that made us alle,
Thi wenyalle sennys mot fro the ffall,
Than loke to the hy autere,
And pray to hym that hangythe there," . . .

Merita Missae lines 36–42. Cotton MS. Titus, A. xxvi. fol. 154. See T. F. Simmons, *The Lay Folks Mass Book*. Early English Text Society. Lond. 1879, p. 149.

The prominence of the Altar attained by regard to climate and the use to which each church is put.

This principle is common to the ecclesiology of all Western Churches. It is at the root of the differences in detail between the customs of various national Churches, and, in our own country, between a parish church and churches described by *the Book of Common Prayer* as "quires."[1]

For parish churches and quires were in some ways arranged very differently, and it may be well, for the present purpose, to define parish churches as churches in which the high altar is primarily intended for the worshippers in the nave; and quires as churches in which the high altar can be quite shut out from the nave by the closed doors of solid screens, and is primarily intended for the worshippers who are within the screens.

It is obvious, therefore, that what will be quite conducive to the dignity of the altar in the case of a quire may have an entirely contrary effect in a parish church. Again, what may be found most suitable in a climate like that of Spain, or, in a less degree, like that of Germany, may be quite out of place in England, where the atmosphere is so much less brilliant. And it is in fact the case that the rules for the less immediate ornaments of the altar are influenced by all these different circumstances.

The rules of general observance everywhere.

On the other hand the rules for the altar itself and its immediate ornaments are little affected by the varying requirements of different kinds of churches and of climates. We are not surprised to find them substantially the same everywhere: in the north as in the south, in a parish church as in a quire. Indeed, in regard to the fabric of the altar and its immediate ornaments, it may be said, speaking generally, that the same rules were observed, previous to the end of the last century, everywhere in the west, with perhaps the one exception of Italy, where the renaissance of paganism first took place and began to upset Christian customs as early as in the fifteenth century.

I. The large dimensions of the Altar.

Of these rules the first in importance relates to the size of the altar. At the time with which we are concerned the high altar seems to have been made as large as possible in proportion to the width of the chancel.

There are not many old high altars left standing in England; but the famous example of Arundel is 12 ft. 6 in. long, 4 ft. wide and 3 ft. 6 in. high[2]; and an occasional frontal or reredos points to the great size of the high altar in other parish churches.[3] In our larger churches the length was sometimes even greater. The original dimensions of the old high altar slab at Tewkesbury are given by the Rev. H. A. Sheringham as 13 ft. 8 in. in length and 3 ft. 8 in. in width. And at Milton Abbas, in Dorsetshire, if the new masonry inserted in the base of the altar screen, where the old panels end, represents the length of the high altar, this also is given as 13 ft. 9 in. And if 4 ft. be allowed for the width of the altar, 5 ft. 6½ in. is left for the width of the first step.

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[1] By this term is evidently not intended the singing clerks of collegiate and cathedral churches, but the places in which these sing. See the rubric after the third Collect at Morning and Evening Prayer.

[2] See J. H. Parker. *Glossary of Architecture.* Fourth Edition. Oxford, 1845, Vol. I. pp. 10, 11. The dimensions of the chancel, or "collegiate chapel" in Arundel Church, are given as follows: "In length, it measures eighty-two feet, six inches: in width, twenty-eight feet: its height, to the summit of the walls, is thirty-five feet, six inches." M. A. Tierney. *The History and Antiquities of the Castle and Town of Arundel,* Vol. II. p. 614. Lond. 1834.

[3] A contemporary picture of the typical long English altar of the fifteenth century may be seen in a MS. of English verses at the British Museum. Tib. A. vii. fol. 68.

Compare with these examples the old German high altars, which are so frequently left standing. That of St. Victor's church at Xanten is 11 ft. 8½ in. long, 6 ft. 6½ in. wide, or 3 ft. 8 in. in front of the reredos, and 3 ft. 6¾ in. high; and the altar pace is about 4 ft. 2½ in. wide. That of St. James', Rothenburg, is 11 ft. long and 5 ft. 10 in. wide, or 4 ft. in front of the reredos, and the altar pace is 4 ft. 2½ in. wide.

If these examples are typical, it would seem, first, that the German altars are wider than ours; and this is fully accounted for by the depth of their reredoses, which is occasioned by the thickness of the triptychs set upon them.

Secondly, it would seem that our English high altars were somewhat longer than those in Germany, and that the reason is not far to seek. In the apsidal German churches the high altar stands isolated from every wall, its front being on a line with the chord of the apse, and the leaves of its triptych stretch out flat across the whole width and are frequently supported on irons projecting from the side walls. Thus the actual length of the altar is exactly controlled, but the appearance of length is greatly increased by the overspreading of the triptych. But in our square-ended churches the high altar generally, if not invariably, stood against a wall either immediately beneath the east window or in advance of it, and, with some rare exceptions, it had no triptych to control its length, or to make it necessary to increase its width.[1]

Both countries, however, are alike in so far that there is the same care taken in both, under their varying conditions, to give the greatest possible appearance of size to the altar itself.

In an English quire the altar screen, which stretches across the whole width of the presbytery, and is treated with the same richness from one side of it to the other, effects the appearance of breadth in an even greater degree than does the German triptych.

The same care appears in our parish churches, where sometimes the reredos is longer than the fabric of the altar could reasonably be. For example in the chancel at Geddington in Northamptonshire, which is but 18 ft. 6 in. wide, the old reredos is 12 ft. 1½ in. long although it is only 4 ft. 2 in. in height above the altar,[2] and two large heads under the buttresses at the ends of the reredos shew that the altar cannot have been longer than 10 ft. 10 in. Again at Chipping Campden, in Gloucestershire, an upper frontal, or reredos, of white silk embroidered, 12 ft. 3¾ in. long and 3 ft. 10 in. high, and the nether frontal of the same set, 10 ft. 8½ in. long,[3] betray the same desire to increase the appearance of length in an altar already long.

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[1] The account of Long Melford Church by Roger Martyn as he "did know it," before the destruction of its ornaments, furnishes the apparently almost unique instance of a triptych in an English parish church. See John Preston Neale. *Views of the most interesting Collegiate and Parochial Churches in Great Britain*, &c. London, 1825, Vol. II. p. 13. Also in English quires triptychs were rare. We have a beautiful description of one upon the Jesus altar against the rood screen in *The Rites of Durham*, Surtees Society, pp. 28, 29. In both these cases the triptychs stood against the walls, which formed the screens. But a triptych itself forms a screen, and is therefore more reasonable, as well as much more impressive when it stands, isolated from a wall, flat across the chord of an apse. Its value lies in the contrast which its broad and square lines afford to the broken and angular lines of the apse. It was for this reason, doubtless, that the triptych was so seldom used in England, and never on the scale of the great German triptychs.

[2] Geddington reredos is of the fourteenth century. In parish churches of this size a century later the east window is generally lower.

[3] See *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, 2nd S. xi. 408. The width of the chancel is 21 ft. 1 in., and the space between the outside mouldings of the east window is the same length as the upper frontal. The sill of the window is about 6 ft. 1¼ in. above the present altar step, but the level of the floor beneath the sedilia was not less than 6½ in. lower than this, and it would appear to have been lower still; so that the top of the upper frontal in all probability coincided with the top of the window-sill.

When the smaller size of our English parish churches is taken into account the length of their high altars is remarkable, even in comparison with the prevailing customs of other churches; and this may be attributed to the fact that, unlike quires, or contemporary churches in Germany, the high altar of every parish church in England, at the time of our rubric, had an open screen in front of it. For, when a screen, however light it may be, is interposed between the high altar and the worshippers for whom it is intended, it at once becomes of much more moment that the fabric of the altar should itself be as large as possible, if the supreme importance of the altar is to be preserved. And it is not to be wondered at, when the dimensions of the old high altars of our parish churches are compared with those of the altars which have succeeded them, that the same results cannot be had from both. Dignity cannot be obtained from an altar at once too short and too low, and so shallow as to be no more than a shelf. Such an altar can never be the most prominent ornament of a church, no matter upon however many steep and narrow steps it may be raised, or however high the erection may be which is set over it.

II. The small dimensions of the Altar ornaments.

And it is not the dimensions of the altar only which have been forgotten; we have, in the second place, failed to observe that the ornaments above the altar were kept subservient to the altar and not allowed to compete with it in size and magnificence. And so all our efforts after height, proving, as they do by their continual increase, their incapacity to satisfy the eye, have been in an entirely wrong direction. Instead of giving dignity to the altar they have, as Dr. Wickham Legg has briefly put it, completed "the dwarfing of the altar. So a person entering a church notices the altar almost the last thing in the chancel, as a sort of support or base to the immense erection behind it."

The old order has been reversed, and it would seem, not deliberately, but out of sheer ignorance. A large altar, and small ornaments upon it, has degenerated to a small altar, and large ornaments upon it. The ornaments have overbalanced the very thing to which it is their function to add dignity. Where is there evidence of reason, and a sense of truth and beauty in this? Can anyone seriously call it development? And if not, where is there any warrant to be found for riding roughshod over our time-honoured rules?

III. The absence of the gradine.

One result of enlarging the immediate ornaments of the altar out of all proportion to it, is the practical difficulty of lifting the things, which should stand upon the altar, each time the cloths have to be prepared for service; and hence comes in the excuse for the modern shelf, or gradine. But, in general, the altar shelf, as we know it in England to-day, is simply a fashion thoughtlessly copied from abroad. It is assumed that, before the altar ornaments can be used, there must be a shelf to set them on. First we see an empty shelf added to an old-fashioned altar. Then vases, or a cross of flowers, are put upon it, and not till then do the candlesticks appear. Next, these are multiplied until the shelf is full. And, last, the shelf is supplemented by other shelves, until, as it has been said, the gradine is "developed into something like a flight of stairs." The childishness of this needs no comment; even the advocates of the gradine do not defend it. Nevertheless in this progress of the altar shelf it cannot be said *in medio stat virtus.* The modern gradine, in any form, is fatal to the idea of the sacrificial altar as Pagans, Jews and Christians have ever known it; for upon the altar of sacrifice nothing must be placed but what is necessary for the sacrifice. Again, the Christian altar is the Lord's table, and we do not associate a shelf with a table, but with a sideboard.

The question of the gradine is therefore one of first importance. And no evidence, which will bear investigation, has yet been produced, to shew that this ornament has the authority of the rubric. Every ancient ornament, quoted as equivalent to the modern gradine, turns out to be but one of the many forms of the reredos. For the characteristic of the gradine, or modern altar shelf, is that it carries the altar lights and is supplementary to the reredos; while the ancient altar shelf or halpas is itself the reredos, and the altar lights never stood upon it. The lowness, or height, of the shelf has nothing to do with the matter. The offence to good taste and church order lies in the use to which the modern altar shelf is put, and the different character which it gives to the whole appearance of the altar.

The old Altar shelf is the same thing as the reredos.

In old days, as is well known, the same thing often went by many different names, and were we left to the witness of written documents there might possibly be room for reasonable difference of opinion about some of these ornaments. But fortunately for the beauty and dignity of the altar we have the further and more definite witness of pictures; and when a number of pictures exactly interpret the terms of an inventory, or the use of some surviving ornament, it is hardly reasonable to insist upon an explanation of them, in itself less obvious, when such an interpretation is absolutely contradicted by every other means of evidence at our disposal. Yet this is what has been done in support of the gradine.

Amongst the equivalents in our inventories to the term reredos are the following, cited by Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite in support of the gradine in his paper on *The Meaning of the Ornaments Rubric*.[1] He quotes "a frontell for the schelffe standing on the Altar."[2] But what is there to shew that the frontal is not the upper frontal so commonly to be met with in inventories, which was of much the same size as the cloth which covered the front of the altar itself? An example of the upper frontal survives at Chipping Campden, already referred to, and pictures shewing a cloth of this kind covering the front of a shelf, upon which stands a row of reliquaries, or images, but not the altar lights, may also be found.[3] The instance of a "forme uppon the high altar undre the juellis," quoted from St. Christopher at Stocks, is doubtless the same thing as the above-mentioned "shelffe," but, possibly, without the frontal.[4] And the same may be said of the "halpas," or "deske," on the altar of Henry VIII.'s Chapel on the field of the cloth of gold, quoted from Holinshed.[5] But, since chapels royal had their peculiarities, a better reference to the halpas may be found in the accounts of St. Lawrence, Reading, of 1518, viz., "It. paid for wasshyng & dressing of the Halpas, wt the xij Appostels, xliijs. iiijd."[6] Now the term "halpas" means a high shelf, and the jewels, *i.e.* the images and reliquaries of precious metal, are usually shewn in pictures standing upon a high shelf, or, in other words, upon the top of a reredos of the usual height of from two to four feet. The con-

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[1] *Transactions of the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society.* Vol. II. pp. 313, 314.

[2] St. Mary at Hill, 1485. See John Nicholls. *Illustrations of the Manners and Expenses of Antient Times in England, &c.* Lond. 1797, p. 113.

[3] See British Museum, Slo. MSS. 2468, fol. 115, in which three images appear above an upper frontal, and two candles stand upon the altar in front of it. Also Paul Lacroix. *Vie Militaire et Religieuse au Moyen Age.* Deuxième Édition. Paris, 1873, p. 261, fig. 200.

[4] See fig. 297, *Ib.* p. 425, which shews a shelf decorated in the manner of an ordinary reredos the usual height, bearing on its front the rood, Mary and John, and on the top of it a large isolated image, with a reliquary behind it on the altar.

[5] Vol. III. p. 857, edit. 1587.

[6] C. Kerry. *History of the Municipal Church of St. Lawrence, Reading.* Reading, 1883, p. 27.

demnation by some of the high shelf, in favour of a low shelf, is, therefore, hardly well advised. Nevertheless a very low shelf may be found pictured in the English MS. already referred to.[1] The appearance of the very long reredos shewn in this miniature does not seem unusual, but, upon inspection, the reredos proves to be made up of a low green shelf, or base, and a green canopy projecting over it, the intervening space being filled by a white upper frontal, of a similar pattern to the white nether frontal upon the altar. The most curious part of it is that the shelf, or base of the reredos, is cut out in the middle, so as to allow the rood to stand directly upon the altar, while the shelf itself is entirely filled by the six other images which stand upon it.

The common impression that there is authority for a low shelf upon which to set the altar lights is not, however, due to this miniature. Traced to its source it always turns out to be founded on the curious and rough projection at the back of the stone slab of the old altar in the crypt at Grantham. This projection, described and drawn by Mr. Micklethwaite as a separate shelf lying upon the altar, is in reality formed by five stones varying in width from $4\frac{3}{4}$ to $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches, being broken, or jointed, in four places, and of the same moulding as the rest of the altar slab, but deeper by $1\frac{3}{8}$ inches, by which amount it projects above the rest of the slab. Whether the miniature last quoted may be taken as throwing light upon these projecting stones would be hard to say; but, in the absence of any history of this altar, no attempt to explain its present condition can be more than speculation, and I submit that the above-mentioned details cannot be taken as evidence for the gradine sufficiently serious to permit of its being quoted even as a solitary exception to the examples of every other medieval altar, reredos and altar screen left in the land, the witness of which against the gradine is definitely clear.

The sum of the whole matter is that the shelf is no offender, so long as it is treated as a reredos complete in itself and the altar lights are not set upon it. It is then simply one of the forms of the reredos recognised by our rubric. But directly it is used for a shelf for the altar lights proper, and is set in front of any other kind of reredos, it becomes a gradine and is not an authorised ornament.

If anyone thinks the distinction trivial, let him weigh the difference in the appearance of the two things. Let him, further, consider the practical wisdom, which is never separated from time-honoured customs, in placing the candlesticks upon the altar. For, broad as are the old altars, contemporary pictures shew the tapers standing well forward upon them, so that there can be no danger of smoking the reredos: a danger which cannot be imaginary, because it has been given in our own day as a plea for a second gradine in front of the first.

Again, if anyone thinks that to forego the gradine is to commit himself to what is antiquated, or merely medieval, let him consider the examples of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and even of the best pagan churches to-day. For instance, there are four pictures by Peter Neefs, the elder (*circa* 1570–1651), in the Brussels gallery, shewing many altars, all of which are pagan in the forms of their ornaments, but there is not a gradine upon one of them. The candles (in one picture three in number,[2] in the rest only two,) stand upon the altar itself, as to this day they appear to do in the old churches in Rome.

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[1] See note 3 on p. 68 above.

[2] No. 362 in the Catalogue of 1889. Of the other three, Nos. 360 and 361 represent the Church of Our Lady at Antwerp, and No. 456 the Church of St. Peter, Louvain. They are all side altars.

It is only the modern Roman rule, requiring six lights upon the high altar, which affords any excuse for the gradine; since it is really troublesome to lift so many and heavy candlesticks from across a broad altar every time the cloths have to be removed. And for this reason the witness of St. Peter's, and the old churches in Rome, against the gradine to-day is very emphatic. In Rome, in meeting the difficulty of the six candles the same care is taken to avoid all appearance of a gradine as may be observed at the high altar at Xanten in Germany, viz., the six candlesticks are placed upon a board one half of an inch in thickness, which is invisible from a short distance in front of the altar. Fortunately in our English churches this subterfuge is unnecessary, as only two candlesticks upon the altar are allowed by our rubric.

But this is not the only witness of German churches against the gradine. Its entire absence from the old altars which remain undisturbed at Xanten, Calcar, Maintz, and our Lady's church at Nuremberg, which are still in Catholic hands, is no less remarkable than it is in the churches which have passed to the Lutherans at Nuremberg, Rothenburg, and elsewhere in Germany. Yet it has been said that, even if there is no evidence for the gradine in the English Church before 1549, Xanten, at least, can shew specimens of gradines of the early sixteenth, or even of the fifteenth, centuries.

Here let it be remembered that in Germany the reredos proper, upon which the triptych is placed, is sometimes so low as to appear no more than a base to the triptych; and, in such a case, if the triptych is removed and the cross and candlesticks are set upon this low reredos, it is almost pardonable if it should be described as a "Gothic gradine." For instance, at Calcar a triptych had been taken away, presumably to meet the same fate of disfigurement which had befallen nearly every ornament in the church, and the reredos, left behind, looked sufficiently complete in itself to tell no tales and might well have been taken for a gradine. Another reredos in the same church, but in its place beneath the triptych, upon the easternmost altar of the south chapel, has a front 1 foot 5 in. high, formed of six square panels, on which are painted the rood and other images. This reredos closely resembles another at Xanten, which is in a somewhat dilapidated condition, and is now used as a gradine and blocks out the bottom of the reredos of the easternmost of the altars against the middle pillars of the south aisle of the quire.[1] There can be no reasonable doubt that this reredos formerly belonged to one of the many altars in the church, which have been modernized, and that a triptych, and not a cross and candlesticks, originally stood upon it; and hence, though as a fact it is now used as a gradine, it was not made for this purpose.

I only observed one other instance, and this one also at Xanten, which, it seemed to me, could possibly be mistaken for a gradine of the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries. On an altar of St. Anthony, in the north aisle of the quire, there is a stained cloth 9 inches deep and the length of the altar, which is attached to the front of a rough modern gradine made of two boards. It bears the legend *Da patris Anthonii meritis nos Christe iuvari.* The question here is, was this cloth originally attached to a gradine? Undoubtedly it belonged to the altar; but, in the absence of any proof to the contrary, it would be more reasonable to suppose that it was attached directly to the plain space at the bottom of the reredos, which it exactly fits; or even that it was a frontlet. The depth of these reredoses, occasioned by

[1] There are not lacking other signs of the destruction of some of the older furniture: for example, two groups of figures in a late reredos in the north aisle evidently belong to an earlier date.

the thickness of the triptychs, is often utilised for cupboards, which have doors at the ends. May not the "iiij coffins to ly on the auters" at St. Stephen, Coleman Street,[1] (which Mr. Micklethwaite says "must have been altar shelves in the form of long wooden boxes"), have been an English version of this kind of reredos, the top being used, not for a triptych, but for isolated images, or reliquaries, in the usual English fashion? Not that there is anything to shew that the "coffins" were not themselves reliquaries with gabled tops, upon which nothing at all could stand. Sometimes, however, the German reredoses have carvings as deep as those of the triptychs above them, and each has a pair of leaves of its own. Sometimes, again, as in the last-named example, instead of images these reredoses disclose relics. Beneath a triptych in one of the chapels behind the high altar of St. Lawrence's church at Nuremberg there is a reredos of this kind, which once had leaves, and still contains two apparently empty reliquaries.

The whole evidence of the German triptychs, even of the very latest, is against the gradine; and added to this is the witness, already mentioned, of Rome itself. The absence of the gradine cannot, therefore, be said to be a peculiarity of the English Church previous to 1549, or of the Low Church party in later days. And if the chief churches in Christendom have managed to do without gradines until now, it is asking nothing hard, nor unreasonable, that obedience should be rendered to our rubric in this respect.

Upon the gradine depends more or less, though not entirely, the use of many altar candles and of flower vases and the modern form of the tabernacle for the Eucharist.

Thus it is quite the usual thing in a German church which is still in Catholic hands, to find only two candles upon the old side altars. They are so far in perfect agreement with our rubric. Even if a cross has been added, in conformity to modern Roman rule,[2] at least it is small and stands, like the candlesticks, upon the altar itself. It is in the Lutheran churches only that a large crucifix is made the predominating ornament of the altar.

IV. The rood upon the Altar not the prominent rood of the church.

The older practice in regard to this both in Germany and England seems to have been that while an altar cross was the rule, exceptions were frequent; and that the altar cross was generally in the form of a small and plain crucifix attended by St. Mary and St. John, and carved, painted on a flat board, or embroidered, upon the middle of the reredos itself; and that where it is shewn in pictures as a separate ornament it usually stands upon the altar and rises higher than the reredos; still retaining its severe character as a picture of the sacrifice of Calvary,[3] in distinction from the more glorified cross which surmounted the rood beam in the nave, or formed a part of the screen above the high altar of an enclosed quire. Fittingly,

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[1] *Archæologia*, Vol. L. p. 44.

[2] I am told that, although the modern Roman rule requires a crucifix upon every altar, it endorses that rule of common sense, which is so frequently broken in our modern churches, viz., that there should be no repetition of the same subject in connexion with any altar. And it is considered preferable that the crucifix should be sufficiently above the altar for the priest to lift his eyes to it. The crucifix above the high altar is not therefore intended to be prominent in relation to the whole church, but is chiefly for the priest who offers the sacrifice. This seems to be in agreement with our medieval English custom. In quires, as at St. Albans and Winchester, we meet with a large rood in the screen above the high altar because the backs of the worshippers are turned upon the great rood in the nave; but in parish chucrhes a large rood in the east window, (as in the late glass at Trull), was probably an exception since the great rood in the nave came between the worshippers and the high altar.

[3] See, e.g. British Museum. Cott. MSS. Domit. No. 17, fol. 148.

it is in the crucifix which (in one or other of these two positions) is most prominent to the view of the worshippers, that the truth *regnavit a ligno deus* is most emphasised, and, by its glittering foliage, the tree of life is set forth: while the crucifix upon the altar is sterner, surely because it is at the altar "ye do shew the Lord's death." This may not be the mind of some recent writers, who are theologians, but it appears to have been the mind of the English Church as expressed in her architecture. The difference here between the English Church and modern Rome is not so much in the manner of treating the altar cross, as in the freedom which the former gives, by virtue of the greater Catholicity which it inherits, to dispense with the altar cross altogether, when it is desired to emphasise some other subject, or to do without any image.

V. The Altar candlesticks limited to two.

As regards the rule of the English Church concerning the limitation of the altar lights to two,[1] it is sometimes stated that the exceptions have more to be said in their favour, at least as illustrating cathedral use, than is always allowed; and it is said that in large and important churches two or four extra lights may lawfully be placed on the altar. But even were it much more clear than it is that the rules for secular cathedral churches, such as Lincoln, Chichester and Salisbury, absolutely prove that more than two candles, the number varying according to the rank of the day, were in use upon the high altars of these churches, not only in the early thirteenth century, the date of their consuetudinaries, but in 1548, it gives us no authority for the introduction of more than two lights upon any altars but those of the secular cathedral churches in question. Let them, in the event of such proof, if they really think it a more beautiful and dignified custom, by all means enjoy their liberty to add to the two altar lights which they still retain in unbroken tradition from the sixteenth century; each church, however, following its own custom; not Chichester following Salisbury, nor Salisbury Chichester; and remembering always that they are to be set upon the altar and not upon a shelf.[2] But the rule binding other churches, no matter what their size or wealth, is not touched by these examples; and it would seem that the only exceptions known in favour of many lights upon the altar are those of the chapels royal upon state occasions. And yet it cannot be pleaded that the limitation of the number of the altar lights in other cases was due to poverty, when, for instance, we bear in mind the minute particulars given in *the Rites of Durham*. Even that vast and wealthy church had never more than two candlesticks upon the high altar at one time, although possessing two pairs of varying richness for separate use, according to the rank of the day.[3] It was, at least as far as monastical and parish churches are concerned, whether

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[1] This rule is expressed in the injunctions of Archbishop Walter Reynolds, 1313–27, see Lyndewode, *Provinciale*. Paris 1506. Liber III. fol. 129. verso, "et tempore quo missarum solennia peraguntur accendentur due candele vel ad minus una." But that the use of these candles was not confined to the time of the celebration of mass, may be gathered, e.g. from the *Liber niger* of Lincoln, 1300–1600: "In omnibus vero duplicibus et principalibus festis invenire debet unum cereum super singula altaria ecclesie ad magnificat et ad benedictus." *Lincoln Cathedral Statutes*, Ed. Bradshaw and Wordsworth. Cambridge, 1891, Part I. p. 284.

[2] See *Ib.* pp. 288–290. Also the Statutes of the Cathedral Church of Chichester, of the date 1232, *Archaologia*. London, 1880, Vol. XLV. p. 165 And *Registrum S. Osmundi*, Rolls Series. Eond. 1883, Vol. I pp. 8, 10, of the date c. 1215–1230. The expression at Salisbury is *insuper altare*; at Chichester *supra altare maius*, which compared with the expression that follows, *supra trabem supportantem crucifixi ymaginem viii*, may fairly be rendered "upon the high altar."

[3] See *Rites of Durham*. Surtees Society, p. 8.

these churches were great or small, double gilding and very fine workmanship which marked the difference between the feast day and the work day, between the high altar and other altars, between a wealthy church and a poor one; and not an increase in the number of the candlesticks.[1]

There is a typical example of brass altar candlesticks of the fifteenth, or sixteenth, century still in use at Xanten. They are about one foot in height, and seven inches in diameter across the lions, upon which they stand.

But Xanten is rich in other candlesticks which afford a most happy and rare object lesson of the way in which the natural and reasonable desire for many lights about the altar was met in our old churches.

VI. The lights round about the Altar limited only by good taste and the wealth of each church.

Our rubric is no prohibition of a number of lights. It only endorses the old rule which limits those upon the altar; the lights round about the altar also may be "as in times past." And, since nearly all our old examples of these extra lights have been destroyed, Xanten may help to bring the descriptions of them home to us.

First there are the standards for single tapers on the second step, about 6 ft. 8 in. in front of the high altar; and these answer to the two, or four, great candlesticks of our inventories.[2] They are not flimsy things that can be knocked over, like the makeshifts which we so often see in our churches now; but they are made of heavy brass and set upon stone bases, each having three lions; and the whole height is over 6 ft. without the tapers. Secondly, on the third step, that is about 14 ft. 5½ in. in front of the altar, are a pair of still larger candlesticks which branch out overhead, forming a beam of elaborately worked brass about 33 ft. long, which crosses the whole width of the quire and carries 24 tapers.[3] This recalls such entries as the beam of latten at St. Lawrence, Reading, "with x cansticks

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[1] For other instances of pairs of candlesticks of precious metal see William B. D. D. Turnbull. *Monastic Treasures.* Edinburgh, 1836, pp. 75, 76, 77, and a pair from Saint Edmunds Bury, mentioned on pp. 49–50. Also Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum.* Lond. 1817, Vol. I. p. 202, where "one pair of candlesticks of gold" is mentioned in a Winchester inventory. It would be difficult to believe that "a pair" in these cases was not equivalent to the sets specified as "two" candlesticks at Durham. For a parish church instance of "the ijnd yere of Edward the vjth," see Mackenzie E. C. Walcott. *The History of the Parish Church of St. Margaret, in Westminster, &c.* Westminster, 1847, pp. 68, 69. And in the inventory of 1529 at Long Melford, in which "two small candlesticks to the High Altar" are mentioned under *lattyn*, besides "two Silver Candlesticks, parcel gilt." John Preston Neale, *Views of . . . churches*, &c. Lond. 1825, Vol. II. pp. 15 and 18.

[2] For example at St. Stephen, Coleman Street, 1466, under *Laton*: "a peire of standarts for the hygh auter." *Archæologia.* Lond. 1887, Vol. L. p. 34. And "ij *large* paire of long laton Candelstykks oon pair to Set before the high aulter and the other paire to serve for Obites to Setton the Tapers." Edwin Freshfield. *Inventory of St. Christopher Le Stocks* 1488. Lond. 1886, p. 68. And at Wigtoft, Lincolnshire, 1484. "4 candelsticks afore the hye auter." John Nicholls. *Illustrations of the Manners and Expenses of Antient Times in England* &c. Lond. 1797, p. 79. Also, for "iiij greate Standers, and iiij gret Canstyks of latten," see Mackenzie E. C. Walcott. The History of the *Parish Church of Saint Margaret in Westminster.* Westminster, 1847, p. 72. Let the two last instances be a warning against making a hard and fast rule that there shall be two candlesticks and two only in front of the altar. A poor church which cannot afford dignified standards had best do without them, since there is no rule enjoining them. But a wealthy church may have as many of them as good taste may allow in each case, since there is no other rule, nor reason, for limiting them, as in the case of the altar lights. A beautiful arrangement of as many as nine standards for single tapers may still be seen in the quire at Ghent. They are all pagan in detail and one of them is a lectern as well as a candlestick.

[3] For a figure of this see T. H. King. *Orfèvrerie et ouvrages en metal du Moyen Age.* Bruges, 1854 Deuxième Série. Planche 100.

and spyndells," mentioned in 1537 as "hangyng before the sacrament"[1]; and the "candlestick with ten branches standing before the High Altar" at Long Melford.[2] Thirdly, at the west end of the quire at Xanten is a candlestick with branches for three tapers, recalling the branches which are of common occurrence in our inventories, and which, as in the above-mentioned instance at Long Melford, sometimes stood upon the chancel floor, but more frequently on the rood loft.

VII. The Altar candles taper in one unbroken length of beeswax.

What is almost more remarkable than the preservation of the old candlesticks is the survival at Xanten of the old form of the tapers. Throughout the whole church there was not any kind of sham or joined candle. Every candle was in a single length of slender tapering beeswax, unbroken by any shield or joint. An altar taper, burnt at the end, was still 3 ft. 2½ in. long, the diameter at the top being a full ⅜ in., and at the bottom ¼ in.; and the hole for the pricket ⅜ in. in diameter. If this slightly exceeds in height the tapers shewn in the pictures of the fifteenth century, it must be remembered that a taper does not always remain at one level, and it is reasonable to make it a little longer for its first burning than the ideal height which would usually be shewn in a picture.

The tapers on the great standards before the high altar were also very tall and slender and without a joint. And the same may be seen at Ghent in Flanders. Compare with these the very thick, jointed and untapering candles which are set upon the standards at St. Paul's, which are exact copies of those at Ghent, and the extreme importance of what might be thought so small a detail will be felt at once. These heavy, jointed candles have changed the whole character of the Ghent standards. And not only has a pair of ill-proportioned modern candles the power of destroying the refinement of the altar, but the most beautiful candle is itself spoilt if the tapering lines are broken by a trifling shield. Quite a different thing are the great escutcheons, shewn in some old pictures, displayed upon the tapers at a funeral.[3]

We often boast of having better taste than our neighbours, but they have kept some secrets which we have lost, and the very key to what is beautiful in regard to altar lights has not yet been recovered by us.

But first we have to remember that the altar lights proper are not intended primarily for the decoration of the altar, that is the function of the frontals and reredos[4]; nor for its illumination: for that is the function of the lights round about the altar. The single or double light is required at mass for the sake of a definite symbolism, viz., because, as Lyndewode puts it, "the burning candle signifies Christ himself who is the splendour of the eternal light."[5] For this purpose one light is sufficient, and one light was the common use,[6] though two were enjoined; and the candlesticks were not set upon the altar except when the lights were

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[1] C. Kerry. *History of the Municipal Church of St. Lawrence, Reading.* Reading, 1883, pp. 27 and 54.

[2] There were others: e.g. "a Candlestick of Lattin, with ten branches, standing before the Image of Jesus." John Preston Neale. *Views of the most interesting Collegiate and Parochial Churches in Great Britain*, &c. Lond. 1825, Vol. II. p. 18.

[3] See, e.g. Paul Lacroix. *Vie Militaire et Religieuse au Moyen Age.* Deuxième Edition. Paris, 1873, p. 553, fig. 404.

[4] Though they have a practical use and meaning also. See pp. 85-87 below.

[5] See Lyndewode, *Provinciale.* Paris, 1505, Liber III. fol. 129.

[6] See, e.g. Myrc, *Instructions to Parish Priests.* Early English Text Society, Lond. 1868, p. 58, and, for a later instance, Thos. Becon. *The Displaying of the Popish Masse.* Lond. 1637, pp. 50 and 296.

burning at service time.[1] Sometimes, so late as the fifteenth century, as contemporary pictures witness, lights were not set upon the altar at all, even in the richest churches, but were held by the clerk, or ministers.[2] The rule gives the utmost freedom in all these points. Where it limits us is in forbidding more than two candles being set upon the altar itself. But this common sense also forbids, for a number of lights would be in the way upon the altar if not pushed so far back that they not only block out the reredos, but smoke it as well, unless they rise above it. On the other hand these reasons have no weight against the lights round about the altar, a number of which may often add greatly to its dignity and beauty by day as by night, and there is no rule but that of good taste concerning these. If these facts were once grasped might not there be an end to the controversy about altar lights, and a beginning to the recovery of their beauty?

VIII. Flowers used in religious worship not put in water.

It might have been thought that altar flower vases depended for their existence upon the gradine. But not so. For I found in the German Museum at Nuremberg a print of the mass of St. Gregory of the late fifteenth, or early sixteenth, century,[3] which shews two unmistakeable pots, or "vases," standing upon the slab of the altar. It is not, however, so clear that the tall single spike of lilies in each of these pots is intended to represent the natural flower. On the contrary they are drawn like the most conventional fleur-de-lys, in the form common to metal work. The pots themselves are like cruets, each with a single handle and a lid open on a hinge.

It is known that in the later medieval time in England, (whether in Germany I am not aware), the "jewels" came to include not only reliquaries and images of precious metal, but any odd pieces of plate.[4] May not this be the history of these flower vases?

Even in the German instance (and it gives us no authority for its imitation in England), there is not the outrage upon the old idea of sacrifice which there is in the modern custom of offering flowers in religious worship, even upon the very altars, and making them last as long as they will hold together by setting their stalks in water. The whole heathen world, as well as our Christian forefathers, will rise up and condemn us for such niggardliness and false sentiment.

The gross subterfuges of wire and gum, of mutilating God's creations by cutting out of anthers, lest the petals of lilies should be touched with gold, and other appliances for economising flowers, like the fan-shaped tubes of tin, may be passed over as beneath

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[1] This tradition, which more than anything marks the symbolical character of the altar lights, survived until our own day. See Mackenzie E. C. Walcott. *Traditions and Customs of Cathedrals.* Lond. 1872, p. 162. "As a trace of old usage" candles "are placed on the altar only at the time of celebration at Salisbury, Ely, Lichfield, Exeter, St. Patrick's, and Christ Church, Dublin."

[2] See, e.g. a most elaborately finished picture of St. Giles saying mass in the presence of the King at St. Denys, figured on Plate XVI. of the Illustrated Catalogue of *Early Netherlandish Pictures*, Burlington Fine Arts Club. Lond. 1892, p. 13.

[3] In a case labelled *Schrotblätter*, 1460-1500.

[4] Apparently these were sometimes placed upon the altar itself, somewhat in the same manner that the plate is still displayed upon the altars of our old fashioned churches. See Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite's Paper on "The Meaning of the Ornaments Rubric," *Transactions of the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society.* Vol. II. p. 316, note 4, in which he quotes from Nichols's *Illustrations of Ancient Manners and Expenses*, p. 132: "I bequethe to the said church (St. George's Stamford), for the solempne fest dayes to stande upon the high awter ij grete basyne of sylver." (Will of Sir W. Bruges, 1449). But is not this exceptional, and of the nature of an abuse, the jewels being usually mentioned as upon the halpas, or reredos?

contempt. Also the condition of an altar with dead flowers and insects dropping on it from the vases, and slugs crawling up from the flower pots surrounding it, and tainted by the horrible smell of the stalks, slimy and decaying in the water, though the heads of the flowers may look fresh in the distance, is an abuse which has only to be mentioned to be acknowledged. But these are abuses of continual recurrence, in a more or less aggravated form; and they must of necessity continue until ladies, or their equals in the love of cleanliness and fragrance, will attend to the flowers every day. But to ask that the time, which this would involve, should be spent upon the church flowers daily is practically asking the impossible. Hence the only remedy is to cut at the root of the abuse, by returning to the use of flowers in religious worship which has satisfied the mind, and sense of beauty, of the pagan Greeks and of the whole Christian Church.

Almost anywhere abroad, including so large a church as St. Peter's in Rome, and in a few places in England,[1] this old use still obtains. On certain great days the floor of the church is strewn with herbs, such as box and fir, or with rushes, and sometimes scattered with flowers. Or the flowers are woven into garlands, or worn on the head like crowns; as I saw the girls wearing wreaths of fine myrtle in the procession through the streets of Würtzburg on the Feast of the Assumption; and as, so Mr. T. Garner tells me, he saw a priest crowned at his first mass, some thirty years ago at Coblentz.

Now nothing will keep a church so sweet and fresh as box, pine needles, or young fir, strewn over the floor; or any herbs which breathe out a natural incense, but will not stain, when crushed; and nothing is of more use in cleaning, when, as after a festival, it is all swept up. And it is a matter of a few moments to lay down in places, (those which are not trodden upon would naturally first be chosen), the heads of red and white roses, or other sweet smelling flowers that do not fade immediately. Yet there should be no false sentiment about the flower described as "the grass which to-day is and to-morrow is cast into the oven." A fresh flower which fades naturally when gathered, unlike one which gradually decays in water, is beautiful and fragrant to the last. If its Creator did not look upon its fading with horror, we need not.

This old way of using flowers in religious worship is not only less troublesome, (and the devout would not grudge the mere trouble, though they would question the wisdom of spending so much time upon what is not enjoined), but it is infinitely more beautiful than any other, and we moderns are not altogether dead to it. The instinct of it is seen in the best painters of to-day, who paint roses scattered along a table or on the floor. And no poet will sing about an artificially preserved flower: it must be growing in its native place, or in a garden, or else freshly picked, or "if't be faded" it must be "with prayer's sole breath."

And, once again, the very highest beauty of form and colour, attainable by man's skill, should be brought to bear upon the adornment of the altar: and yet, while we take pains to get the best we can of this for less important parts of the church, we let the beauty of the altar depend upon the chance of what flowers and what skill the sacristan may happen to have. Even when the instinct of beauty was a thing shared by everyone more or less (as it appears to have been to us who look back), the decoration of the altar was not left to chance; and it certainly is not reasonable so to leave it now.

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[1] Such as Fenstanton and Grasmere, and at St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol, where on certain occasions rushes are still strewn.

IX. The Eucharist reserved at the High Altar, but not upon it.

There is one other ornament usually connected with the gradine, viz., the box form of tabernacle for reserving the Eucharist, which medieval Germany seems to have known no more than medieval England.

In England the Eucharist was always reserved in a pix, or tabernacle, suspended above the high altar. There is a universal witness of written documents and pictures to this use, with no exceptions of any weight that are covered by our rubric.[1]

But in Germany, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Sacrament houses, that is, fixed structures near to, but not upon, the high altar, appear to have been the rule. These differ only by their great size and magnificence from the side aumbries, which succeeded the hanging pix in Scotland in the troublous times of the sixteenth century.

In comparison with even this form of the tabernacle for the reservation of the Eucharist, and still more in comparison with the tabernacle hanging over the high altar, it will be felt how insignificant and badly placed is the modern tabernacle upon the altar.

Lyndewode, it will be remembered, expressly states that the *consuetudo anglicana*, viz., that the Eucharist should hang under a canopy over the high altar, is to be commended in that it places the Eucharist in a more dignified and prominent position. On the other hand he contrasts it unfavourably with the stone Sacrament houses, doubtless similar to these German examples, which he has seen abroad, inasmuch as, under the condition of things existing in his time, the latter afforded greater security.

To-day the advantages of the English custom remain unchanged; but the disadvantages which Lyndewode felt need no longer exist. It is possible in every case to place the pix in safety, both by withdrawing it out of reach, and by securing the approach to it. Or are we to make no use of the greater facilities in mechanism which the present day places at our disposal?

The hanging tabernacle of the fifteenth century in the Benedictine Church of Milton Abbas, in Dorsetshire, which is almost the only example known to have survived in England, bears a striking resemblance to the usual German and Flemish Sacrament houses, inasmuch as it is in the form of a steeple. Both point to heaven; but the English tabernacle, though smaller, gains in importance from the fact of its position over the altar instead of at the side. It is, moreover, let down from heaven, and not even based upon the earth. The gain in spiritual beauty is as great as the gain in material beauty.

The Milton tabernacle is made of timber in four stories, richly carved and painted except on one side, which is plain, and evidently not intended to be seen. The opening is on this

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[1] In regard to this I must refer to the evidence given in a former paper (*Transactions of the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society* Vol. III. pp. 199–204), merely noting that there is but one exception to the English custom, which appears to be definite, viz., the "j coffyn for to kepe the sacrament on the by auter," at St. Stephen's Coleman Street, in the inventory of 1466, under "Cheste and Almoryes" (cited by Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite in his paper on the Ornaments Rubric, from *Archæologia*. Vol. L. p. 44), but that we do not know what form this took. The "little coffer upon the hie altar" at St. Margaret's, Westminster, although of the date 1547, was introduced by the influence of the court, and not "by the authority of Parliament," as may be seen by reference to the item immediately preceding it in the churchwardens' accounts, which shows the much larger sum spent upon entertaining "the King's visitours," viz., 12*s.* 8*d.*, as against 1*s.* 4*d.* spent on making the tabernacle, "for to set in the Sacrament, with other necessaries," (see John Nichols. *Illustrations of the Manners and Expenses of Antient Times in England*, &c. Lond. 1797, pp. 12, 13); so that this, though a definite instance, cannot be said to have the authority of the rubric. The distinction between the influence of the Court and the authority of Parliament is ably pointed out by Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite in the preface to his list of the ornaments. *Transactions of the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society*. Vol. II. p. 310.

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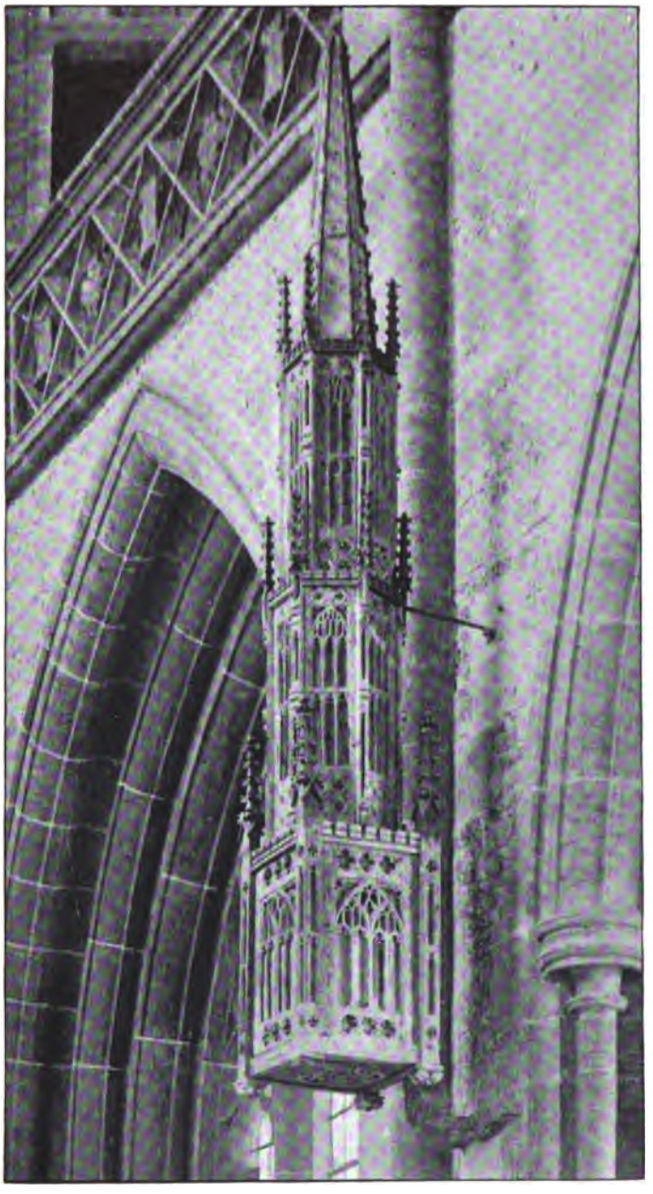

THE TABERNACLE OF MILTON ABBEY CHURCH IN ITS PRESENT POSITION.

side and in the lowest story, which is 1 ft. 3¾ in. square on plan, and 2 ft. high. The bottom panel is evidently intended to be seen, being pierced in elaborately carved interlacing work and the four pinnacles at the corners based on roses. The remaining three stories are hexagonal; the first two, as well as the lowest story, have perpendicular sides and corner buttresses terminating in pinnacles, the story above being set within the pinnacles of the story beneath; and the fourth and highest story is itself a larger pinnacle or steeple, of which the summit is broken away. The whole height of what remains is about 9 ft. 2¾ in.

Through the kindness of the Revd. E. H. Bousfield and Canon C. H. Mayo, who have lent the Society the blocks, I am able to shew the accompanying three pictures. The first represents the tabernacle in its present position, attached to the west wall of the south transept.[1] The second is a contemporary miniature, which shews a tabernacle of similar appearance, and hanging in its place beneath the canopy over the altar in a monastic quire.[2] And the third is a perspective drawing, truly done to scale, which shews the existing altar screen[3] at Milton Abbey, and the tabernacle hanging in front of it in the manner of the miniature. Indeed, so striking is the resemblance, that this miniature leaves little room to doubt the tradition that the ornament at Milton was used for the reservation of the Eucharist,[4]

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[1] The Society is indebted to Canon Mayo for the loan of this plate, which is from a photograph by Mr. W. Ellis, 34, St. John's Church Rd. Hackney, N.E.

[2] British Museum. Egerton MSS. No. 1070, fol. 54. Probably Parisian and of the late fifteenth century, and said to have been given to King Henry VII. I am indebted to Mr. W. A. Luning for pointing out this miniature, and for the photograph from which the plate was made.

It has, however, been said that the tabernacle shewn here is a silver pix, only about one foot high. To which it may be replied that miniatures of this late date evince collectively, and this one in particular, sufficient skill and care to make it unlikely that the painters of them would shew a tabernacle the whole height of the window from the reredos to the canopy which hangs close against the roof, if they wished to represent only a metal pix one foot in height.

Compare this drawing, for instance, with two miniatures in another French MSS. of the fifteenth century in the British Museum. (Add. MSS. No. 16,997, fol. 145 and fol. 120). The first has a circular altar canopy similar in shape and size to that shewn in the drawing in question, but without any kind of tabernacle beneath it. The second has a canopy of similar shape, but only twice the diameter of the small pix which it shelters; and they hang from a bracket projecting behind the back of the priest as he stands at the altar. It would seem clear that in the first named instances the canopy is the ciborium of the altar, the middle of which it entirely shelters, and in the last instance that it is no more than a small pix cloth. The two canopies are as distinctly different as are the two tabernacles.

No one pretends that the perspective of a miniature is to be entirely trusted, but if in the miniature here printed the altar be taken as 3 feet 6 inches high, the tabernacle cannot be measured to scale at less than 5 feet; and the tendency of these drawings is not to enlarge, but to contract the altar and its surroundings, as may be seen in all the instances to which I have referred. I therefore submit that the evidence of the miniature is more than that of an accidental resemblance in form to the tabernacle at Milton Abbey.

[3] The images in the screen and the high altar and its ornaments, with the canopy above it, alone do not exist. The altar screen has been repaired everywhere in plaster by Wyatt; but on the lower part and on the cornice at the top of the screen, as well as on some of the intermediate mullions, it is a surface coating only. The large tabernacle-work appears to be all in plaster, but unless Wyatt is maligned, the general design of it is too good to be his invention. We are, besides, told (John Hutchins. *The History and Antiquities of the County of Dorset.* Second Edition, Vol. IV. Lond. 1815, p. 230. And the Third Edition, Westminster, 1872, p. 405) that under Wyatt's direction, about 1789, "the altar-piece, which had been plastered over, as is supposed in the time of Cromwell, to prevent its defacement, was restored."

[4] Since the present paper was read the tabernacle has been described by Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite as a bell cote, and the idea of its having been made to contain the pix for the Eucharist has, in consequence, been dismissed in some recent periodicals, (e.g. *The Antiquary.* No 93. New Series. September 1897). Whether there is any proof forthcoming in justification of this dismissal remains to be seen, but none has yet been

and that it hung under a canopy over the high altar. It is mentioned also in the description of the Benedictine Church of Durham, at the time of the Dissolution, that "over the High

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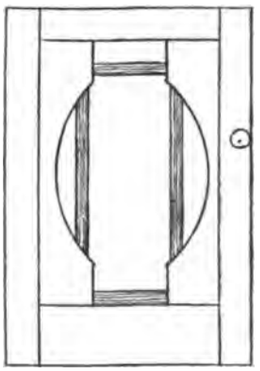
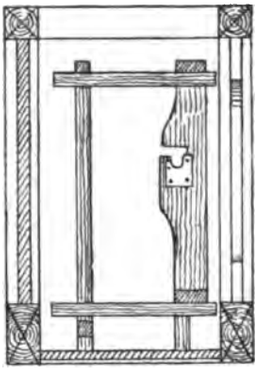
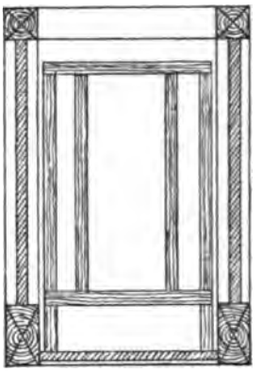
DIAGRAMS SHEWING THE LOOSE FRAME WITHIN THE TABERNACLE AT MILTON ABBEY.



ELEVATION OF THE BACK OF THE TABERNACLE, SHEWING THE FRAME INSIDE.



SECTION FROM FRONT TO BACK.



SECTION FROM SIDE TO SIDE.

(The Society is indebted to the Revd. E. H. Bousfield for the loan of this block.)

produced. In the meantime I give all the evidence known to me, and the explanation which seems most probable; and I have no hesitation in retaining the commonly received opinion that the ornament was made for a tabernacle for the Eucharist.

The interior (which is difficult to examine, owing to the height of the tabernacle from the floor and its close proximity to the wall), is 1 ft. 6 in. high, and 11⅜ in. wide, within the frame. There is no trace of a door; but two boards, ¾ in. thick and 2¾ in. wide, are fixed at each side, nearly flush with the face of the frame at the back; and these boards are cut out so as to leave an opening between them, shaped like an oval, 9⅝ in. wide across the middle, with a neck at the top and bottom 5 in. wide and 2¾ in. deep. This opening is very suggestive. For a pix of the ordinary shape and size could easily be passed through it, either to hang, or to stand, within it. (See an English miniature in Lydgate's *Life of St. Edmund*, British Museum, Harl. MSS., No. 2,278, fol. 53. in which the pix is shewn hanging under a triple crown in a transparent bag). This completes the account of the actual fabric of the tabernacle, and so far it is clear enough. But there is set within it a rough frame of ten light pieces of wood, viz., six upright pieces and four rails. Four of the upright pieces are on a line with each other, towards the front of the loose frame, but the two inner ones, being wider, project beyond the others. The face of these is about 2¼ in. from the face of the opening and 11¾ in. from the inside of the front panel of the tabernacle, and they are only 5⅜ in. apart. They are curved at the back from 3 in. to about 2 in. at the top and bottom, and notched out in the deepest part so as to lodge some kind of rod midway between the top and bottom rails, which are 1 ft. 2½ in. apart; and the openings where the rod would rest are protected by a little copper plate nailed to the inner side of each. It would be difficult to explain this frame in connexion with the pix; while, taken by itself, it seems entirely to justify Mr. Micklethwaite's opinion. Yet I venture to think that if, on the evidence of this frame, we accept the ornament as having been made for a bell cote, it then becomes extremely difficult to account for the construction of the main fabric.

For the frame is nowhere attached to the structure of the tabernacle, but stands loosely inside it, and so that the projecting ends nearly touch the side panels, and it is kept in its place by the above-mentioned boards (which must therefore have been removed, or else never fixed until the frame was inserted), and though the bottle shaped opening left by these boards does not interfere with the frame, it seems to have no further

Altar did hang a rich and most sumptuous Canapie for the Blessed Sacrament to hang within it, which had two irons fastened in the French Peere" (i.e., the altar screen of French

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relation to it. It would also be very strange if the bottom panel, (which is pierced everywhere, except in the middle, between the carved interlacing riband, and is only ½ in. in thickness), being the slightest part of the whole structure, had been originally intended to do all the work of carrying the bell frame, which now rests entirely upon it. Thus it seems clear, from the evidence which the ornament itself supplies, that the tabernacle was not made for the bell frame. And if we turn to known examples of boxes for sacring bells, this evidence is confirmed. Mr. G. E. Street gives a figure of one of them, at Gerona. (*Gothic Architecture in Spain.* Lond. 1865, p. 328). It is a box, fixed flat against the wall and open at the top; the front of it, which is, roughly, half a hexagon in shape, is covered with, apparently open, tracery, or arcading, and masks one half of a double wheel of many bells. Two others he describes at Barcelona: "Near to the door to the sacristies a hexagonal box for the wheel of bells is fixed against the wall; and just below it a fine large square box arcaded at the sides, and painted, appears to contain a couple of larger bells." (*Ib.* p. 306). He gives a drawing of another, which is in elevation not a hexagon but a complete octagon fastened flat against the wall, and is very open in front, as well as perforated at the sides. (*Ib.* p. 345). Contrast with these the great structure at Milton with the small frame standing loosely within it and contracting the space otherwise available for bells, and nothing in the construction or arcading of it to hint at its being intended for them. Had the ornament been originally constructed for a bell cote, the frame for the bell would surely have been attached directly to it, and without the intervention of another frame; and it would have contained, if not several bells, yet one bell, or wheel, as large as the bottom story would admit of. We might further reasonably expect, instead of the arcading being laboriously carved in solid panels, and cut through only in the traceried head on one side, and in the two top openings of it on the opposite side, and not at all in the front panels, (as if it were an afterthought to pierce any of it), that every opening would have been cut right through, if not to let the sound out, at least to express the purpose of the chamber. Again we should have expected that the whole ornament would have been arranged so as to be fastened securely against the wall like the Spanish examples, instead of being held out from the wall by two clumsy irons, which fail to keep it steady. The top stories, also, are entirely closed, and bear no evidence of having been used. The bottom of the second story is formed of a board 1½ in. thick, with two other boards, each 1 in. thick, cramped to it by two irons: and there are two other boards, cramped in the same way, at the level of the bottom of the third story. But there is a single board about 3½ in. below this, which has a hole in the middle 2 in. in diameter. It would seem that this board belongs to the original structure, and that the others are merely strengthening pieces, added when the tabernacle was fixed to the wall by horizontal irons. The pieces cramped together can be so explained, but the board with a hole in the middle can only be explained by a rod or chain having passed through it when the tabernacle, or pix, was hanging.

But besides the definite instances of boxes for sacring bells surviving in Spain, and illustrated in the work which I have quoted above, there is an ornament of the fourteenth century still preserved at Tewkesbury on the north wall of the quire at the entrance to the presbytery, which, as seen from beneath, bears every appearance of having been made for a bell, and though its form is different, the method of its construction is somewhat similar to the Spanish examples. It may be roughly described as being on plan half an octagon, standing flat against a plain wall upon a very simple, but solid, stone corbel, which is pierced through the middle as if to allow a bell rope to pass. There is no frame for a bell, but a hook in the ceiling, from which a bell may have hung. There is but one story and the three principal sides are perforated in their whole height. It has indeed been said that this ornament also, as well as the circular lantern like tabernacle of the thirteenth century preserved at Wells, was once a hanging shrine for the Eucharist; and it is conceivable that it was originally a complete octagon, and was used for that purpose. For, were the octagon complete, it would differ only from the Wells example in the style of its decoration: which difference of style makes it in appearance more to resemble the Milton ornament of the fifteenth century, but it is a surface resemblance only. The method of the Tewkesbury ornament is altogether different from that at Milton, so that, even if it is certain that the former was originally made for a bell cote, it only makes it the more unlikely that the ornament at Milton Abbey was made for that purpose. On the other hand both the Tewkesbury and the Milton ornaments would be very natural developments of the Wells tabernacle.

Nor would it be unlikely if they were afterwards put to another use. It is known that ornaments were interfered with for some definite purpose in Queen Mary's and Queen Elizabeth's reigns, as well as out of mere caprice in still later times. There is an instance at Warkleigh of a standing tabernacle being made out of an earlier ornament. The devices on the panels, of which it is constructed, have been cut into, thereby shewing

stone), "very finely gilt, which held the canapie over the midst of the said High Altar (that the Pix did hang in it that it could not move nor stir)," when, as is mentioned further on, the pix was drawn "upp and downe."[1] There are traces of the irons at Milton, and it is reasonable to infer that they were for the same purpose as in the sister church of Durham. By their aid

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clearly that they were painted before they were put together; and, whatever may have been their previous history, they are of much earlier date than the mouldings on the base which can hardly be before Queen Mary's time. (See the *Transactions of the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society*. New Series. Exeter, 1892, Vol. V. pp. 128–130, in which this ornament is figured and described). It would, therefore, be nothing improbable, if at that time, or even later, when the hanging tabernacle was no longer used, this ornament at Milton should have been turned into a receptacle for the "small bell inside the church," which Mr. Micklethwaite tells us, seems to have continued in use "even till the total stopping of the church services during the puritan usurpation in the seventeenth century." (*Transactions of the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society*. Vol. II. p. 317). It is said to have been Pugin who first described the ornament as a tabernacle for the Eucharist. Hutchins (*The History and Antiquities of the County of Dorset*. First Edition. Lond. 1774, pp. 445, 446), says that "on the W. wall" of the south transept "hangs a noble model in wood of a very high octagon spire. Perhaps such an one was intended to be placed on the tower, had not the dissolution prevented it." And again (on p. 442, above) he says that "on the N. wall" of the chancel "hangs a very ancient model of a spire, perhaps the ancient one of this church." And Wharton in 1781 makes the same statement: "in the transept," he says, "is hung up an old original model in wood of an intended spire, with rich mouldings, in the florid Gothic. A bit of another model of the same hangs up near the altar." (*Ib.* Second Edition. Lond. 1815, Vol. IV. p. 230. And the Third Edition. Westminster, 1872, p. 404). That there were two tabernacles for the Eucharist may fairly be dismissed as out of the question; but equally fairly it must be admitted that, though two bell cotes are likely enough, there is nothing to shew that the "bit of another model" was for a bell. The north side of the chancel near the high altar was the normal position for two of the regular ornaments of the church, viz., the image of the patron Saint and the Easter sepulchre. An example of the former is described at Long Melford, where, "at the north end" of the high altar "there was a goodly tilt tabernacle, reaching up to the roof of the church, in the which there was a large fair gilt image of 'the Holy Trinity' being Patron of the church, besides other fair images. The like Tabernacle was at the south end." (E. Lauriston Conder. *Church of the Holy Trinity, Long Melford, Suffolk*. Lond. 1887, p. 78). I know of no description of the moveable parts of the sepulchre, but some of them are amongst the instances of ornaments turned to other uses than those for which they were intended, in Queen Elizabeth's reign, such as "a communion table," "a presse," and "a bear to carie the dead corps and other things." (See Ed. Peacock. *English Church Furniture*. Lond. 1866, pp. 60, 99, 144. They were besides turned to profane uses, such as "a shelf for to set dishes on," p. 65, "a presse, to laie clothes therein," p. 67, "a henne penne," p. 73). Now I do not say that this "model of a spire on the N. wall" of the chancel, or the "bit . . . near the altar," was either the canopy over the image of the patron Saint, or a part of the Easter sepulchre, because whatever is said about it must remain pure speculation. But the eighteenth century descriptions of it are so loose, (e.g. the tabernacle which still remains is described as an octagon, though a glance at it would have shewn that it was a square with a hexagon upon it), that we cannot be at all sure that the one ornament was exactly like the other, and both the tabernacle for the patron Saint, and even some part of the sepulchre, might as likely be taken for the model of a church spire as the existing ornament was taken for one, while the usual arrangements for the sacring bell are less likely to be so mistaken.

One thing, however, is certain, viz., that this remaining ornament, as drawn to scale above the high altar at Milton Abbey, closely resembles the hanging tabernacle in the miniature here printed. It is also curious that, through the evidence of the remains of the irons in the screen, and the description of the hanging tabernacle in the sister church of Durham, it should be possible to hang this ornament in the same way, with no more appliances visible than those shewn in the drawing. And, when so hung, it must be admitted that, since the prominence of the tabernacle was a thing that was aimed at, this example does not look in the least degree too large for its surroundings. Nor would its size have made it impracticable to hang it; for, large as this tabernacle is, it is smaller in diameter than any contemporary suspended font cover and not so high as many of them. On the other hand, while it seems clear that the ornament has at one time been used for a bell, there is absolutely no evidence to shew that it was made for that purpose. In view of which things the commonly received opinion that it was a tabernacle for reserving the Eucharist may reasonably be retained.

[1] Written in 1593. See the *Rites of Durham*, Surtees Society, 15. Lond. 1842, pp. 6, 7.

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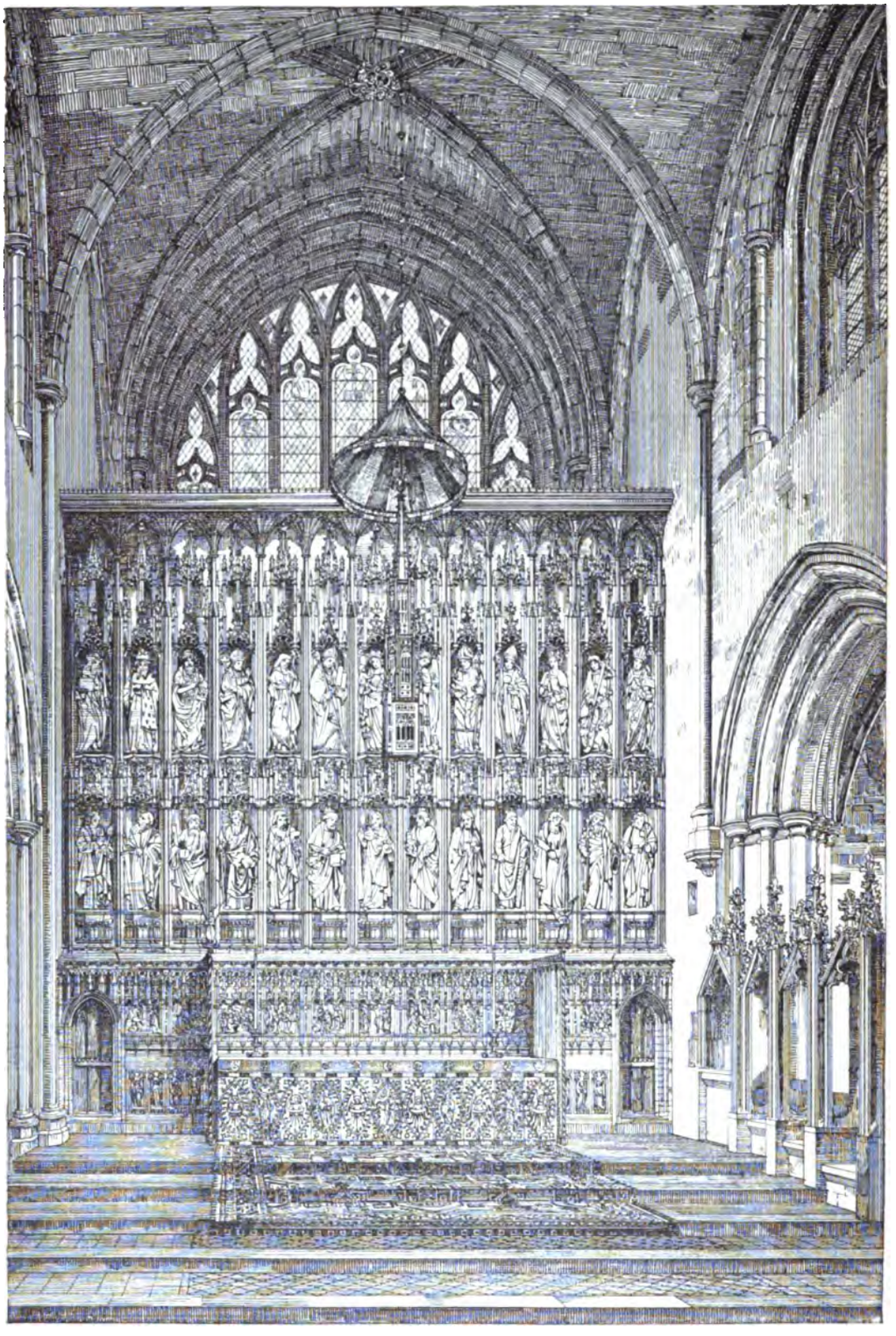

DRAWING SHEWING THE ANCIENT TABERNACLE, WITH THE CANOPY, ALTAR AND IMAGERY, RESTORED TO THE HIGH ALTAR SCREEN AT MILTON ABBEY, DORSETSHIRE.

MINIATURE SHEWING A TABERNACLE SIMILAR TO THE EXISTING TABERNACLE AT MILTON ABBEY, BUT HANGING IN ITS PLACE UNDER THE CANOPY OVER THE HIGH ALTAR OF A MONASTIC QUIRE; THE ALTAR BEING STRIPPED FOR A SERVICE FOR THE DEAD.

the tabernacle would hang square, and not swing round[1] so as to shew its plain side, but the opening would always face the east, and the priest, turning from the altar, could without difficulty remove the pix when the tabernacle was lowered. In this way also the tabernacle would be sufficiently in advance of the altar screen so as not to block out its imagery, and the steadying irons would be concealed by the canopy above.

X. The Altar canopy, or ciborium.

In every case, where there was a hanging tabernacle, it would appear that there was also a canopy, in some form, above it. The circular silken tent, mentioned in English inventories, and shewn in the miniature here printed, is the kind of canopy most commonly to be met with, and sometimes it is to be found even where no tabernacle is shewn.[2] The triple crown may be another form; but it is perhaps a question, in view of the evidence given by the Islip roll of the flat square tester shewn above the high altar at Westminster and the triple crown hung beneath it, if there was not generally another canopy used in conjunction with the triple crown; and if it ought not therefore to be classed as another of the forms of the tabernacle, such as those at Wells and Milton.[3]

XI. The curtains, or screens round the Altar.

In the canopy may be traced the survival of the earliest tradition of the Christian altar, which stood beneath the ciborium, and was screened by curtains on all of its four sides.

The columns of the ciborium also survived in the four pillars which are commonly to be seen in pictures of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, standing one at each corner of the altar to support the curtain rods, and surmounted by images of angels generally bearing tapers; and the curtains or screens at the back and ends of the altar themselves still remained the rule. Even the curtain in front of the altar survived in England at the time of our rubric in the form of the Lent veil, which was drawn across the chancel in that season.[4]

The meaning of the reredos, or screen at the back of the Altar, and of the riddels, or screens at the ends of the Altar.

At all other times everything was done that could reasonably be done to bring the altar and its ministers prominently into the view of the worshippers; and for this purpose there was, and is, no more occasion to abandon the screens at the back and ends of the altar than to abandon the canopy above it: and ordinary reverence, as well as obedience to our rules, requires that they shall be retained. They afford a shelter to the altar and its ministers during the celebration of the holy mysteries, which cannot be dispensed with without distinct loss in the outward things which contribute to reverence and holy fear.

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[1] The lantern like tabernacle, or canopy, for the pix, of the thirteenth century (which is described as such by Mr. St. John Hope, but as a lantern for a light by Mr. Micklethwaite), at Wells cathedral church, still retains the irons by which it was hung, and they are so constructed that the tabernacle cannot swing round when drawn up and down. But the summit of the Milton Abbey tabernacle is broken off, and with it has disappeared the valuable evidence which it would have afforded.

[2] See, e.g. British Museum. Cott. MSS. Domit. No. 17. fol. 11. Add. MSS. No. 16,997. fol. 145, and No. 18,850, fol. 32.

It is also to be seen in the glass at Fairford in the window of the Presentation in the Temple, *i.e.* in the easternmost window on the north side of our Lady's chancel. Another altar, with a very low triptych, is painted in the base of the easternmost light of the first window east of the south porch. How far this glass is English, and how far German, does not yet seem to be determined.

[3] See the Islip roll (*c.* 1552) in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries. At Milton the square-shaped tester would have blocked out the window, so that in all probability the canopy was of the circular form.

[4] Together with the use of white linen in Lent, the veil survived well into the reign of Queen Elizabeth. See Ed. Peacock. *English Church Furniture.* Lond. 1866, e.g. pp. 67, 76, 94.

That this is forgotten is little wonder, in view of present fashions, which owe their origin to an inaccurate copying of old pictures, the perspective drawing of which, it may be admitted, is not always perfect. Thus the screens at the ends of the altar are set at an angle of 45° instead of at right angles to the reredos, so that they no longer shelter the altar, and have quite lost their meaning. It is, however, sometimes urged that their use was to shelter the candles. But this cannot be the case, since almost invariably in old pictures the tapers are shewn higher than the curtains. For these side screens are always level with the top of the reredos, or the screen at the back of the altar, and the whole height of them is never much more than the height of a man as he stands upon the foot pace. Not only is this so beneath the east window of an English parish church, where the height may be said to be controlled; but it is the same beneath the high altar screen of a quire where there is nothing to control the height. It is clear therefore that their purpose is simply to shelter the altar and its ministers, and that to make them higher has neither reason nor meaning. On the contrary it at once not only dwarfs the altar, as has already been said, but it also puts the ministers out of scale, instead of giving prominence to them.

The very nature of an ornament is that it is secondary to what it adorns; and, since the size of the altar itself is controlled by the height of a man, the size of its ornaments is, to one who is ruled by reason, equally controlled; notwithstanding that it is in his power to enlarge these indefinitely. In the highest Christian work the power to do this was as obvious as it is now; but it was not used. It is a note of barbarism and lawlessness to make ornaments huge. The savage and the "decivilised" man are alike in refusing to recognise any limitations but those which are forced upon them.

The screens at the ends of the altar always remained in the form of curtains, because it is necessary at times to draw them aside. And, therefore, they were not attached merely to looped cords as is the fashion now, but the cords were fastened to rings, so that the curtains might be adjusted with ease; and being short they were not too heavy to be carried by wands projecting from the reredos without front supports, in those cases in which the four pillars were dispensed with.

May we not learn from the caricature of the costers, or riddels, as these side curtains were called in English, to which has lately been given the name of "wings," that nothing produces such great blundering as an inaccurate copying of the past, in a strange forgetfulness that things robbed of their meaning are robbed of their beauty also?

Equally thoughtless is the obscuration of the meaning of the screen at the back of the altar, that is, the reredos. It would appear that most frequently in England this screen also remained in its earliest form of a hanging curtain, and was generally richly embroidered with images and flowers.[1]

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[1] The inventories are full of such entries as the following, from Sutton at Hone, xxiij November. vi Ed. VI: "Item v hangyngs for thalter the beste of cremysen velvett the frenge of the same white red and grene silk servyng the nether parte of the alter the second of white and grene satten the frenges of the same grene threde and white of wollen. Item the thirde to hange above the coloures white and grene satten and frenged with grene and white wollen thred with thymage of the Trinitie embrothered with gold thred the iiijth of blewe satten of bridgs with thymags of St John our Ladye and St Michell with sterres of gold with a frenge of grene and white silk and ij curteyns of red and grene silke." (*Archæologia Cantiana.* Vol. XIV. Lond. 1882. pp. 292, 293). That is, apparently, two nether frontals, two upper frontals and a pair of riddels.

But often the hanging curtain gave place to a solid frame, or "table," as it was called, either of precious metal,[1] or of a painted board,[2] or of carved and painted timber, alabaster, or stone.[3] But of whatever material it may be, or by whatever name it may be called, this reredos is the one essential ornament for the back of the altar. It may not be replaced, or blocked out, by a gradine or candle ledge, nor lifted high above the altar. It may stand upon the altar, be built into the wall, or hang from a rod above the altar, provided only that the bottom of it touches the altar slab; for otherwise the sense of its being a screen is lost, and with that its meaning and beauty are gone also.

XII. The nether frontal, or covering of the front of the Altar.

Practically identical in form with the reredos or upper frontal is the nether frontal, or the ornament which reverently covers the front of the altar itself. This also may be of any material of which the reredos can be made, provided only that it is moveable, so that it may be possible to shew the bare fabric of the altar at the end of the Holy Week, or, as it appears in many old miniatures, at masses for the dead.

No black covering can compensate for the sense of desolation produced by the appearance of a bare and absolutely plain stone altar when stripped of its frontal; just as no black or violet vestments can afford the same emphasis of the Lenten season as the striking contrast to every other time afforded by the English custom of covering up all the gold and colour in the church with coarse white linen.

An absolutely plain fabric of stone, or occasionally wood, was the rule for the altar at the time of our rubric; but under the frontals of some German altars may not uncommonly be found some simple and uncoloured panelling; yet hardly enough to disturb their solid and severe appearance when laid bare.[4] Mr. St. John Hope mentions some traces of panelling on the altar at William of Wykham's tomb at Winchester. No other English instance seems known, and the fact of its being a chantry altar may perhaps account for this treatment and mark it off from being a precedent for the decoration of the fabrics of other English altars.[5]

The frontlet, which is often erroneously called the superfrontal, is sometimes treated as if

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[1] The reredoses, or frontals of precious metal are naturally only to be found in wealthy churches, such as Winchester, (see Dugdale. *Monasticon Anglicanum.* Lond. 1817. Vol. I. p. 202), Fountains (see *Memorials of the Abbey of St. Mary of Fountains.* Surtees Society. Durham, 1863, Vol. XLII. p. 291), Bury (see M. R. James. *On the Abbey of St. Edmund at Bury.* Cambridge, 1895, p. 119), Ely, in the form of "a ffolding table for an aulter," (see W. B. D. D. Turnbull. *Account of the Monastic Treasures confiscated at the Dissolution.* Edinburgh, 1836, pp. 50, 51), and at Canterbury "an image of the Holy Trinity, and six Apostles, in silver gilt." (Battely. *Antiq. Cant.* p. 75).

[2] See one preserved at Romsey, and those incorporated into the chancel screen at Randworth, which, being a church without aisles, had side altars at the east end of the nave.

[3] Fragments of carved images from reredoses in painted alabaster are not uncommon. And the carved tabernacle work of stone reredoses may be seen in situ at Geddington, Northants; Christchurch, Hampshire; Milton Abbas; Eaton Bray, Bedfordshire; and flanking the chancel screen at Smarden, Kent. A wooden frame is at Worstead in Norfolk.

[4] See, e.g. the high altar at Xanten.

[5] Contemporary pictures always shew the nether frontal, except when a service for the dead is represented, as in the miniature printed in this paper, or in the case of an altar under the old dispensation, as in Memling's Presentation in the Temple, at Bruges, and in numerous miniatures.

it were part of the nether frontal[1]; but it is really the apparel of the second of the three altar towels. It was never of lace; and even to-day lace is objected to, for its effeminate and trivial appearance, as much by thoughtful Roman Catholics[2] as by ourselves; while its incongruity with ornaments described as "Gothic," should need no pointing out.

The rules peculiar to quires.

There remains to be mentioned the very great and marked difference between an English and a German church in those less immediate, but equally dependent ornaments of the altar, which have been already referred to. And this difference is most striking in the case of parish churches.

For in an English quire the high altar was frequently set against a high wall, which is covered from top to bottom, and from side to side, with elaborate tabernacle work and imagery, saving only the spaces against which the altar and its reredos were set,[3] and the two doors which give access to that part of the church which is behind the quire; and this arrangement is somewhat similar to that of the high triptychs in German churches, and still more to the great altar screens of all Spanish churches; and in none of these cases is there an open screen of stone or timber in front of the high altar, but only a closed screen similar to the altar screen itself, or, as in Spain, an absolutely transparent metal grate is placed between the altar screen and the quire screen at the entrance to the presbytery.

In this respect quires are alike all the world over. For when the primary purpose of a church is for a monastical or collegiate body it is found essential that it should be possible to shut off the quire so that it may be private from the rest of the church which is used parochially. And even, should such a church be now primarily for parochial use, if it is a building as large as most of our cathedral churches, a screen which cuts the church in two and has an altar in front of it is as much a practical necessity for the reasonable use of the building as it was when it was first planned in this way. The ruthless removal of these screens in late years has not enabled the congregations in the naves of our largest churches to attend to the service at the high altar of the quire with any substantial gain to either eyes or ears. The attempt to use the church as if the whole building were a parish church, or one great quire, only produces a most uncomfortable strain upon both the ministers and the congregation; while from the point of view of architectural beauty it is absolutely ruinous. For all ordinary services, which in large and well served churches are naturally frequent, the quire, or the nave, is sufficient in itself; and on a great occasion, when one or the other does not afford enough space, the doors of the quire being open, everyone in the church can take practically as reasonable a part in what is being done at the high altar as if there were no screen.

St. Victor's, Xanten, is a good illustration of the modern acceptance of the closed quire screen, though it is not by any means a very large church, and it is now only used parochially. The screen has two large doors and an altar in the midst between them, beneath the rood, so

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[1] At Chipping Campden it is of the same material and has a row of the same flowers as the nether frontal. In pictures it is usually quite different.

[2] In the large Benedictine church at Downside there is no lace used upon any altar, albe, or surplice. The latter are all long and ample: so unsightly a vestment as the short "cotta" being unknown.

[3] See, e.g. Winchester, St. Albans and All Souls, Oxford, which may be said to represent the rule; while such cases as New College, Oxford, and Christ Church Hampshire, in which the reredos is not distinguished from the altar screen, are the exceptions, and may be seen to be much poorer in effect.

far resembling the Jesus altar once at Durham.[1] But at Xanten it is a poor modern rood and altar with the tabernacle for the Eucharist upon it, and it appears to be the altar most frequently in use. When, however, the doors of the screen are open it is surprising how visible the high altar is from the nave.

The rules peculiar to English parish churches.

The presence of the closed screen at Xanten, and in other unaltered German quires, makes the absence of all open screens from the front of the high triptychs the more marked, and it is in this absence of open screens that the difference between German churches and our own parish churches is most felt. From this, I think, we may learn some much needed lessons.

I. The low east window.

We have seen that the rule in both countries is that the high altar of every kind of church has a low reredos, in one form or another. And it may be said further that the chief adornment of the altar above the reredos proper, in all these churches, is a row of great painted images. Very frequently these are three in number. Often they are more. There is, so far, no difference between the two countries: the difference appears in the treatment of these images.

In England, in all parish churches, the images above the high altar are painted in transparent glass, and framed at a distance, as seen from the nave, by the carved and painted tracery of the open chancel screen. While in Germany these images are carved in solid timber, and the screen is, so to speak, removed from the front of the altar and, in the form of the triptych, is made to enclose the images, so that they exclude the light, instead of admitting it.[2]

Now throughout the whole of England, until within the last fifty years, there is no exception to this rule, or, in other words, to the rule of the low east window immediately above the high altar of a parish church, save only in the extremely rare cases in which a Lady chapel or other building was eastwards of the chancel, and made a low window as impossible as it usually is above the high altar of a quire.[3]

Further, it must be mentioned that in England even quires had a low east window immediately above the high altar in all cases in which the church terminated at the high altar; or, in other words, in all cases in which it was possible. Indeed in the late quire of Gloucester particular pains are taken to bring the east window low down in spite of the Lady chapel behind it; and it may be truly said that, while a low east window was universal in English parish churches, it was also the ideal aimed at in English quires, particularly at the most developed period of our ecclesiology.

Here is so striking a difference to what is usual in sunnier lands that we at once ask the cause of it, and the question suggests the answer. It is undoubtedly because of the greater need of light in England.

Upon this turns the whole history of our English architecture in its development from

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[1] See the beautiful description of this rood screen and altar in the *Rites of Durham.* Surtees Society, pp. 28, 29.

[2] The apse in almost all cases is more or less of a lantern above the triptych. The only instance of the absence of an east window which I observed, is in the beautiful little church of St. Wulfgang, Rothenburg, which, being on the walls of the town, is deprived of all windows on the north and east sides. But the absence of the east window is most ingeniously masked by the arrangement of the arches and groining within.

[3] As at Long Melford and St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol, where the east windows of the chancels are raised above the roofs of the Lady chapels. At St. Peter and St. Paul, Mancroft, Norwich, the window was originally considerably lower, and the altar somewhat higher than now.

what was at first of foreign introduction and southern origin. It was not until the fourteenth century that we began to develop a distinctively English architecture, and its fullest utterance is not to be found until the fifteenth century. And the chief characteristic of the English architecture of that time is its windows. It is the special need of light in our climate that brought about that perfect development of beauty in painted glass which in the fifteenth century led to its being made the chief adornment of the altar above the reredos; just as the stronger light in Germany led to the development not so much of the glass as of the solidly carved and painted images which here take its place; and in Spain the still stronger light brought about the exclusive use of the high altar screen.

We feel in England that we cannot have too much light, just as in the South the light cannot be too much excluded.[1] So when dark painted glass was brought into England we gradually made it lighter until in the fifteenth century the windows presented the appearance of sheets of silver, broken only here and there by jewels and gilding.[2] And hand in hand with this development of the glass itself the size and number of the windows were increased, even, as it is commonly thought, at the sacrifice of the lines of the window tracery and other fine points of the earlier architecture.[3] These went for nothing so only that the quantity of glass and the convenience of disposing the painted images in it could be added to. Thus the practical need of light first caused the development of the glass, and then the development of the beauty of the glass caused all other forms of decoration to be made subservient to it.

But that the practical need of light was all the time at the root of this development is shewn even after the fall of the national architecture under the influence of foreign paganism. For not only are the Elizabethan houses as full of great windows[4] as the earlier Tudor houses but even Wren, in his passion for what is pagan, recognised the necessity for light in his churches, and so gave an English character to a style otherwise wholly Italian. Unfortunately for his greatest church, this has lately been forgotten in decorating it in a style only at home in the dimly lighted buildings of the South.

II. The open chancel screen inseparable from the low east window.

Finally, the low east window, aimed at for its own sake in all English churches, is a necessity in parish churches if the high altar is to remain the most prominent object of the church and, at the same time, the chancel screen, as ordered by our rubric, is to be retained. Perhaps the truth of this is best proved by blocking up the east window of an old parish church which

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[1] England and Italy may be taken as two extremes, and Germany as lying somewhat between the two, though nearer to England. Hence may be seen the inappropriateness of, on the one hand, copying Italian methods of church building in England, and, on the other hand, of taking English methods of building to climates like Italy, or more southern still. But even in dealing with such countries as India there is no need to abandon the Christian style of architecture. We have only to adapt it to the climate, as was done in Spain and in the southernmost Spanish territory, and by the Crusaders in Jerusalem.

[2] Some very white glass in the north quire aisle at Xanten is much nearer to our English glass of the fifteenth century than that, for instance, in the more southern church of St. Lawrence, Nuremberg; but it is all much inferior to it.

[3] Before endorsing this common opinion, the question must be faced, whether the inside or the outside of a church is of most importance. For let the finest windows of flowing tracery be compared with the finest windows of perpendicular tracery, both kinds being filled with equally good painted glass, however much anyone may prefer the flowing tracery outside, I think there is no doubt that the other looks best inside. And, even without the glass, there is a simplicity and lightness about the window tracery of the fifteenth century which compares favourably with what preceded it. While if the exterior be taken as a whole, no finer parish church can be conceived than Terrington St. Clement, or the nave of Fotheringhay.

[4] See, e.g. the great bay window in the hall at Stanway in Gloucestershire.

still retains its original chancel screen and rood loft, or has had them restored to it on the old lines: an act of vandalism unknown in England even at the height of the renaissance, but one which has quite lately become the fashion.[1] It will be found that either the altar is lost in gloom and the screen robbed of much of its lightness and transparency, or else they are both confused together.

I would that I had some better instances to bring forward than these which are entirely negative; but so ruthless has been the destruction of all the old ornaments of our parish churches, that I cannot point to one single case in which the English ideal can still be seen, so intimately does the whole effect depend upon the relationship of one ornament to another. The peculiarly English conception of the low east window cannot be understood apart from an old chancel screen and rood loft in all its completeness and fulness of colour; nor can the equally peculiar English conception of the open chancel screen beneath the rood loft itself be understood apart from the low east window with its English glass of the fifteenth century and the ancient arrangement of the altar beneath it.

This ideal, which is perhaps only possible in our English climate, surpasses in beauty every other conception of the altar, as may be admitted by all when it is remembered that the mystery of light[2] is the very note of the Christian religion in contradistinction to all that has preceded it, or affects to take its place. But though the fulness of the beauty of this ideal depends upon its entire observance, which, no doubt, cannot often be realised at once, how short-sighted to throw obstacles in the way of its recovery, by the introduction of foreign ornaments! It is also equally unfair to them to take them from their proper surroundings, in which they form but a part of another beautiful design. Why, by a narrowness, which perhaps is mistaken for breadth, must we spoil every one of the great national conceptions of the Christian altar, which are but so many different expressions of the infinite and many-sided beauties of the Catholic Church, by confusing one with another? We can thereby only lose them all.

An exact observance of the Ornaments Rubric and of the fully developed English architecture will alone satisfy our present needs and aspirations.

It is just because this has been done, and because the English conception of the altar is, as a whole, so utterly unrealised, that it is so lightly and confidently stated, as if it were a thing requiring no proof, that the old arrangements of our churches are unsuitable to our modern needs.

The spectacle of a modern altar of the smallest possible proportions, but surmounted by huge ornaments, which more or less block out the east window, so that the altar is lost in obscurity behind the screen beneath the rood loft, and the ministers of the altar cannot be seen because of the

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[1] I have seen the east window entirely removed from an old church and so well replaced by plain masonry that no one could imagine it had ever existed. This is an illustration of the need of a most searching investigation of all apparent exceptions to the general rules of ecclesiology.

[2] Surely Milton's lines in *Il Penseroso:*

"And storied windows richly dight,
Casting a dim religious light:"

may reasonably be taken as having reference to the lantern like churches of the fifteenth century, the painted glass of which had not yet been destroyed by the Puritans when he wrote these lines. Such glass casts a light "dim" only in the sense of being mysterious. Milton may have credit, at any rate at that time, for describing such light as "religious," and not the absence of light caused by dark glass, or few windows, in defence of which these words are so often now misquoted. Let it be remembered also that the want of light always means dirtiness and tainted air.

interposing mass of lay singers doubly conspicuous in their white surplices,[1] is indeed a fresh condemnation of putting new wine into old bottles. But, having marred the old bottles with our new wine, is it fair to condemn, without so much as putting to our lips, that old wine, which no man having tasted straightway desireth the new; because he saith, the old is better?

It was one of the few mistakes made at the very beginning of the Oxford Movement to suppose that the chancel screens of parish churches were intended to obscure the view of the altar. The minute points observed in the planning of the screen and rood loft of every old parish church[2]; the absence of many ascending steps, or sometimes the existence of one or more steps down, at the entrance to the chancel,[3] so that the backs of the few stalls provided

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[1] What we understand to-day by the term "surpliced choirs," was unknown in the time referred to by our rubric, or until within the present reign. The lay singers of the secular harmonized music, called prick song, were only allowed upon the rood lofts of parish churches, which lofts, as distinguished from the rood lofts of quires, were set up primarily for their accommodation, and the organs also were placed in them (see a former paper, *The Transactions of the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society.* Vol. III. pp. 221–223), and only a few men and children, who sang the plain chant, or ritual music, unaccompanied, (all of whom might be properly described as clerks), were provided for in the chancels of even the largest parish churches; as may be seen where the chancel seats, or lists of surplices, have been preserved. For instance, if any one example can be named as having been the highest realisation of the ideal of an English parish church, in splendour coupled with the most refined restraint, it is Salle in Norfolk. Yet, while the chancel there is 58 ft. 6 in. long and 25 ft. 10 in. wide, the length of the 2 single rows of returned stalls is only 21 ft. 5 in. and the width from the wall to the front of the platform 5 ft. 3½ in. The same width of about 15 ft. between the desks is preserved in the much smaller high chancel of Ivy Church in Kent, where the single rows of returned benches are also untouched and are about 12 ft. 6 in. long. In this way the singing clerks were not brought prominently into view, except when they were gathered round the lectern in the middle of the chancel, but were concealed from the worshippers in the nave by the lower part of the chancel screen. In the comparatively coarse church at Fairford the clerks' stalls, though altered, remain not only in the high chancel but in the two side chancels also; which is a witness to the English ideal (shared in common with the Eastern Church) that every altar should be enclosed, and the enclosure so furnished as if it were a separate church. Very perfect examples of parclose screens, separating the altars from the nave, may be found untouched in some of the marsh land churches of Lincolnshire. Addlethorpe, of which a most beautiful nave with its aisles alone remains, has parclose screens at the east and west ends of both aisles, besides the screens at the east and west ends of the nave. Again a remarkable instance of this ideal may be seen at New Romney in Kent, where the three chancels have each their sedilia and all three are exactly alike. If it could be brought home to diocesan chancellors that the rood lofts were singing and organ galleries, and only pulled down at the time when harmonized music was turned out of our churches, they might have less difficulty in granting faculties for them. Even the very smallest churches had these lofts; as may be seen by reference to the destruction of them in Queen Elizabeth's time, (see Ed. Peacock. *English Church Furniture.* Lond. 1866), and by several remaining examples in South Wales, such as Patricio and St. Margaret's (wehre the two altars in front of the screen, the churches having no aisles, also remain intact), and Llanegrynn. Indeed the smaller the church the more need to leave the chancel free and economise space by placing the singers in a gallery.

[2] Great as are the variations in the ornamentation of our old screens, it may be said that thoroughly to know the principles upon which one of them is made is to know them all; so exactly are these principles adhered to in every case. To-day, even if the ornamentation is copied with the accuracy of a parrot, these principles are ignored.

[3] The levels at St. Mary's, Nassington, Northamptonshire, though altered, still shew two steps down. So also Holy Innocents' Church, Adisham, Kent, in which case the ground falls. Fenstanton is an instance of the more common case of one step down at the entrance to the chancel. The rule may be said to be that the nave and chancel were on one level. And, even in the very rare case in which the high altar of an English parish church is raised on many steps, the main ascent was eastwards of the stalls. To raise the stalls above the nave robs the altar of what dignity its steps, whether few or many, may give it; as may be seen in the present arrangement at St. Peter Mancroft, Norwich, where originally the steps were as they may still be seen at St. Gregory's in that city, and at St. Peter Walpole. All these churches are built to the extremity of the

for the clerks should not be raised high enough to cut off the view of the altar; the low east window and the provision for direct light to be thrown upon the altar by windows at its sides[1]; the great attention paid to the use of colour and gilding; the skill observed in the disposition of the ceremonial lights about the altar,[2] which is only less striking by day than at night, when, by their aid, the blankness of the darkened east window would scarcely be felt even within the chancel, and not at all from outside of the screen[3]; are all so many proofs that the prominence of the altar, as seen from the nave, was a matter of the utmost care affecting every detail of the church. How laboriously it was worked out and gradually developed, as the result of long experience, is forgotten, as is the case with all great work, in the simplicity of its results.

If the enquiry is seriously pursued, it will be found that the idea that a strict observance of the ornaments rubric is not compatible with the present needs of the Church in England is due to a caricature of the old customs, and to no unsuitability properly belonging to them.

I. Because originality, as opposed to mannerism, is impossible without adherence to tradition.

More than this; were novelty and originality the first things to be sought in church building to-day, as some seem to think, what can satisfy that desire better than a faithful obedience to the ornaments rubric, so utterly different would the result of such obedience be to each one of the many variations from it now in fashion? But, after obedience and truth, it is not originality, but nothing less than the highest beauty, which we are bound to seek for the service of religion, even if, in spite of all we have lately been taught, the highest beauty in architecture does not lie amidst the still romantic surroundings of Italy and France, nor in the self conscious "art" of to-day, but hidden amidst the ruin and neglect of churches built by our own forefathers in what we are accustomed to call the debased style of the fifteenth century.[4] And it is not so

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church yard at the east end; and it was to make a passage, for the outside processions to pass under, that the high altar was so much raised in these cases. At St. Peter Walpole it is eleven, or twelve, steps above the level of the nave, just allowing 6 ft. 3 in. headway beneath the carved bosses of the richly vaulted passage.

[1] Frequently, as at St. Peter, Mancroft, and St. Nicholas', Lynn, the side chancels terminate just sufficiently westwards to allow of a large window on each side of the high altar. And, in the absence of a clerestory to the nave, the same care was sometimes taken for the rood, as at Wenhaston, in Suffolk, by inserting a single window to light it.

[2] The tapers were not collected at the back of the altar as now, thereby taking the attention away from the altar; but being in front of the altar they cast their light upon it, thereby calling attention to it. It was the same with the rood.

[3] At night, while the altar and the rood still remained the illuminated centres, the lantern like appearance of the chancel is of necessity lost, and the screen becomes more prominent: so that, though the altar itself, being lit up by the lights round about it, can still be seen behind the slight mullions of the screen; the east window above it, just because of its darkness, cannot be seen through the intricate tracery of the upper part of the screen, being only illuminated from the front. Thus the screen, which is the very thing that makes the low east window a necessity by day, prevents its becoming an uninteresting blank by night. The view of a parish church at night, when lit up in the old manner, would shew the lower part illuminated by the lights in front of the altar, and the upper part by the lights in front of the rood. Thus nothing is gained even at night by what is called a high reredos; and let the high reredos be ever so transparent, as has been suggested, still it will confuse the window by day, as well as be itself confused by it.

[4] In the last paragraph of the Preface to the first edition of *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*, Mr. Ruskin writes, "I have always found it impossible to work in the cold interiors of our cathedrals." Perhaps the influence of Mr. Ruskin's brilliant writing in forming our present taste in architecture and ecclesiology cannot be over-estimated. How fatal then in regard to this influence for all practical purposes in England has been his inability to study English work expressed in those lines.

much in our great cathedral churches that this beauty is to be found, as in those village churches[1] which are still sufficiently out of the way and unknown to fame to have escaped the ravages of restoration, which have done, and are still doing, more to sweep beauty out of England than the worst fury of the reformers. It is time that we come to ourselves, and call out with St. Augustine in his awakening, "Sero te amavi pulchritudo tam antiqua et tam nova, sero te amavi."[2]

And though obedience to the ornaments rubric may, at least to some extent, be independent of what we call style in architecture; since, on the one hand, some of its most essential rules are to be found preserved even under the clothing of the classicism of the eighteenth century,[3] and, on the other hand, they are daily to be seen flatly contradicted under an equally sham "gothic" veneer; yet, if the ornaments rubric is to be considered from that wider point of view of beauty, which cannot be separated from reasonableness, we are brought face to face with the much vexed question of style. And even granting that it is almost impossible to dispute about the beauty of things, since it is "that subtil indescribable quality in" them "which you cannot arrest, or analyse,"[4] yet a protest must be raised against an attempt, much in fashion at the present moment, to dismiss, in the interest of so-called "art," a strict adherence, not only to the traditional rules of ecclesiology, as expressed for us in the ornaments rubric, but also to that style of architecture which is associated with it, as if adherence to the old paths was necessarily devoid of all originality and inspiration, and nothing but a feeble imitation of what is dead. For these very ones, who speak as if Christian architecture were too much out of date for them, do not hesitate to be led back to the pagan architecture of Greece and Rome, or to believe that, by chaotic combinations of any, or every style, they have arrived at originality.

But they who will stop to reflect must know that if originality cannot lie in the imitation of one style, neither can it be found in the imitation of many past styles, however cleverly combined. Nor can it lie in the invention of a new style, that being a thing, which history tells us, is beyond the power of any individual. But the foundations of it have ever been dug deep into the religious traditions of a whole nation, and it has come to light in individuals only in their manner of using the style which they have inherited, whatever that style might be.

For style in architecture, we have often been told, is no more than a language, and original thought does not require the invention of a new language in which to express itself. Shakespeare invented neither a new language, nor new plots, for his plays. He found his plots in the past, and his language was his native tongue. If, therefore, we would attain to the inspiration of a Shakespeare, let us humbly go to work in the same way; let us learn what are the ornaments to which we are bound by our rubric, and imbibe the language of our native architecture that we may clothe them in the fulness of that beauty, in which the Church wills them to be clothed; then our originality, in proportion as we

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[1] E.g. to name a few instances out of districts all more or less rich in such churches, Salle and South Creake in Norfolk, Blythburgh and Bramfield in Suffolk, Croft and Addlethorpe in Lincolnshire, Fotheringhay in Northamptonshire, Ivychurch in Kent.

[2] *Divi Aurelii Augustini Confessionum.* Venetiis, 1752. Liber X. Caput xxvii.

[3] See, e.g. the plate in *Caeremoniale Parisiense.* Parisiis, 1703, p. 25.

[4] G. Congreve. *Beauty.* (Reprinted from *The Message*, No. 11.)

possess any, will appear in the way in which we use this language. Originality, wherever it exists, must needs shew itself; but if it be separated from the control of tradition it degenerates from an unconscious inspiration to a morbid mannerism.

II. Because the departure from Christian tradition was followed by the decay of our national architecture, and the return to Christian tradition by a general revival of that architecture.

And if, amidst the Babel of conflicting styles of architecture, it be asked, what is our native style, we ought to have no hesitation in replying that it is the last style of architecture, which the Catholic Church has produced in this country. It is the style, which reached its perfection in the fifteenth century, but still obtained in the second year of King Edward the VIth, and has lingered on more than is commonly supposed ever since, until the revival of Catholic doctrine in the Oxford Movement finding in that architecture its natural expression brought it out of the obscurity into which it had sunk. It is important to remember that however much Christian architecture had fallen into disuse in England, its tradition had never entirely died out, any more than the faith, which it expressed, had ceased to be held.[1] In this respect its revival is totally different from the renaissance so called of pagan architecture. That was no true renaissance, because it is impossible to revive the expression of a religion which is dead, and was known to be dead by those who affected to revive it. Greek and Roman architecture was not the natural language of the men of the sixteenth century, because they did not believe in the religion which had created it. It was first, in its earlier beginnings in Italy, no more than an expression of revolt against Christianity; and secondly and later, in the form in which it affected England it became no more than an aristocratic fashion.[2] Great as are the fascinations of its first beginnings, and whatever vitality it may seem to have had, it was at the best a parasite which sucked the juices out of our national architecture, and then decayed.

Let us take warning from the unreality, and consequent decay, of the style of the Renaissance, and remember that our revival of Christian architecture to-day is nothing, if it is not the expression of our revival of the fulness of the teaching of the Catholic faith, which, for all that we find need to revive it, we do not admit to be a thing of the past. Already it is too true of this revival that "the reverence of the first generation becomes the affectation or the superstition of its successor," and that "sympathy and allegiance to a great example dwindle into mere ignoble copying and stupid imitation."[3] But let us remember the sacred trust which we inherit, and pause to distinguish the abuse from the thing abused, before we throw over the traditions of Christian architecture, and commit ourselves to the "art" of the new Paganism, between which and the Christianity of the Oxford Movement there is no real bond.

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[1] See, e.g. the work of 1742 at St. Margaret's, Lynn, besides some parts of our cathedral churches, which were added, or rebuilt, before the date of the Oxford Movement. St. John's Church at Leeds, built by a wealthy merchant in the reign of King Charles the Martyr, though more mixed in style, is, or was, a wonderful instance of the preservation of the main forms of a "gothic" church.

[2] See on this subject an article on the "Latter-Day Pagans," which speaks of the Renaissance as "the most select and exclusive movement, which Christian Europe has witnessed." *The Quarterly Review.* No. 363. Lond. July, 1895, p. 40.

[3] R. W. Church. *Human Life and its Conditions.* Lond. 1878, pp. 187, 188.

III. Because there is no new religion to create a new style, and the old style cannot be developed without an exclusive adherence to its latest traditions.

Architecture which is pagan at heart may indeed have a veneer of Christian details imposed upon it, but in time it will be seen to be no more than a veneer. It will not stand that fire which shall try it. The one condition of a living, intelligent and original practice of Christian architecture is a whole-hearted allegiance to it to the exclusion of all other styles. We accept no place for the image of Christ in the pantheon. If anyone is not clear about this, let him leave Christian architecture alone; but then let him know that art must fall back deeper into the mire of the materialism of the first renaissance of paganism: for there is no new religion to create a new style.

Yet it is not enough to uphold unreservedly the use of Christian architecture for churches alone. Half the mischief, since the early days of the Oxford Movement, has been in the growing idea that there is an ecclesiastical style, as opposed to a domestic style. Before there can be a complete recovery of a reasonable and living architecture, its style must be, as of old, the same for the house and its ornaments as for the church and its ornaments.[1]

In the whole history of every great national architecture, pagan as well as Christian, there was no difference in style between the sculpture, painting and embroidery of the temple and those of the civil and domestic buildings. The sole distinction was that, of all the buildings in the land, the temples were, in their degree, the most magnificent, and bore upon them the most perfect lines of sculpture and the richest gold and colour.

In our own country every village hamlet, every great town, every royal palace, lavished upon its church the greatest magnificence in architecture that each in its degree could produce. And this continued so long as a national style of architecture flourished. The first note of the fall of a national architecture was the reversal of this order. Under the advent of a paganism, of which the Greeks would have been ashamed, our churches were despoiled of their sculpture and painting, and the richest jewels and embroidery were no longer bequeathed for the service of the altar and its ministers but were kept for domestic use or greed of gold,[2] and the very fabrics of the churches were dwarfed outside by huge houses and inside by huge tombs.

This condition of things is passing away; but it is leaving an artificial stamp upon our churches, which nothing will remove but the complete restoration of the old relationship of similarity of style between ecclesiastical and domestic architecture.

And what is there to prevent the use of our national Christian architecture for every purpose? The earlier Tudor style is every whit as capable of adaptation to the civil and domestic needs of to-day as is the Elizabethan, or any more recent style, while it has the immense advantage of being pure English, which the others are not. It is simple, free from

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[1] This principle was accepted as a matter of course by Pugin and the school of the early revival; and, if it is easy to find ridiculous mistakes in some of the results which followed, it should be remembered that there is perhaps no intelligent revival that altogether avoids exaggeration, or escapes falling into blunders which the unimaginative will avoid. Certainly the mistakes made by a great man like Pugin suggest their own remedy. They are no discouragement. It is only in the more elaborate houses and ornaments that the difference between the pagan and Christian architecture would be felt. The humble cottage remains as it was in the fifteenth century. But when it is a question of decoration, *i.e.* of style, there is no practical reason to hinder the most modern requirements being clothed in a purely English dess.

[2] See the lamentable accounts of the uses to which some of the most sacred ornaments were put in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, given in the reports of the wardens of many Lincolnshire churches. (Ed. Peacock. *English Church Furniture.* Lond. 1866).

affectation and perfectly suited to our climate, being the spontaneous expression of our needs and character developed by the nation as a whole in freedom from foreign interference and foreign fashions. We have tried many styles for our public buildings, but amongst them all the Houses of Parliament, with whatever shortcomings, remain the only real success in the architecture of the present reign ; and it is simply because they are the spontaneous and natural expression of our native style.

To adopt the words of Frederick Ozanam,[1] who might have been speaking of ecclesiology and the revival of Christian architecture attending the Oxford Movement, so apt is his argument: "We are entering on a period of which no one can foresee the vicissitudes, but whose advent it is impossible to deny. It is nevertheless of good omen that it opens with an act of justice to the past. Filial piety brings luck. In linking ourselves once more by the old traditional bond to the eternal truths of Christianity, and to the laborious conquests of human experience, we shall be enabled to follow with less danger the progressive instinct which should enrich, and not repudiate, this glorious inheritance. Science will advance at a swifter pace when it finds the ground of first principles no longer disputed ; talent will no longer be wasted calling into question in this nineteenth century of ours problems which Christianity had solved definitely, after they had vainly exhausted all the forces of human genius during four thousand years of ignorance and doubt."

Let us, in conclusion, prize our ornaments rubric, finding in it not only that reasonableness dear to us Englishmen, but the outward token of our union with the rest of Catholic Christendom both past and present ; and let us clothe our churches and the ornaments thereof as they were in the Second Year of the Reign of King *Edward* the Sixth, that is, in all the beauty of our pure English style. Not the first beginnings of it, however interesting we may feel them to be: for to ignore its latest development by imitating the styles of the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries is purely antiquarian and arbitrary. Not its debasement by the foreign and pagan renaissance: for that is but broken English. Not the modern caricature of it: for that is not English at all. But its full and latest utterance in the architecture which gathers round the fifteenth century. Not that we should attempt to build to-day as if we were actually living in the fifteenth century, or as if we ignored everything that had been done before or since ; but that, if we would be reasonable, we have no choice but to use the latest style of architecture developed by the Catholic Church in our own country, a development which happens to date from that time. It is not least in ecclesiology that:

"Nought shall make us rue,
If England to itself do rest but true."

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[1] *Life of Frederick Ozanam.* Kathleen O'Meara. Edinburgh 1876, p. 171 Ozanam cannot be suspected of illiberal views, nor of want of appreciation of Italy, for which reasons his verdict upon the buildings of London in 1851 is not without its value. He describes the "forest of steeples, columns, porticoes, and towering above them all the dome of St. Paul's," as "the failure of riches to procure what gold cannot buy, to transplant to an ungrateful soil the inspirations of Italy and France : In the midst of these wretched imitations there are, however, two striking exceptions, Westminster Abbey and the new Houses of Parliament." *Ib.* p. 348.

ON AN EARLY IRISH TRACT IN THE LEABHAR BREAC DESCRIBING THE MODE OF CONSECRATING A CHURCH.

BY

THE REV. T. OLDEN, M.A., M.R.I.A.

When the stormy period of the domination of the Northmen was over in Ireland, a literary revival began. The scattered remains of the native literature which had escaped the efforts of the invaders for its destruction were collected and transcribed into large volumes and thus preserved to our own time. One of these is the *Leabhar Breac*, a large folio on vellum the property of the Royal Irish Academy containing a collection of pieces in Irish and Latin compiled about the close of the 14th century from various sources. These are supposed to have been the Monasteries of Lothra in the County of Tipperary, of Clonmacnois, and of Cluain Sosta now Clonsost in the King's County. A facsimile edition of the *Leabhar Breac* was published by the Royal Irish Academy in 1876 and the translation of the Tract appended to this paper has been made from that edition.

No positive information is attainable as to the date of the Tract, beyond the fact that it must be older than the close of the fourteenth century, but there is reason to believe that it is of very early date, for the service evidently is intended for a wooden Church, as the bishop marks or carves crosses on different parts of it with his knife. The *skean* or Irish knife, which was sometimes a foot and a half long, was carried by all Irishmen, including, as it appears from this Tract, ecclesiastics. It is evident that it could not have been used for carving crosses on stone, and it may therefore be inferred that the building here referred to was of wood, which points to an early period. Again the altar also was of wood and apparently without any stone slab or *mensa;* for the bishop carves crosses not only at the angles but in the middle of the surface. This fact assists in the enquiry as to the date of the Tract, for in A.D. 1186 a Synod was held in Dublin under Archbishop Comyn which prohibited the celebration of Masses on a wooden altar according to Irish usage, and ordered that if a stone of sufficient size could not be had to cover the altar, a slab of stone should be inserted large enough to contain five crosses and the foot of the largest chalice. This Canon was afterwards confirmed by Urban III. and became the law of the Irish Church. It is scarcely possible that this Tract can be later than 1186 as it shews no knowledge of the Canon in question, as appears from the absence of the *mensa* and the direction that the number of crosses marked on the table should be seven instead of five. But if it is earlier than 1186 it is quite possible it may have been in existence in 1130 when Gillé bishop of Limerick and Papal legate addressed his treatise *De usu ecclesiastico*[1] to the Irish bishops and it would therefore be one of the 'diversi et schismatici Ordines,' as he termed them, which he wished to supersede by 'One Catholic and Roman office.'

[1] Ussher's *Works*, iv. 500.

The twelfth century was a period of ecclesiastical change, but previous to that date there is no record of any change in ritual until we reach the period of the Second Order of Irish Saints, that is the interval between A.D. 543 and A.D. 599, when it is stated that the British Saints David Docus and Gildas brought in some changes in the ritual of the Mass. It would seem that for one hundred and fifty years after the foundation of the Church the rites and ceremonies of the Church were exclusively those introduced by St. Patrick from the British Church. It is therefore within the bounds of possibility that we have in this Tract substantially the Consecration Service of the British Church differing as it does essentially from the Roman rite.

The service purports to be taken from a Pontifical termed the Bishop's Book. It was in Latin and the quotations from it are always translated into Irish. The chief peculiarity of the rite described is the absence of the ceremony of the enclosure of the relics. This according to Duchesne was an essential feature of the earliest Roman Consecration Services. "The translation of the relics," he says, "is almost the only rite with which they are concerned."[1] His statement is confirmed by the illuminations of the Metz Pontifical described by the Rev. E. S. Dewick[2] in which the relics occupy the chief place.

The note at p. 416 of Mr. Dewick's paper taken in connexion with this Tract is of great interest. From it we learn that the consecration without relics was known as the *mos Anglicanus*, that with relics as the *mos Romanus*, but the reason assigned for the difference by the Lansdowne MS. 451 (an English Pontifical, *circa* 1400, probably written for the use of a bishop of London) is unsatisfactory. The English custom according to it was due to "the scarcity of old relics, and the fact that the consecration of new saints was a rare event." But if there was no difficulty on the Continent in obtaining relics at the date referred to, that is about the year 1400, it is not easy to understand how there could have been any in England. Besides, substitutes were allowed if relics were difficult to obtain: a cloth stained with the saint's blood, a phial of oil from the lamp of his sanctuary; a piece of the veil which covered his coffin[3]; any of these might be used.

I would venture to suggest that the reason of the absence of the rite from this form of consecration was that the early British and Irish Churches only dedicated their Churches to living saints. In this case no relics could be had and therefore the rite was of necessity omitted. Duchesne[4] here notices the important fact that in the Byzantine ritual published by Goar the Dedication of a Church and the Deposition of the relics are altogether distinct services and even held on different days. There is therefore evidently a precedent in the Eastern Church for the service referred to in the present Tract. There is a quaint story in the Leabhar Breac notes to the Calendar of Oengus the Culdee of an application being made to a living saint for his relics. A poet named Onchu undertook "to make a collection of the relics of Ireland's saints," and the narrative tells us "he would not stay in any Church without having somewhat of the relics of that saint given to him. And he gathered till he had a great Shrine of Ireland's saints. Now he came to Cluain Mór Maedóc, but Maedóc happened to be alive before him. Yet he applied to him. I want some of thy relics, O Cleric, quoth he, that they may be always with those other relics. That is hard, quoth the Cleric. Nevertheless said the poet, it must be done. Then the Cleric cuts off his

[1] *Origines du Culte Chrétien*, Paris; 1889, p. 391.
[2] *Archæologia*, liv. p. 411.
[3] Duchesne, as before.
[4] Duchesne, p. 401.

little finger and gives it to the poet."[1] It would have been a breach of decorum to refuse a poet's request.

If the foregoing observations are correct it would seem that the Anglo-Saxon Church must have inherited the *mos Anglicanus* from the British Church. It was not until the synod of Clovesho, 747, that the Roman rite was ordered to be generally observed, and up to that date a different Order was probably in force. Other practices, such as the anointing of the hands at Ordination, and the delivery of the Gospels to the Deacon have also been traced to the British Church.

The early Irish did not use relics in the Roman manner, and one of them at least spoke scornfully of the sale of them at Rome. The famous Johannes Scotus writing in the ninth century thus expresses himself, apostrophizing Rome—

> Truncasti viros crudeli vulnere sanctos
> Vendere nunc horum mortua membra soles.
> Jam ni te meritum Petri Paulique foveret
> Tempore jam longo Roma misella fores.[2]

The mention of pinnacles renders it probable that the wooden Churches of early times had some pretensions to ornament. In the romantic account of the flight of S. Molling (as described in the Book of Leinster), when pursued by the King's troops, he finds himself near a building which he does not recognize, and he asks, "What is that great and pinnacled burg I see"? "That," said the nun, "is Kildare."

As to the arrangements of the Church mentioned in the Tract. The door is in the West as in the earliest Irish Churches which in general had only one entrance. It had a Chancel, and a wooden rail or screen (*ambitus altaris*) separated the Chancel and Choir from the congregation. It is termed the *Crand mbith* (i.e. *crand* wooden, *mbith*, ambitus, shortened to *'mbit*).

There was a font, *Damdhabach*, literally an 'ox-tub' or large vessel. It was of sufficient size to allow of the baptism by immersion not only of infants but apparently of adults also. Such fonts are represented in Smith and Cheetham's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities* (*art.* Baptism) and Mr. Warren[3] refers to instances of them still existing in Ireland. In the Milan Codex the word is used as a gloss on *torcular* a wine press in which the grapes were trodden. *Telcoluman* (front column?) is not found in dictionaries and it is not clear to what it refers here. *Copur* (*capor*) is the roof, derived according to Mr. Stokes from the Low Latin *coopertura*. (Fr. *couverture*.) *Benn-chopur*, peaked roof or pinnacle.

It is worthy of notice that early Irish ecclesiastical terms are seldom borrowed from other Churches. They preferred to coin their own terms. Translating here from the Latin it would have been easy for them to have borrowed the terms they required from the Latin text before them, but according to their custom they used native terms applying them in an unusual way. When they did borrow it was generally from the Greek.[4]

The mention of incense here seems to be the only one in Irish ecclesiastical literature if Mr. Warren is right in his account of the matter.

Reference has been made to a parallel to this service in the Byzantine ritual, and to this

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[1] *Calendar of Oengus*, p. xlix. [2] Migne, *Patrologia*, Tom. 121, 122, sæc. 9; Proem. pp. xxii. xxiii.
[3] *Liturgy and ritual of the Celtic Church*, p. 64.
[4] *History of Church of Ireland*, (National Churches Series), Appendix G.

may be added the Consecration here of the host, the water, and the wine together in one vessel, which suggests the intinction of the Eastern Church.

The mention of the *Impertor* is also suggestive of the usage of the Eastern Church, assuming it to mean here the Corporal as it probably does. The Antimensium[1] as it was termed in the East was so called because used "in place of the *mensa* or the altar." It should be large enough to cover the spot occupied by the Chalice and paten, and it was consecrated only at the consecration of the Church.

In concluding these brief remarks I have to express my gratitude to Mr. Whitley Stokes for his kindness in reading the proofs of my translation and making many important corrections and suggestions.

A TRANSLATION OF AN EARLY IRISH TRACT ON THE CONSECRATION OF A NEW CHURCH.

The following translation is from the *Leabhar Breac* (Facsimile published by the Royal Irish Academy), pp. 277 $\frac{a}{26}$ — 278 $\frac{a}{55}$.

Incipit the consecration of a new Church or Oratory.

Wise men, learned as to the characteristics of marking out a Church have composed this tract in order to explain the science of consecrating a new Church or Oratory: so that from this tract we may ascertain the extent of the subject whereout grows the consecration of a Church and the Order of the Subjects and of the Sections which grow from them, from the beginning to the end.

Thus then the explanation is gathered, from the Tract *Sic disponitur exsurgit nunc Ordō*, i.e. There arises now the Order *Consecrationem*, that is the consecrated *via* of those many consecrations of a new Church or Oratory. How many-fold is that Order? Not difficult; it is *Octduplex (Octtriplex?)* that is eightfold multiplied by three or three times eight, which is twenty-four.

Whence arises this Order? Not difficult: *ex quinis radicibus* i.e. From five roots, that is the twenty four sections of the Consecration of a Church spring from five subjects.

The five subjects are—

1. The Floor.
2. The Altar with its furniture.
3. The consecration out of doors with the 12 psalms (canticles).
4. The Aspersion of water inside.
5. The Aspersion outside.

What then does the twenty-four-fold Order resemble, which arises from the five subjects? *Similis virgulto rudi.* It is like tender shrubs [for] as many rods spring from whitethorn roots, so do the sections from the subjects.

[1.] Let us now enter on the body of our Tract. *Hoc modo primus exsurgit, vel primo* i.e. In the first place arises the Order of the consecration of a Church *solius*, that is of a single Church. [It begins with] the Floor. How many fold is that Order? It is *Septiplex*, that is sevenfold, for as seven rods grow from one root so do seven sections of consecration grow from the Floor of the Church. What are those seven sections which grow from the floor and are like seven rods from a single root?

[1] Smith and Cheetham, *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities, s.v.*

The first Section is called the *Introit* i.e. *Quando dicitur, Introibo in domum tuum Domine . . . usque . . . laudabo te,*[1] and what is sung afterwards in the doorway of the Oratory as far as the *Crand m.bith*[2] until Pater Noster is sung as the whole Order is in the Bishop's Book, That is what is sung after passing the *Crand m.bith,* with *Factus est in pace locus ejus.*[3] *et Domus mea domus orationis vocabitur.*[4]

The Second Section which grows out of the Floor is the consecration of the water and the salt which the Bishop performs with the proper rite according to the Bishop's Book in the place where the Chancel is. He divides the salt into three parts and puts it into the water and the Deacon takes the water and places it under the altar.

The third Section of the Consecration which grows from the Floor is composed of the Psalms and Prayers in the Bishop's Book *ad ejiciendos demones* i.e. for casting out Demons.

The Fourth Section of the consecration which grows out of the floor consists of the Psalms and Prayers in the Bishop's Book *a[d] maledicendos Demones* i.e. to curse Demons.

The Fifth Section which grows out of the floor is the Prayer of the Consecration of the Floor itself as it is in the Bishop's Book.

The Sixth Section of the consecration which grows out of the floor is the Alphabet which is written twice on the Floor. The first Alphabet begins from the South East angle and is finished at the North West angle. The second Alphabet begins at the North East angle and is finished at the South West angle so that the two O's meet in the middle of the Floor.

The Seventh Section of the Consecration[5] . . .

[2.] [The second subject] is the consecration of the altar and its furniture.

How manyfold is that Order? *Sextuplex* i.e. sixfold, that is, as six rods spring from one . . . or from one root so do the six Sections of the Consecration grow out of the altar and its furniture.

The first Section of the Consecration of the Altar is this. The host, the water and the wine are mixed together in one Vessel and consecrated according to the rite of Consecration in the Bishop's Book. The reason those three things are consecrated at first is because they are offered continually at the Mass.[6]

The second Section that grows out of the Altar is the consecration of the Table of the altar itself. The Bishop himself marks four crosses with his knife on the four corners of the Altar, and he marks three crosses over the middle of the Altar, a cross over the middle on the East to the edge and a cross over the middle on the west to the edge, and a cross exactly over the middle. And he washes the Table of the Altar down to the water and the wine and the host. He pours what remains of the water round the base and wipes the Altar with a small linen cloth until it is dry, and he kindles incense in the small vessel on the Altar, and he sings *Dirigatur Oratio mea sicut in censum . . . usque Vespertinum,*[7] as it enumerates in the Bishop's Book, and he anoints with consecrated oil the seven crosses marked on the Altar, *et dicit ungore (ungere?) Altare de olio sanctificato* with the form appointed in the Bishop's Book.

The third Section which grows out of the Altar is the consecration of the Sheets (Altar-cloths?) and the setting them on the Altar.

The fourth Section that grows out of the Altar is the consecration of the *Impertor* that is, the slab or the small cloth in which the Body of Christ is received.

The fifth Section is the Consecration of the Chalice, *ut dicitur in libro episcopi.*

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[1] *Cf.* Ps. lxv. 13, Ps. xxi. 13. The references here and elsewhere are to the Vulgate.

[2] Crand m.bith. This appears to be the wooden railing enclosing the altar and sometimes termed the Ambit-us (altaris). *Ambitus* is shortened to *m.bith.* Smith and Cheetham, *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities, s.v.*

[3] Ps. lxxv. 3. [4] Mat. xxi. 13. [5] MS. defective here.

[6] Literally The Offering," the word Missa not being used by writers in the Irish language.

[7] Ps. cxl 2

The sixth Section is the general consecration according to the Bishop's Book of the Altar together with all its furniture.

[3.] As we have explained the two Chief Subjects which our Tract enumerates, with the thirteen sections growing from them, that is seven from the Floor and six from the Altar, let us now explain the third Subject with its sections as the Tract enumerates them, that is *Quatuor ministeriorum ecclesiasticorum triplex exsurgit* i.e. There arises the Order of consecration *quatuor ministeriorum ecclesiæ* that is of the four ecclesiastical ministrations.

How many fold is it? *Triplex* that is twofold (threefold?) It is the consecration and . . .[1] we mentioned in the Subjects before, and there are three Sections which grow from it (?), so that there are sixteen similar Sections [arising] out of the three Sections we have enumerated. Therefore there are two and eight sections multiplied, to explain.

Question—What are the four ecclesiastical sections we mentioned in this Third Subject? Four sections are distinguished at the consecration outside, and four Sections are distinguished by them [at the consecration inside] i.e. the twelve Psalms, Canticles, with their Antiphons, and that Order is *triplex* because it is three persons who sing those psalms outside and three who sing them inside.

Question—In what way are those Psalms divided into four Sections? Two opinions are held on this subject by authors who treat of the Consecration of the Church.

The first say that the Bishop and two Priests with him go out of the Church outside and leave three Priests within the Church. He goes then with the two priests round from the North to the *tel*column on the East, and the bishop marks a cross with his knife on the *tel*column at the East and from that point begins with him the Consecration from outside. And he first says *Fiat pax et habundantia in domu tua Domine*[2] and the three sing after him *Ad Dominum cum tribularer clamavi*,[3] and *Levavi oculos*,[4] and *Lætatus sum in his*.[5] He chants the Antiphon before mentioned at the end of the three Psalms with the *Gloria* and *Sicut erat in principio nunc et semper*, and whatever the three sing outside that sing also the three priests within. They are companions in their work, and the first three Psalms are finished within and without on the South side.

Then begins the Antiphon of the Second three Psalms from that point within and without i.e. *Domine miserere nostri*[6] and the three Psalms sung there are *Ad te levavi oculos meos*,[7] *Nisi quia Dominus*,[8] *Qui confidit*,[9] until it is finished within and without at the door of the Church in the West with the forementioned Antiphon and the *Gloria* and *Sicut erat*.

Again begins within and without from the door at the West the Antiphon of the three appointed Psalms *Erit uxor tua sicut vitis abundans in lateribus domus tuæ*.[10] *In convertendo Dominus*,[11] *Nisi Dominus*.[12] *Beati omnes*.[13] until it is finished within and without in the middle of the North side of the Church with the same Antiphon with *Gloria* and *Sicut erat*.

Then begins within and without from that point at the North the Antiphon of the last three Psalms *Sperat Israel in Domino et hoc nunc et . . . usque in seculum*.[14] *Sæpe expugnaverunt*.[15] *De profundis clamavi*.[16] *Domine non est*,[17] until it is finished within and without at the *tel*column at the West with the same Antiphon with *Gloria*.

There is sung . . . from the *tel*column . . . and there is sung *Tollite portas . . . rex gloriæ*.[18] The eldest priest within the Church replies *Quis tibi est iste rex gloriæ:* the Priest outside who is on the Bishop's left-hand replies *Dominus virtutum ipse est rex gloriæ*.[19]

Those whose opinion we have mentioned say the Consecration begins from the column at the

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[1] doefis?
[2] *Cf.* Ps. cxxi. 7.
[3] Ps. cxix.
[4] Ps. cxx.
[5] Ps. cxxi.
[6] *Cf.* Ps. lxvi. 2.
[7] Ps. cxxii.
[8] Ps. cxxiii.
[9] Ps. cxxiv.
[10] Ps. cxxvii. 3.
[11] Ps. cxxv.
[12] Ps. cxxvi.
[13] Ps. cxxvii.
[14] Ps. cxxx. 3.
[15] Ps. cxxviii.
[16] Ps. cxxix.
[17] Ps. cxxx.
[18] Ps. xxiii. 9.
[19] Ps. xxiii. 10.

East. That is their view[1] because the eastern quarter is the most eminent. For what is read of as the most famous and venerable place on earth is the Paradise of Adam, and therefore it is the head of the world, and in the East it is situated. From the East also begins the adoration of the Cross of Christ in every Church from the Cross back to the West. From the East rises the Sun, which is an appellation of Christ.[2] From the East, it is read, will be the coming of Christ *in die judicii*. From the East, is written the Alphabet within the edifice.

But from the West, from the door of the Church begins the Consecration outside according to the other authors, and the Section is fourfold which relates to the outside of the Church at its Consecration and to the Psalms (Canticles). That is from the South West jamb to the North West pinnacle. From that to the North East pinnacle. From that to the South East pinnacle. There the Bishop marks a cross on the *tel*-column at the East and from the South East pinnacle on the East to the South West pinnacle there is made within and without that fourfold division of the Church and of the Psalms in the same way. The Order is *triplex* because they are three who are engaged in it within and without, and sixteen sections thus grow out of the forementioned subjects and there is sung *Domini est terra*[3] from the South West pinnacle to the door *usque dum dicitur Attollite* and the forementioned reply is made by the same three persons within and without.

The reason the consecration begins from the door at the West according to those authors is that there may not be any time unoccupied at the West without singing something of the Consecration, and the same Introit that was sung at the entering of the Church is sung on entering it now.

[4.] Let us now explain the Fourth Subject with its Sections as our Tract relates *id est quinque grad*[*u*]*um . . . feimorum triplex*, that is the five human grades. There arises the Order of consecration. Question—how manyfold is it? *Triplex*, that is threefold, so thus there are nineteen from the four subjects and the Aspersion within here as we have said is the fourth Subject of the Consecration.

The five human grades are the five persons engaged, that is, the Bishop and three Priests and a Deacon. The Deacon takes the vessel that is under the Altar containing the consecrated water and salt and carries it on to the South East angle of the Church and the Bishop marks a cross with his knife on the South East pinnacle on the South side and sprinkles the consecrated water. A branch of hyssop is held by each of the Priests and one of them sprinkles the Damdhabach below with the water another sprinkles the side and another the ceiling [of the church]. The Order is *triplex* because three things are sprinkled and three persons are engaged in the sprinkling and they all sing this Antiphon *Asperges me hisopo . . . usque dealuabor.*[4] *Miserere mei Deus secundum magnam*[5] to the end and they sing the same Antiphon with *Gloria* and *Sicut erat* and what is proper after it according to the Bishop's Book. They go afterwards to the South West corner of the Church and the Bishop marks with his knife a cross on the South *capor* westward of the *Airchin*,[6] and he sprinkles that cross with the water and they go to the North West border of the North side and the Bishop marks a cross with his knife on the Western *benn capor* on the North . . . . . .[7]

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[1] *do feith do.*

[2] The reference to the Sun as an appellation of Christ has a parallel in the Hymns of the Greek Church in which the Virgin is described as Μήτηρ τοῦ ἡλίου Χριστοῦ. St. Patrick in his Confession, when describing his dream, says, "I know not how it came into my mind to call out Helias, and at this moment I saw the sun rise in the heavens and while I was crying out Helias! with all my might behold the splendour of the sun fell upon me and immediately removed all the weight and I believe that I was aided by Christ my Lord."

[3] Ps. xxiii. 1. [4] Ps. l. 9. [5] Ps. v. 1. [6] *airchini*?

[7] The MS. from which the tract was copied into the Leabhar Breac seems to have been imperfect, the fifth subject not being contained in it, though no indication is given of this by the copyist.

NOTES ON CUSTOMS IN SPANISH CHURCHES, ILLUSTRATIVE OF OLD ENGLISH CEREMONIAL.

BY

REGINALD EAGER, M.D.

In the year 1888, there was read before our Society a paper which attracted a great deal of attention and which has often been referred to since. This was Dr. J. Wickham Legg's paper, "On some Ancient Liturgical Customs now falling into disuse." Dr. Legg says[1] "in looking back over the ritual changes which the last fifty years have brought, we shall find that many ancient liturgical practices, both good and bad, are now falling into disuse." He refers also "to the turning out of old English practices, to make way for foreign customs"; and in so doing he no doubt points out the real cause of this in adding "and no inquiry made as to the antiquity or reasonableness of the new practice."

In the early years of the Catholic Revival such matters had been undoubtedly insufficiently studied. Men had no time, or perhaps no inclination, to search out for themselves questions of ceremonial detail in books, often difficult of access, and far too expensive for purchase; whilst others, though learned in such matters, either did not see their way at the time, or may have felt themselves insufficiently informed in so wide and serious a study, to put forth a work treating of Ceremonial and allied subjects; or one which might be felt to be a sufficiently correct treatise to have any real value or authority as an English Directory or handy book of reference on such matters. As there was however a book published in English at a moderate price for the use of priests of the Italian Mission, can it be wondered at that those in difficulty accepted the aid of what was looked upon as a "living rite," and tried to adapt it to their present requirements? All this no doubt was not wise, but perhaps it was human nature, and under all the great difficulties of the position not to be wondered at. That necessity, we must believe and trust, is now becoming a thing of the past. The way has been greatly cleared by the good work done by this and kindred Societies; and we may I think hope that it may not be long before some of our more learned and leisured members may see their way to putting before English Churchmen a Directory which shall stand in the place of the alien Baldeschi and works founded on the Roman Use.

My object in laying these notes before you is to try and convey to you the impression, which was forcibly brought to bear upon myself, that in Spain we have a Church tenaciously holding to much of its old tradition carried on from the past and still in practice; and that in many ways these old customs are not unlike to, and may aid in confirming us in, many of our good old ways; and that though we have in the Spanish Church a body in close

[1] *Transactions of St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society*, Vol. II. p. 13.

communion with Rome and which has suffered much from that union, still, that things there do not altogether agree with the usually accepted ideas as to uniformity under the Roman rule.

It happened that in the autumn of 1893, I first found myself on the eve of accomplishing a wish I had long had to visit Spain: and in the end of September, after a few days spent *in transitu* at the interesting old towns of Lyons, Nîmes, Narbonne, and Perpignan, I arrived late one Saturday evening in Barcelona. I need hardly say that it is not my intention to enter into any of the details of my trip with regard to adventures; descriptions of the arid and desolate appearance of great parts of the Country; the grandeur and magnificence of its Cathedral Churches; or the disappearance, alas! of costumes and many old customs; nor shall I even be able to say anything of the beauty of its ancient palaces or dwell on remnants of old civic ways or many another interesting topic. I shall only be able to consider such things as struck me as being particularly worthy of note and interesting to us as English Churchmen and members of an Ecclesiological Society, and as seeming to me to throw light on some of our old church customs, somewhat in the direction in which Dr. Legg has already led the way.

I think anyone visiting Spain must be struck by the old world air which seems still to linger around everything in the Country; although the Printing-press, Steam and Electricity, have already brought about the loss of many things, still a great deal is left of what appears to be some two or three hundred years behind hand; and especially is this noticeable in ecclesiastical matters. The solemnity and dignity which is shewn in the Offices of the Church is very noteworthy from the stately march of the wonderfully be-wigged Verger with his gorgeous red or white damask silk robes, gold chain, wonderful hat, and mace probably of beautiful goldsmith's work, up to the Bishop in all his magnificence of office with his train carried by some of the clergy through the choir—very different indeed to the frequent want of reverence in French or Italian Churches; and may I not add also in some of our own Cathedrals. In many ways one cannot help noticing and being struck by the feeling that there must have been great similarity between the way our own ancient Mass and Choir Offices were conducted and the manner of the same in Spain.

High Mass in Spain is not usually sung later than 9 a.m., and the day following my arrival being Sunday I was therefore astir betimes in the morning and trying to find the route to the Cathedral or Iglesia Mayor. The way passed through the fine and interesting thoroughfare which intersects the City, the Rambla, redolent with the perfume of Tuberoses and other flowers, offered for sale at numerous stalls on either side; ringing with the twitterings of an innumerable colony of winged songsters; and gay with the glintings of the sun through the bright green foliage of the thickly set plane trees; and so by the street of the goldsmiths and many a strange old tortuous and narrow thoroughfare—in many instances greatly like the Calli in Venice—to the Cathedral. Passing through a curious old chapel, dedicated to St. Lucia, placed on the South side of the West Front, a most quaint and picturesque cloister (A.D. 1448) is entered, through whose arches, the Towers and Cimborio of the Cathedral make a lovely picture. Passing along by its garth full of flowers, orange trees, palms and other shrubs, made still more pleasant by the plash of water flowing forth to form the horses tail, in a group of St. George and the Dragon—one of three fountains in the Court—strangely combined with some live geese caged in one corner, an entrance into the South end of the Transept is reached and further on into the West end also. The first impression of the interior on entering by the latter door, is a feeling of inability to see anything; for the West wall of the Choir faces one and blocks out all the view Eastwards. Passing onward along a side aisle,

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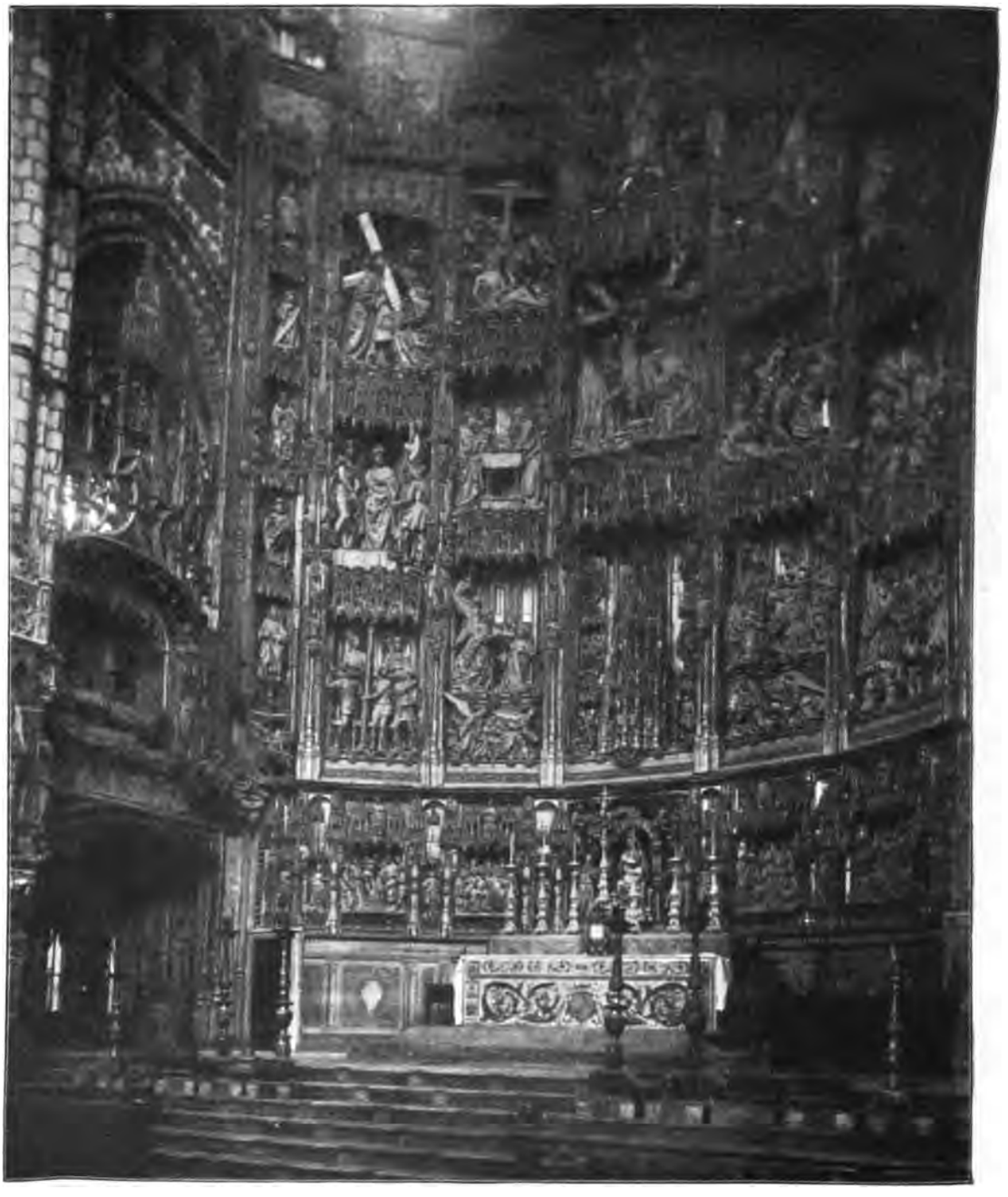

ALGUACIL PHOTO.

RETABLO OF THE CAPILLA MAYOR OF TOLEDO CATHEDRAL.

the attention is arrested by the great iron grilles of elaborate iron work standing before the numerous chapels along its side. Many of these screens are very old, being mediæval in date, and there are also many exquisite specimens of such work in front of the numerous chapels in the cloisters. The cresting of these screens is elaborated into most exquisite delineations of lilies and their leaves, and other flowers, and show much variety and intricacy of design, whilst at the same time the treatment is bold and telling. Hanging from the roof at regular intervals are a number of extremely large, and ancient metal coronas beautifully decorated with wrought-metal work, and bringing to mind the description of the great one which hung in the choir at Sarum. In Spanish churches the beauty of the workmanship exhibited in the metal work, especially in these screens, as well as the great number and size of the screens, is remarkable. In some instances, however, the ornaments seem to have been carried out in plates of metal which are too thin and are consequently less effective.

Further down the aisle the transept is reached, and over the North door of the transept is placed the great organ with richly painted winged shutters always opened during the office and then closed over. Underneath is hung the huge grinning head of a Saracen in wood, coloured to life. In such or similar places in the churches this Saracen's head is exhibited as an oft repeated memorial of the hated Moslem sway.

The transept[1] always separates the presbytery from the choir. The grand presbyteries of the Spanish cathedrals or churches are called the "Capilla Mayor," and usually have at the back of the altar a great stone screen, or as it is called "Retablo." These screens form a most remarkable feature in the great churches of the country, as well as one of their glories. They tower up to a great height, even in some cases, as in the Cathedral of Seville almost to the groining of the roof and are imposing by their sumptuousness and the beauty of their arrangement. They are enriched with sculptures depicting scenes from the Life of our Lord or of our Lady: and adorned with harmonious colouring, heightened with gilding. In character they often more resemble Flemish work than Italian, and are not unlike the German and Munich carved wood triptychs. They are usually divided up into panels surmounted with rich Gothic Tabernacle work, forming a marvel of intricate design, combined with skill in workmanship. Among them, those at Toledo; St. Nicholas, Burgos; and the one at the Carthusian Convent or the Cartuja of Miraflores, near Burgos are more especially beautiful and remarkable. Their cost and the labour bestowed upon them must have been enormous, and the work in them is usually of the highest quality. These screens bring to mind those on a much smaller scale in our own cathedral of Winchester, and the modern one at Truro; also that at All Souls, Oxford; and the great one at St. Albans, as well as the well known one at Christchurch, Hants. None of these can be considered to approach the Spanish ones, in wealth of detail, or in beauty and intricacy of work.

The transept or "Entre los dos Coros" as it is called, separates the Capilla Mayor from the Coro; and the part immediately between the choir proper and the presbytery is called the "Crucero" or "crossing"; over which in the roof is usually the lantern or "Cimborio." This lantern (a great characteristic of early Gothic) is always a feature in Spanish churches, being worked out with beautiful variety of detail and plan. Though borrowed no doubt in the first

[1] In explanation of the following description of the parts of a Spanish cathedral or great church, the reader is referred to the numerous beautiful plans given in *Gothic Architecture in Spain* by George Edmund Street, London, 1865; as well as to *A History of Architecture* by James Ferguson, London, 1874, pp. 246–282. In descriptions it is always to be considered that the altar is to the East.

place from the South of France, the Spaniards carried out the idea more completely; for the small windows, usually placed high up in the walls of the churches, and very wide naves (which are the rule), made it a necessity and gave wonderful effects of light in these otherwise darkened buildings. One of the most perfect of these Cimborios probably is that which adorns the old cathedral at Salamanca, built about 1200 A.D. These lanterns of course at once call to mind our own most beautiful example at Ely.

The choir proper is enclosed on three sides and placed West of the transept, in the nave and not as in Italy behind the Altar, or as in France to the West of the Altar enclosure and as is usual with us. It is placed in the nave itself occupying the three or four eastern bays. Sometimes even it may be carried right down into the nave beyond the first bay after the crossing as is the case at Segovia. In this way the arrangement is similar to that at Westminster Abbey.

This arrangement of the Spanish choir is not considered to be the ancient one, but to be of late date, probably a rearrangement effected in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries or even later.[1] It was done at a time when the wealth of Spain was so greatly increased by the South American discoveries and trade, that the Church being enriched by many gifts, it was so enabled to rebuild or beautify the churches and monastic houses.

The enclosing walls of the Coro are of high and solid masonry often rendered sumptuous with elaborate marble decorations on the sides towards the aisles. These decorations are sometimes in the most questionable taste as at Granada, Seville and Saragossa; though often of the greatest beauty as at Toledo, and are frequently of the costliest marbles. The richness and elaboration of detail of the beautiful canopy and figure-work on the exterior of the choir walls at Toledo is one of the finest things of its kind and a perfect marvel of beauty. The effect however of these great walls of the choir is entirely destructive of the artistic effect of the interior and blocks up the vista in every direction. It also separates the clergy in choir by a long distance from the high Altar in the Capilla Mayor. There seems no apparent reason either why this arrangement has been resorted to, as well as another change whereby the West entrance into the choir has been closed, and the Bishop's Throne placed there. Some have thought this choir in the nave to be the old arrangement, but there is much evidence to the contrary. At Burgos, Bishop Maurice, said to have been an Englishman, who came over in the train of the Princess Alienor, Queen of Alfonso VIII. and who became Bishop of Burgos (A.D. 1213), was buried in his cathedral. His monument was subsequently placed in front of the Trascoro or Screen of the West End of the choir and never was moved again. Now, however, it is in the midst of the choir and shows how this choir has been rearranged and carried further westward, there being also other evidence to show that Bishop Pascual de Fuensanta (1497–1512), moved the stalls from the Capilla Mayor to the middle of the Church. The effigy of Bishop Maurice, in full vestments in bronze, lies on the floor under a long Gothic penthouse supported on pillars of wood covered with metal plates enriched with enamels, jewels, and gilding, of about A.D. 1238, a most stately monument.

It is also a most common thing to find in the parish churches a great western gallery, often built up of finely carved and decorated stone carried on groining. These galleries, as at the Escorial, are often of great size, having all the fittings of a proper choir in the way of stalls round the three sides, and a large lectern in the midst, and even "a pair of organs," one

[1] Street's *Gothic Architecture in Spain*, pp. 17 and 19.

on each side. It would seem that the choir was in the way on the floor of the church or that for some reason or other it was found more convenient to lift it up into a gallery; and so about the same time that the alterations were made in the arrangements of the choirs in the Cathedrals an alteration and addition was made in the parish churches. In some of these galleries as at St. Esteban in Burgos, where the gallery is very beautifully carved having been added and erected about A.D. 1450, there are two projecting pulpits or ambones at each side, whose use I did not discover.

Both at the entrance of the Capilla Mayor and of the Coro are placed lofty metal screens called Rejas, extending the full width of each, and often of the most magnificent bronze and iron work, such as can hardly be seen in any other country with the exception perhaps of Naples. They have large gates only opened at the times of service. The screen to the Capilla Mayor usually has large central gates, and that into the Coro, gates on either side. On each side of the screen of the Capilla Mayor, either forming part of it or else standing apart or attached to the pillars on either side, in a similar way to those at Milan, are two. ambones not uncommonly of metal work from which the Epistle and Gospel are sung Between the great gates of the Coro and Capilla Mayor frequently extend two other low parallel rows of railings, which form and keep a passage free between the Coro and Capilla Mayor, having small side gates to allow of a passage across out of times of Divine service. This passage is thus kept in order that the people should not crowd or press forward on either side in the transepts and block the way, especially on great festivals, and that a passage may so be preserved along which the Epistoler and Gospeller, the Rulers of the choir, the Thurifers, the Paxbearers and others may go to and from the Altar[1] without interruption in their several duties.

In some choirs as in the older Cathedralor the Seu,[2] as it is especially called at Zaragoza, for there are two Cathedrals in that city, the other being called "del Pilar,"[3] there are two entrances into the choir on either side in the middle of the north and south walls. The old arrangement undoubtedly was a west entrance as with us, and at Toledo this can be easily seen although it has been blocked up and the Archbishop's Throne inserted. At Barcelona and several other cathedrals the western door still remains. The choir stalls, often very many in number, are arranged in a manner similar to that in an English cathedral. In some cases the lower bench is a mere plain wooden form, like what one sees depicted in old illuminations. The stalls are generally wonderful specimens of wood carving, and as at Toledo their details are marvels of artistic work. At Barcelona, at the east end of the southern side, as in English cathedrals, is placed the Bishop's Throne having a magnificent spire almost as high and elaborate in design as that at Exeter, and at its eastern side, and attached to it, is a small seat, used I presume by a chaplain. In these stalls also it is very interesting to see plates of brass enamelled with armorial bearings placed in the back of the stalls, similar in character to those at Windsor or Henry VII.'s Chapel at Westminster. These are the arms of the

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[1] It is perhaps worthy of note that in Spanish Churches the right side of the Altar is called "*lado del Evangelio*," and the left side "*lado de la Epistola*"; "*lado*" being the Spanish for "side."

[2] "La Seo" or "Seu," (Lat. "Sedes," English "See,") is the usual term for the cathedral or principal church in a town.

[3] "La Catedral del Pilar," the second cathedral at Zaragoza, obtains its name from the jasper pillar enshrined there, upon which it is said that the Blessed Virgin descended and appeared to St. James the Apostle.

Knights of the Golden Fleece, which Order was founded in A.D. 1481, by Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, Brabant, and Earl of Flanders, on the occasion of his marriage with his third wife the Infanta Isabella of Portugal. The only installation of this Order held in Spain was held here in A.D. 1519 by the Emperor Charles V. It is interesting perhaps to know that the arms of Henry VIII. of England are amongst those in these stalls.

At Barcelona, on the occasion of my visit, the Bishop during the Mass sat in, what with us would be the Dean's seat, but just before the sermon, all the Canons stood up, and then the Bishop who was dressed in the purple robes of a Cardinal and wearing a biretta of the same hue of Spanish shape, with a green ball of floss silk in the centre, with his train carried by four of the clergy and preceded by the mace-bearer, solemnly passed round the upper passage of the stalls, in front of the Canons standing back in their seats to make room, and so passed to his Throne. There he sat during the sermon, which was prefaced by a terribly long winded printed document about the approaching festival of the Rosary and its many benefits and blessings and the Indulgences to be gained with its due observance. The sermon over, the Bishop returned with the same formalities to his stall in the entrance to the choir, where in due time at the offertory he was censed. This rather reminds one of the statement in some of the daily papers that the Archbishop of Canterbury and his Assistants at the Consecration of certain Bishops at St. Paul's on Holy Innocents Day 1894, left the Altar and proceeded to seats near the pulpit, where they sat during the sermon.

The Crucero, or 'Entre los dos coros,' is the part which is occupied by the congregation, and here standing, or sitting sideways, they can both see and hear the service as it proceeds whether in the choir or at the Altar. The Altar is usually well elevated being placed in a raised sacrarium, often approached by a flight of many marble steps from the midst of the presbytery. There are rarely any seats for the people and the congregation mostly stand, the women and children only squatting, sitting or kneeling on large circular plaited mats of esparto grass in divers colours, used to protect and keep them from the cold of the stone floors. It was also very necessary in England before the introduction of hideous warming apparatuses into our churches, so that one of the duties of a parish clerk was to see that straw or hay was placed in the seats of the worshippers to keep their feet warm in the services of the Church during cold weather.[1] The strewing of rushes which is still continued in many churches is also a remnant of a like old custom.

Perhaps no country is so rich in old Church furniture as Spain. Witness the great Retablos at Toledo, Salamanca, Miraflores and Zaragosa; the screens of the Coro; the silver Baldachino at Gerona; the glorious stallwork in numberless places and especially at Toledo, Zamora, and Valencia; at Manresa the old columns for the side curtains of the Altar which still stand, as well as at Barcelona; the exquisitely beautiful doors to the Choir and the Lady Chapel in ivory, tortoiseshell and silver in the Cartuja at Granada. Then there are old organs and magnificent metal screens, and lastly, though by no means least, the splendid massive lecterns in wood as at Zamora, or of metal as at Burgos and Toledo, for holding the great illuminated service books, in their heavy hide covers protected and strengthened with great

[1] See *The Antiquary*, Vol. ii. p. 96. "A Lincolnshire Parish Clerk in the olden time. 1793 A.D." The following example occurs in the duties as laid down in the Churchwardens' accounts for the parish of Barrow-on-Humber. "He [the Parish Clerk] is to give notice to the owners, farmers, and owner of the Westcote about a week before Christmas and Easter, that he before either of those feasts, send one load of straw to the Church Stile, where the clerk shall receive it and lay it in the seats; &c."

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ALGUACIL PHOTO.

LECTERN IN THE CORO OF TOLEDO CATHEDRAL.

bossed metal mountings. It was very interesting to see in many places that the chief feature of these lecterns was an Eagle, and the one at Toledo is, I think, without doubt the most magnificent thing as a piece of ancient brasswork that can be seen anywhere. It consists of an enormous bird with outspread wings fighting with a dragon; large red stones form its eyes and it stands on the top of a column, formed of a tower with its turrets, and enriched with a number of statuettes of the Apostles and Saints, whilst six lions couchant carry the whole on their backs.

Of late years with us the brass eagle lectern (alas! how poor a thing it often is,) has been replaced in our churches, not for its ancient purpose however.[1] "Also ther was lowe downe in the Quere another Lettorn of brasse, not so curiously wroughte [as that for the Epistle and Gospel], standing in the midst against the Stalls, a marveilous faire one, with an Eagle on the height of it, and hir winges spread abroad, whereon the Monkes did lay theire bookes when they sang theire legendes at Mattens, or at other times of service." This we find at Durham, as at all other places, was their use and not as now to hold the great Bible and to read the Lessons from, which in old days were read from the one side of the choir as one sees it still done in Spain.

Some old English Lecterns are still in existence, though devoted to a different use. Some few remain to us in brass; that at the Cathedral of Southwell, being remarkable as the one which originally stood in the choir of Newstead Abbey and was fished up out of the lake there. In Croydon parish Church is a very fine old Eagle lectern, and there are others still in use. Many exist in wood, some having the wood gilt as at Winchester Cathedral, but all with some few exceptions have the Eagle as their chief feature, with a more or less decorated stand. In the old inventories we also find mention of a "Tuellia" or covering for the Lectern. Statements regarding the Eagle Lecterns carry us back to a very early period for Du Cange states that one was given to the Church of St. Ambrose, Milan as early as A.D. 1014.

With regard to the Vergers[2] or Mace Bearers to whom I have alluded, I am afraid they are a class of functionaries who, together with the Parish Clerk, are fast passing away. And yet they are personages who are considered to be worthy of mention in our Cathedral and College Statutes, ('virge baiulus') and their duties as to walking with their wands before Dean and Canons, Warden and College, defined and set forth.[3]

We must not forget in these days of rapid change, that the Rector and Churchwardens are a Corporation and still remain so, in spite of the Parish Council Act of 1894. It is therefore most fitting that they should be preceded by an officer with a mace or verge. In some cases where not many years ago such customs still existed, I am sorry to say, that from one cause and another, their office has fallen into neglect and disuse, but this ought not to be allowed and every effort should be used again to restore it.

In Spain, in the Cathedrals at least, these Church officers are most important function-

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[1] *Rites of Durham*, p. 12, Surtees Society.

[2] The writer from boyhood, both in the London city and country Churches, remembers them in their black robes, barred with velvet and tassels on the sleeves, perhaps adorned with a silver badge and carrying a silver or gilt mace, or rod or wooden verge with a metal badge on the top. At St. Mary the Virgin, Guildford, the Verger and Parish clerk both had such habits and the clerk carried a fine silver mace. At the church of the Holy Trinity, Guildford, these gowns were worn. The old gowns are still used by the Verger and Sexton at the Parish Church of SS. Peter and Paul, Frampton Cotterell and the Verger carries a verge with a silver tip.

[3] e.g. cap. 54. Statutes of St. George's and St. Edward's, Windsor. Given in *Tracts of Clement Maydeston.* Henry Bradshaw Society, Vol. vii. p. 236.

aries. They head the processions, and take a prominent position in the Cathedral during the service, standing perhaps at the foot of the flight of steps in the Presbytery up to the Altar or by the great Reja or iron grille at its entry. They head the Procession to the Mass; they precede the Subdeacon going to read the Epistle, as well as the Deacon's procession before the Gospel and the procession into the choir for the censings or the carrying of the Paxes.

They wear wigs, sometimes white like those of our Barristers; sometimes black. At Zaragoza their gowns were of very handsome white brocaded silk: at Toledo of poor black stuff with velvet trimmings, very like some of our own. At Seville these gowns were of rich brocaded black silk, with heavy black velvet trimmings. They all bear maces or tall metal rods with an ornament on the top—and with these latter tap the ground to give notice at times or call attention of those straggling across the transept between the choir and Presbytery during service, which no one is allowed to do. These maces or rods vary in size and degree of beauty of workmanship. Of all the Vergers, I saw none who approached in splendor the ancient one at Barcelona. A tall spare man of advanced age, he had on a flaxen wig of wondrous make, fit for any stage Adonis. His robes were most magnificent of red damask silk,[1] with cerise velvet trimmings and over his shoulders was placed a large hood of similar coloured silk brought down to a point in front with a large hood behind, shaped like those of the Canons I shall mention presently. He wore a gold chain of office and carried a short mace of ebony mounted with metal bands and an elaborately chased top of silver gilt. In the other hand he carried a wondrous high black velvet hat with a gold cord, in shape like those that men wore in James I.'s time in England. In our English Cathedrals I must say I think some more costly robes in many cases would be more seemly and dignified, and that it would be more in accordance with the fitness of things if the Vergers were to remain in Choir during the offices, rather than, as is usually the case in my experience, closing the gates after the entry of the procession and carefully locking themselves outside.

But we must now return to Barcelona. Before the Mass commenced there was plenty of time to examine the preparations and arrangements being made for the Mass. In the Cathedral of Barcelona the Presbytery is placed about 5 feet above the pavement of the transept and is situated over a deep crypt, opening into the church, approached by a flight of broad steps from the floor of the transept. In this crypt one can see the Shrine of St. Eulalia, Patrona of the city, whose remains were removed here in A.D. 1339. The shrine is an ark of alabaster carried upon marble columns evidently brought here from some Roman building. There are numerous burning lamps hanging around it and numberless candles on the Altar in front of it. On either side of the descent into the crypt are rather narrow flights of stone steps leading up into the Capilla Mayor, and iron railings are carried across the top of the crypt as a fence and protection and are adorned at intervals with large sconces holding great wax lights. These railings however are probably of late date. The Great Altar stands against

[1] These vergers mostly use a gown and often a hat of the colour of the day. Thus it may be white at the High Mass, but at Vespers the same day, the colour may be red. At Lugo at the Canons High Mass, the colour was violet, and then changed immediately after for white for a sermon before the Bishop, the hats being of a corresponding colour. At Barcelona the hat was of black velvet and differently shaped to elsewhere. The hat is usually of a Palmer shape, having a round crown and wide brim. At Palencia it was of a brown colour.

a low wall of deep purple and yellow marble of Brochello di Spagna, upon which is erected a lofty screen of open Gothic carved canopy work, all gilt and forming a somewhat imposing though small Re-tablo. It is very interesting to note that there are curtains on either side the Altar, occupying apparently this place from ancient times, and the rods for the curtains are supported in front on ancient columns of jasper with angels on the top, but no place for lights as far as I could see.

Street says[1] that "these curtains were drawn at the Sanctus, and remained so until the consecration was completed," a statement reading as if he had seen this done. I noticed handsomely embroidered white silk curtains hanging at the sides of the Altar at this Mass, but they were never drawn round in front of the Altar at any time during the service; nor were they apparently large enough for such use.

Street also says,[2] "One sung Mass only is celebrated at this Altar each day, and an old Treatise on the Customs of the Church[3] cites in defence or explanation of this rule, the words of a very early council,[4] *una Missa et unum Altare.*" I do not however think that this is a custom peculiar to the Cathedral of Barcelona, for I have no recollection of seeing another Mass than a High Mass said at these Altars.

At the South end of the Altar and close to it and touching it, was what was apparently a small table vested and having a linen cloth on it. I was much puzzled to know what this could be for, but not long after I remembered a similar unaccountable arrangement in an ancient English drawing.

There is a very beautiful print which was published in *The Builder* of July 2nd 1892, which represents "The Restoration of the High Altar of Westminster Abbey." This design was executed by Mr. H. W. Brewer, being chiefly founded upon the ancient drawing in the "Islyp Roll" dated 1532, representing the presbytery as it was at the time of the Abbot's funeral. This drawing is in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries. In the drawing and in that of the restoration as well, will be noticed at the South end of the Altar an article something like a large covered box. Mr. Brewer in his article on the drawing in *The Builder*[5] says, "A singular kind of stool, or miniature table, is shown in the roll, attached to the South end of the Altar. It seems too low for a credence table and too high for a stool; what it was, I am totally unable to conjecture, though I find indications of this feature in other drawings." Now I think I am in a position to solve this mystery.

As I have said, at the Cathedral in Barcelona I saw just the same arrangement. The procession for the Mass from the Sacristy consisted of the Celebrant, the Deacon and sub-Deacon, the Priest assistant or Ceremoniarius vested in cotta and cope, white being the colour for the day, and there was a large attendance of Acolytes.

The Priest Assistant, assisted the Celebrant at the Altar in the usual manner of the Roman rite. At those places in the Mass, however where the Priest, Deacon and Sub-Deacon retired from the Altar and sat down in seats placed as sedilia, then the Priest Assistant retired to the South end of the Altar and sat on this table-like stool, facing due West. Nor

[1] *Gothic Architecture in Spain.* Street, p. 301. [2] *Gothic Architecture in Spain.* Street, p. 301.

[3] Villanueva, *Viage á las Iglesias de España*, xviii. 157. Quoted by Street, p. 301.

[4] A reference probably to the Council of Maçon held in 577 A.D. or else to that of Auxerre held about 578 A.D. when a canon, No. 10, was passed, accepted, and enforced there to this effect. *A Manual of Councils of the Holy Catholic Church.* Rev. E. H. Landon, M.A. London F. and I. Rivington, 1846.

[5] *The Builder*, Vol. lxiii. No. 2578, p. 14, and large plate of Restoration of the Presbytery of Westminster Abbey.

was Barcelona the only place where I noticed this arrangement, for I observed it also at La Seo, the Metropolitan Church of our Saviour at Zaragoza, at the Canons' weekday High Mass, at which I was present. There, one of the Canons simply vested in his cotta, with the black choir cope over it, acted as Priest Assistant at the Altar, and he likewise sat down on a similar stool at the South end of the Altar. I noticed this stool also at Toledo and some other places. It was always of the same box like form and covered with silk stuff hangings to match those of the Altar and in addition had a white linen cloth, reaching half way down.

One thing this seems to point to is, that the like custom was probably in use in England and the chief acolyte used this stool. It also shews that the way in which our Altar paces have been cut short on either side of the Altar, frequently leaving only about a foot at either end of the Altar in many modern restorations and new churches, is both architecturally and ceremonially wrong.

I mentioned that at Zaragoza one of the Canons wore a black choir cope. This cope is generally worn by the Canons in their Stalls in the Spanish Cathedrals. The cope is open in front and has a large cape with a hood, falling down over the shoulders, but in some the cape appears hardly to exist. These copes do not seem to be used elsewhere on the continent in my experience, with the exception of Milan, where I have seen a small number of the Canons of the inferior order wearing them on Sunday when saying the offices before Mass, and in that case they were adorned down the sides with a broad facing or orphrey of most vivid green silk.[1] In Spain they seem to have adhered to the ancient shape.

At Barcelona they were not worn, but instead a most curious pleated sleeveless jacket with long lapels in front, of black silk, the waist being plaited and drawn in. They were worn over the cotta and under the hood, and were lined with red silk the colour of that in an Oxford M.A. hood. They hooked down the front and only came to the waist. The tails of some were edged with red, some were all black, and they were wider below than above and reached below the knee. They were strange looking garments, and I saw the Priests taking them off in the Sacristy. The Celebrant wore one entirely of red silk over his surplice, and under his alb and chasuble. I am very doubtful what this garment represents, but I am inclined to think it is academical, and somewhat equivalent to the habit worn by Doctors of Divinity at our Universities. I only saw it worn at Barcelona.

It was at Barcelona that I was very greatly surprised to find the Canons wearing what really at first sight looked like an Oxford Master's Hood. It was of black silk lined with exactly the same coloured silk, but cut a little differently. These hoods, which I saw nowhere else, were made of black corded silk, lined with red silk, and somewhat in the shape of those shown on the shoulders of the two Serjeants of the Coif of the Court of Wards and Liveries, standing in the forepart of the Court as shewn in a drawing of the Court supposed to be of about A.D. 1585, an engraving of which is given in *Vetusta Monumenta*.[2] The Barcelona hood, instead of being fully open behind as in our own University Hoods, is closed up into the neck. The red silk lining of the hood, however, is shewn over the shoulders and brought down on to the chest in front to a point, the black silk being underneath. This front

[1] "There are four choristers, who are chosen by the Dean and Chapter [of Lincoln]; . . . Their dress is a black gown, *faced with white*, given them every second year." *The Gentleman's Magazine* 1823, Part I. p. 309. I understand these boys still wear these robes, which are the only remnant left in our Cathedrals of the Capa Nigra. Did the old black choir cope have an orphrey? The white facing at Lincoln is said to be of lamb's wool.

[2] Vol. I.

portion (triangular in shape from the shoulders) is deeper cut, and appears to be worn as the Doctors at Oxford wore their hoods in 1675, as shewn by the large drawing in Loggan's *Oxonia Illustrata*.[1] There were no buttons or any opening in front: but in the middle of the neck behind was a small slit, which when open allowed the head to go through. When on two small cords drew the slit together, as well as the loose middle part of the hood, which so was caught up flat against the back. It had a very strange effect to see the Canons walking about in the cloisters and Cathedral, wearing these English looking hoods. From many drawings and monuments one can see at once that this was probably very nearly the shape of the hood in England in the second year of Edward VI.[2] The present shape though in many instances made absurd by the tailors, is all the same more what it ought to be, than the Italian cape as worn by the higher orders of their clergy, with its numerous little buttons[3] and small silken pouch behind for a hood, all of which is modern as well, and cannot claim even to be the old Italian form. Some unfortunately have attempted to introduce it amongst ourselves.

No doubt only a very small alteration is needed to make our present form of hood more dignified and more according to the Tudor pattern. The front band instead of being a mere ribband as is often the case, should be cut much wider and the great opening (only made so that the hood might be easily put on in the days of wigs) should be closed up to a great extent and the whole of the back brought higher up into the neck. The Tippet, Hood and Liripipe of the ordinary citizen in old times, as the rule had no buttons, or only two or three in front just at the neck; but the opening left was of such a size as to allow the head to pass through with comfort and, with the exception of colour, the clerical hood seems to have been pretty much of the same shape, as can be readily seen in illuminations and mediæval drawings.[4]

It appears to be the more general custom at the Spanish Altars to use cushions as book rests and usually two are placed on the Altar. There was one interesting exception to this rule, for in the Ximenes Chapel, in the Cathedral of Toledo, where the Mozarabic Mass and offices are said, two beautiful silver book desks of early renaissance style were used at the Mozarabic Mass.

Quite unlike French, Italian and other continental Altars, the High Altars, especially in the Cathedral Churches, were without gradines, and it was quite exceptional to see the towering erections for flowers and lights, so often seen in other Roman Catholic Churches. Where there was the ancient re-tablo, no gradine could be seen as any part of it, even if there was one on the Altar; and if one existed on the Altar it was merely a simple shelf, and at most only of two stages. If there were any extra lights, over and above the six great lights on the Altar, they were few in number and of large size, placed perhaps on some projecting member of the re-tablo or in branches in connection with it. There were usually great silver

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[1] Loggan's *Oxonia Illustrata*. Oxford, 1675.

[2] Effigy of Richard Moodie. Standish Church, Lancashire.
Effigy of Archbishop Grindal. Formerly in Croydon Church, Surrey.
Drawings of these are given in Bloxam's *Companion to Gothic Architecture* (11th edition), Ecclesiastical Vestments, pp. 226, 262, 279.

[3] In a portrait of Cardinal Wolsey, however, given in the *Gentleman's Magazine* Nov. 1824, Pl. ii. p. 401, the Cardinal is represented in the ordinary deep tippet and small hood and the tippet has a number of little buttons. In this it differs from the other well known portraits, as well as from the usual portraits of Cardinals by Raphael and others of that time.

[4] On the Feast of the Epiphany Henry VII. went on "the xiith even to the evensong in his surcoo outward with tabert sleves, the cappe of estate on his hede, and the hode aboute his showlders in doctors wise." Leland's *Collectanea*, Vol. viii. p. 235.

candlesticks six or seven feet high, often three on each side of the Sacrarium with great wax lights. The six lights and the Crucifix often stood on the back of the Altar itself, as is so often seen represented in old illuminations and prints. The Altars were also entirely covered by a hanging of some kind, and not as is so often the case now with us having only a top and frontal, back and sides being left bare. In Spain the back and sides often have a rich hanging also, so that the Altar itself is completely hidden from view, however handsome its material and adornment may be. This ancient and good custom still prevailed in England as many of us can recollect, until a few years ago, and it still does at St. Peter's, and St. John Lateran in Rome and other great churches on the continent.

It would seem as if many among our clergy thought that there was something ancient, venerable, and perhaps even mystical, if not lovely, connected with that most hideous and mishapen head covering which they have taken of late to wear, the Italian Biretta! It seems probable that that extraordinarily shaped and stiffened headdress can hardly claim even so great an antiquity as two hundred and fifty years. This particular shape I believe has been entirely confined to the use of a large part of the Clergy of the Papal obedience, with the exception of Spain (even the Portuguese form, being hardly so ugly), until with great want of judgement it was introduced into this country by some priests of the Catholic School, who no doubt had seen it used in their travels or worn by some of the Italian Mission in England. It was done no doubt with the best of intention, believing this to be the ancient form of head covering for a priest; and so they forthwith took to wearing it, discarding the more venerable and national "Mortar Board." I have examined all the pictures, engravings or monuments to which I have had access, in which this cap has been shewn, and Raphael, Holbein and many others have often drawn priests with this cap; but in no picture or sculpture which I have examined of the sixteenth and early seventeenth century have I seen a priest's cap depicted in this stiffened Italian shape. The earliest cap of the sort that has come under my notice was the scarlet biretta of Cardinal York, brother of the young Pretender exhibited in 1889 at the Stuart Exhibition at the New Gallery (No. 627). This biretta was too small for use, having been made in the days of wigs.

In old days in England this cap was called barett or corner cap and Claude de Vert calls it "bonnet carrè."[1] The Spanish biretta however differs entirely from the Italian and, although somewhat peculiar in shape, is a more elegant article to my mind than the other. It is stiffened, but quite round below, whilst the sides slightly bowed out rise up into four points, the centre in the top being quite low and carrying a large ball of green or plum coloured floss silk, and it is covered with black silk.

In the cloisters of the Cathedral at Burgos may be seen a most interesting set of Tombs which show the developement of the Cap from the thirteenth century. They were always made up soft and capable of being crushed together and probably originally of cloth as a rule; although dignitaries may have had them of richer material, just as in later times they were made in England of velvet, and they had a small button in the middle. Sometimes they had a small image of embossed metal of the Blessed Virgin or of a Saint on the right side, whilst laymen had a jewel there instead.

At Burgos, in the Chapel of St. Iago, I noticed a curious old Bier and behind it, hidden by some old stuff stood another, apparently older. These biers were very interesting, for they

[1] Claude de Vert, *Explication, &c.* Paris, 1708, tom. ii. p. 263.

were evidently extremely old. They were both alike in shape, but one was painted, whilst the other was of plain wood, polished by ages of use. The first was painted a light blue with bands of red and white across it, with some yellow Fleur de lis on the cover. It consisted of an ordinary framework of wood about six feet long and two feet wide at the most. This frame had low legs about 14 inches high at each end, the long side beams being carried out into two handles and the frame itself bedded in with boards. To the frame were fixed sides about 9 inches high, the narrow ends being carried up into points. Fixed to one of the long sides by bands of hinged iron unpainted was a coved top of two boards set at an angle and forming the cover. Into this the body, not in a coffin, but in a winding sheet alone, is placed, then the lid being shut over, the body is borne to the Church and the grave. These biers are no doubt very similar to, if not exactly like, those that were in use in England, as we can tell from the old illuminations. Many of the English ones, however, in place of the coved lid, had a flat cover, as we learn by the shape of the ancient bier Cloths that are still in existence. These consist of oblong pieces of brocade as a centre with side and end lapels so cut that when the centre part lay on the lid the side pieces fell down and all the upper part of the bier was hidden. Up to within what may be called a recent period such biers were still in use in these Isles. Dr. Arthur Mitchell tell us in his *Past in the Present* (p. 99) "that at Ness in the Island of Lewis, few persons were buried in wooden coffins. There was a large wooden box called 'the Chest of the Dead,' and nearly every one, whom death visited in the district was carried to the burial ground in this chest and then transferred to a grave roughly lined with stones." The bodies of the dead, wrapped in a cere cloth and a winding sheet, were laid on the bier and so committed to the parent earth. Many old illuminations and churchwardens' accounts tell us of this fact, as well as the well known Statute 30 Caroli II. 1678, "An Acte for the lessening the Importation of Linnen from beyond the Seas, and the Encouragement of the Woollen and Paper Manufactures of the Kingdome," whereby it was ordered that the body was to be buried in woollen and not wrapt or wound up in any shirt, shift, sheet or shroud and, if placed in any coffin, the coffin was to be lined or faced with nothing but the wool of sheep, and every clergyman receiving an affidavit of the fact had to enter it into his Parish Register under penalty of £5.

In some places a parish[1] coffin was provided for the use of the Poor in which their bodies were conveyed to the church and the graveyard where they were simply laid in the earth without a coffin. Our burial office seems to imply that a coffin would not be used, for the Rubric says, "When they come to the grave, while the *corpse is made ready to be laid into the Earth*," and this certainly points to the custom of the time when the office was drawn up.

At Easingwold in Yorkshire there still exists one of these coffins. It is roughly made of oak and clamped together strongly with iron stays. It has a lid attached to it by iron hinges and apparently at one time stood on four legs, as there are four round holes in the bottom, thus bearing a great resemblance to the Burgos receptacle. Iron rings were also attached to it through which apparently wooden staves could be passed and so it could be easily carried. The Rev. Nathan Jackson, the present vicar of Easingwold, has kindly informed me that the coffin is carefully preserved in a wooden case in the belfry of the church, and he also tells me that he has tried to find out when it was last used; but to little purpose. An old man of eighty says

[1] *The Reliquary*, July 1864, pp. 17, 18.

he remembers it being used on two occasions when he was a boy—once to bring a poor lad's body from a wood where it had been partly devoured by rats, and on another occasion to put a drunken fellow in to sober him. Bishop Andrews (ob. 1626) lies buried in a similar coffin, with iron rings attached to it, in St. Mary Overy Church, Southwark.[1]

It is interesting to note that Royalty was also placed in a chest very much of this description. Prince Arthur, son of Henry VII. died at Ludlow Castle, April 2nd, 1502, and the corpse was "coyled, well seered, and conveinently dressed with spices, such as those who bore the chardge thereof, could purveye, & that it might be furnisht of. This was so sufficiently done, that it needed no Lead, but was chested. The Chest was covered with a good black Cloth close sewed to the same, with a white cross, & sufficient rings of iron to the same; and this laid in His Chamber under a Table covered with rich clothes of Gold, a rich Crosse under him, and certaine candlestickes of Silver over him, with Tapers of Waxe burning, & four other great Candlesticks of Lattyne, with iiij great Tapers continually burning there."[2]

In Spain the bodies of the poor are still frequently buried without a coffin, from a sanitary point of view one of the best methods of burial, but it is said that after being placed in the grave the body is despoiled of its clothes and other decorations, especially at Granada, where the Gipsies appear to be chief offenders, and the poor body is left naked and desecrated. It would seem that in old days in England what was called the "apparail of way" was due to the Church, as was the case at Coventry where it was the perquisite of the Cathedral there.[3]

In the Treasury of the Cathedral of Toledo—what glorious and splendid things does it not still contain, though bereft of so much of its ancient glory!—is a very old mitre probably of about the end of the thirteenth century, said to have belonged to Cardinal Ximenes. Its foundation consists of a dark bluish green velvet, upon which is laid a narrow bordering of fine embroidery in gold thread outline of Gothic design, whilst on the face of it is some delicate needlework, in coloured silks and gold threads much worn, probably representing the Annunciation, a common subject for the front of a mitre. The lining consists of a soft pale strawberry coloured silk and the shape is the usual rather pointed one of the date.

In the Chapter House, are portraits, in a long series, of the Archbishops of Toledo, 94 in number, said to be authentic from Archbishop Ximenes, but before that time they are probably purely imaginary. They are said to have been painted by Iuan de Borgoña. It is worthy of note that all of them have white jewelled mitres, with three exceptions, two being green and one a blue grey. The first green one is that of Archbishop Ximenes.

It is commonly laid down by modern books on the subject[4] that the ground material of the jewelled mitre must be white silk. So say all the Roman authorities,[5] and Dr. Rock moreover states that all the old known mitres still in existence have a white ground.[6] Mr. St. John Hope informs me that he has a list of some thirty coloured ones and that there was

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[1] A drawing of this coffin with such rings, remarkably like the one at Easingwold, is given in Bloxam's *Companion to Gothic Architecture*, Ecclesiastical Vestments, 11th edition, G. Bell & Sons. London, p. 399.

[2] Leland's *Collectanea*, Vol. V. p. 374.

[3] The "apparails of way" of all corpses, whichever Church they might be buried in, was due to the Cathedral of Coventry. "Recantation of Frere John Bredon," in 1446 A.D. He had preached against the custom. Leland's *Collectanea*, Vol. V. p. 302.

[4] Anastasia Dolby, *Church Vestments*. London, Chapman & Hall, p. 141.

[5] *Ordo Romanus*, xiii. An Ordo of Pope Gregory X. 1271 A.D.

[6] Dr. Rock, *The Church of our Fathers*. London, G. Dolman, 1849, Vol. ii. p. 109, and note 44.

a black one at Exeter. It is also well known that Bishop Seabury, Bishop of Connecticut, had a mitre of black satin embroidered with gold, still preserved at Trinity College, Hartford, U.S.A. Dr. Claggett, first Bishop of Maryland (consecrated 1792, ob. 1813), had one of purple velvet, embroidered in gold, and it is believed to be still in the possession of his successor in the See. The mitre of St. Thomas of Canterbury, now in the possession of Cardinal Vaughan, is of gold and silver thread with red silk; and the mitre found in the tomb at Canterbury, supposed to be that of Archbishop Hugh Walter, A.D. 1193–1205, is also of red silk. From other examples also it is evident that the mitre may have for its groundwork the usual Church colours.

I do not know, if it has ever been in the mind of others, as I confess at one time it was in mine, that although doubtless Mediæval Vestments, Copes and Mitres, Apparels and Orpheys were very frequently most magnificent in their jewelled adornments, still that the Painters and especially those of the Flemish School, drew very largely upon their imagination and invented the exceedingly sumptuous and gorgeously be-jewelled Vestments and the splendid pieces of goldsmith's work often delineated in their pictures attached to the Hoods of Copes, to Morses and to Mitres and in which they seem to revel in decking their Saints and Patrons. I think, however, if such thoughts should have occurred to any one, a visit to some of the Spanish Cathedral Treasuries, would cause them to think otherwise.

On the Festival of La Virgen del Pilar on Oct. 12, when I was in Toledo, after the Mozarabic Mass was said at 9 a.m. in the Ximenes Chapel, the Canons' High Mass of the day was sung at the High Altar. It was finely rendered musically and there was a full accompaniment of Monaguillos or acolytes consisting of two Thurifers, the ceroferarii, cross-bearer and other acolytes, who all wore albs and white silk Tunicles. The Priests' albs were adorned with large square apparels before and behind. I missed the Procession into the choir, but the Mass being ended, the three ministers knelt down in a row below the Altar and acolytes approached them from the credence and placed round their necks the collars of the Amices. In Spain the collar is always separate from the linen portion, being held in place by long tasselled cords. All three then rose up, and another set of acolytes brought the Deacon and Sub-deacon napkins of gold and deep blue damask silk, which they placed over their hands. Then there was taken and carried from the Altar where they stood on either side of the foot of the great silver Crucifix, placed above on a gradine, a gold floriated Cross on a calvary about a foot in height studded with large emeralds and rubies, and a statuette of the B. V. Mary and the Holy Infant about the same height, the figures being of gold and the hands and faces in ivory tinted in colour and having crowns full of jewels. These were placed in the covered hands of the Deacon and Sub-deacon respectively, to carry in the procession back from the High Altar. In Mediæval times it appears to have been the custom for the cross to be carried to the Altar in the Procession, as well perhaps as some relic. The acolytes also fulfilled their special duty in carrying the lights. We must remember that Leo IV. had limited the articles which might be placed on the Altar, and the cross and candles are not mentioned as allowed.[1] Probably it was not before the end of the tenth century, if so early, that a cross and lights became part of the Altar furniture.

This very carrying of the cross in the procession, but by the Celebrant, is ordered by the

[1] *De Cura Pastorali.* 8. Migne's Patrologia, cxiv. 677.

Lincoln Statutes.[1] Martene also says that the same thing was done "in celebri S. Dionysii prope Parisios basilica"; and at Vienne, Tours and other great churches, as well as in the Metropolitical church and the collegiate and greater parish churches of Paris, being ordered by the Ceremoniale Parisiense in 1656 and it was in use in his time. There however it was the Celebrant who carried the cross in the veil.[2] De Moleon, states also that at Tours, the priest carried away the cross from the Altar at the end of Mass.[3]

Passing close to me I was able to see distinctly these beautiful objects carried or worn by the priests. The collars of the Amices of the three priests were thickly sewn with large pearls close set in lines diamond fashion and at the intersection of the lines very large pearls were placed. In the centre of each lozenge so formed was placed a great jewel surmounted by other smaller stones, and in addition heavy bullion and embroidery. In Spain the collars of the Amice are always separate from the linen and are shaped by being slightly cut out over the shoulder and brought down in a slight tongue between the shoulders behind. A long silk or bullion cord is attached at each corner in front, each cord having a tassel. They are connected together by a slip ring which runs up and so keeps the collar in place. Very good examples can be seen amongst the fine sets of Spanish Vestments at South Kensington.

The officiating priest also wore besides a curious large semilunar piece of similar embroidered silk, hanging across the upper part of his breast over the chasuble, in the midst of which stood up a great rose of light metal work in silver gilt full of jewels, and having an enormous topaz in the centre. This no doubt represented the Rational and there was another still more sumptuous in the Treasury. The Rational as an episcopal or priestly ornament seems to have ceased to be used with us much after the fourteenth century[4]; although the custom lasted longer on the Continent and the Rational was in use until a late period in France and the Low Countries.

Another article I saw in the Treasury at Toledo, is worth noting, as I have no recollection of ever seeing any mention of such an ornament before. Lying in front of one of the cases was what looked like a pair of very handsome bracelets lined with silk. They were pieces of ivory coloured silk about 2 inches wide and long enough to go round the wrists, with small silk ribbands attached to tie them on with. The outer sides were thickly covered with pearls, jewels and bullion work, making them quite stiff. I learnt that they were worn by

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[1] "Sacerdote vestibus sacro induto sicut esset in altari excepta casula quia loco huius capam induet de palli

et crucem siue tabulam ui qua depingitur crux in manu portabit Diacono et subdiacono secundarijs Dalmaticis et tunicis indutis precedentibus (p. 374).

Et qui preest officio cum ministris suis eat ad altare et ponet super altare illud quod in manibus gestauit in processione (pp. 376–377).

After the *confiteor* it goes on to say

et tunc ad absolucionem veniant diaconus et subdiaconus principales cum textis ante celebrantem officium et ipse osculabitur primum textum diaconi et secundario textum subdiaconi.

The priest then goes to the Altar and begins the *office*.

Lincoln Cathedral Statutes. The Black Book. Arranged by the late Henry Bradshaw. Edited by Chr. Wordsworth, M.A. Pt. I. Cambridge. At the University Press. 1892.

[2] The Celebrant carried the cross in the veil and coming to the Altar after the *Confiteor* kisses the text, although Martene says (p. 131) that the Sub-deacon offers the cross to be kissed by the celebrant. Martene, *De Antiquis Ecclesiæ Ritibus.* Tom. i. pp. 129 and 131. Venetiis. 1783.

[3] De Moleon (Le Brun Desmarettes). *Voyages liturgiques de France.* Paris. 1718, pp. 44 and 115.

[4] *The Church of our Fathers.* Rock, Vol. I. p. 363.

the Archbishop on his wrists at Great Festivals. They appeared to be the wrist apparels of the alb, separated from it, in a similar way to the collars of the Amice. The Albs as a rule also retain the apparels at the foot at least, both before and behind, in the shape of large squares of silk with embroidery, in suit with the Vestment.

The Acolytes on feasts wear tunicles, the same as did our own Acolytes in olden days and a Spanish Presbytery is a grand sight on a great Festival with the two Thurifers and numerous Acolytes in Tunicles, all of a suit with the Priests, as well as the rulers of the choir in Copes, carrying their staves, which are often highly ornamented.

The courteous old Verger at Toledo informed me that at all great Festivals some sacred objects or reliques are taken out of the Treasury, a large chamber situated at the base of the North West Tower, (the corresponding chapel at the base of the South West Tower being the Mozarabic Chapel) and they are carried and placed on the Altar at the High Masses, and some of the priceless and jewelled Vestments are also worn.

The Treasury is a place most difficult to gain access to at other times than the infrequent occasions on which it is opened for the purpose of the Cathedral services; and at other times presentation of your credentials and special permission in writing from the Archbishop himself and much trouble, even perhaps unavailingly, are necessary to see its Treasury; so that I was fortunate in being able to get in. It is always opened for an hour after High Mass on great Festivals for the people to enter. As St. Mary of the Pillar was one of these, shortly after High Mass a procession of some of the minor canons bearing each a key and some vergers was formed and went down to the tower where it is situated and, each applying his key to the great padlocks and other locks and bars, its doors were opened. Its walls are lined with great cases full of innumerable articles of the greatest value—consisting of plate, embroidered and jewelled Vestments and other beautiful objects of art—unequalled for value by anything I saw elsewhere, except in the Treasury at Granada where some of the Vestments are of the most choice and beautiful description of ancient work of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and in some cases thickly sewn with jewels. One cope at Granada was so heavy with embroidery in bullion, diamonds and pearls that I could hardly hold it up in my hands.

In the Treasury of Toledo there is also a chasuble of a similar description, so elaborately decked with valuable ornamentation that when worn by the Archbishop, the Primate of Spain, at Easter and Corpus Christi, the weight being so great, it has to be held up at the shoulders by assistants and at the offertory it is changed for a lighter one. There is also a very curious cope of a like kind to match. It is made of ivory-coloured silk and embroidered in gold and silver bullion in a network of lozenge shape, the lines of which are full of pearls and in the centre of the lozenges are diamonds; but attached to the front edge of the Cope is a sort of apron hanging in front literally one mass of pearls, diamonds, and enamels (no uncommon ornament of vestments in ancient days) as well as many rayed stars of diamonds, much like those of our order of the Garter, and many precious stones. The weight is enormous and I believe six men attend upon the Archbishop, to hold it up and help him bear it when he uses it.

In none of the Spanish Churches were there any of those lavish displays one see elsewhere in the Continental Churches of small tapers or tall thin candles at the Altars on Festivals or at the Exposition of the Blessed Sacrament used as decorations around or at the back of the Altars, combined with tawdry decorations in stuffs and fancy flowers. There were at most only the Altar lights, and these often only two in number, which in some cases

seemed to be always kept burning if there was a Shrine or venerated picture in the chapel in connection with the Altar. The Roman service of Benediction and Exposition of the Blessed Sacrament is one which is not of common occurrence in Spain and when it takes place is only by the special permission of the Bishop. Perpetual exposition and adoration of the Blessed Sacrament, however, is in use in the Cathedrals of Leon and Lugo in North West Spain.

Sometimes high up in the central part of the great Retablos an octagonal or oval shaped opening is left. Over this is a piece of glass behind which is a small chamber in the thickness of the screen. Often at the back of the screen, if there is a plain wall where this chamber is, the wall is highly decorated with moulded panelling containing Statuary and perhaps a figure of our Lady as at Seville and a burning Lamp or Lamps hanging before it. Through the glass in the front of the Screen one sees some four or more tapers or perhaps Lamps burning, two above and two below as it were around something which can only be made out very indistinctly in the centre, but which is some Pix or Shrine, apparently covered with costly stuff and containing the Blessed Sacrament. These small chambers high up in the screen seem to be closely allied with the hanging Dove or Pix which was the custom in England. A Tabernacle was not always present except in the Chapel of the Blessed Sacrament and wherever existing they all appeared to be extremely modern additions—and in front of and not attached to the Retablo.

When the Blessed Sacrament is carried to the sick, one sees a much larger display of reverence than is usual in the cities of France and Italy. Everyone in Spain at least removes the hat and the custom is general for everyone to kneel in the street as the Host is carried by. There still exists a right for the priest to requisition any vehicle passing his church to carry the Sacrament and himself to the sick. Anyone indeed who knows of Its being taken from the church thinks it an honour to be called. If a private carriage is passing it is all the same and it is at once given up, and the richer people send their carriage when anyone is sick in their house. The carriage leaves the church and proceeds on its journey accompanied by the usual procession of acolytes and with men carrying swinging lamps in their hands.

Another very interesting and reverent custom I also noticed in connection with the Blessed Sacrament. All who communicated, whilst kneeling after their Communion, had brought to them by an acolyte a glass of water, which was standing somewhere near at hand in readiness. Each one took a sip or two before retiring from the Altar. John Myrc tells us[1] that in his time the people received to drink wine and water "after that holy hoselynge." This is also ordered to be done by a constitution of Archbishop Peckham,[2] promulgated in 1281, following no doubt the old custom, and is also no doubt a custom which under that constitution is still to be observed. King Henry VII. and his Queen at their Coronation, both received wine and water after their Communion from a Chalice.[3]

In the Cathedrals and in the Chapels attached to them used as "Parroquia" or Parish Churches, and in some of the larger Churches, standing on either side or one side only of the presbytery, are what I can only describe as small buffets. In lodging-houses of a second class, especially at the sea side, are commonly found pieces of furniture forming a kind of side board or perhaps used to hold ornaments. It usually has below a solid board, a drawer and below

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[1] *Instructions for Parish Priests.* Myrc. (Early English Text Society), p. 8, line 252.
[2] Wilkin's *Concilia*, ii. 52.
[3] *Device for the Coronation of King Henry VII.* Rutland Papers. Camden Society.

that again a cupboard with folding doors. Above the more or less wide slab of polished wood above, is attached at its back, another piece of ornamental wood supporting one or two shelves. Such were these articles in the churches but painted in highly glazed white paint and ornamented with gilding or covered with a close fitting brocaded silk. Such strange looking buffets generally stand near the High Altars of Spanish cathedrals and churches. In the Chapel of St. Iago at the South East end of the Cathedral of Burgos, which is the Parroquia, there are two elaborately carved, painted and gilded in the most dreadful Churrigueresque style. It was difficult at first to conceive for what purpose these strange looking pieces of Ecclesiastical furniture could be for. However at Toledo I found the shelves were covered with "a fair linen cloth" and on them were placed the gold and silver utensils of different kinds to be used during the Mass. The large silver salvers for receiving the Birettas and holding the towels at the Lavabo; the Silver Bason and Ewer; the Silver candlesticks with lights; and three large and splendid silver and gilt Paxes, as well as some other articles of plate not clearly discernible at the distance. And this was so, although in addition there was a large and handsomely draped table for a credence standing towards the front of the Sacrarium on the South side of the Altar. This was little used, chiefly to receive the *bugia* or small flat candlestick and light for the celebrant, when not on the Altar, and the Cruets and Mass Book; but hardly for anything else.

As far as I could learn, at the Great Festivals, Plate and Treasure of the Church are always placed on these rests for display even if not for use. Although these buffets in many instances did not appear to be very ancient, still, as far as I could make out, this was the following of an old custom in this land of slow change.

In our own country from very early times such a custom seems also to have prevailed. In 1449 A.D. Sir. W. Burges bequeathed to St. George's Church, Stamford "for the solempne fest dayes to stande upon the highe awter ij grete basynes of sylver";[1] and at York Cathedral when Edward III. went there in state in A.D. 1483 the High Altar was decked with twelve figures of the Apostles in Silver Gilt and many other relics also.[2] We also know how on the Field of the Cloth of Gold in A.D. 1520 "the aultare was appareled with fiue paire of Candlesticks of golde, and on the aultare an halpas and thereon stode a Corpus domini, all fine golde, and on the same halpas stoode twelfe Images of the bignes of a childe of foure yeres of age all golde."[3] One wonders if these could be the same images of gold, which had been used at York in A.D. 1483, and which we learn also stood in King Henry's time in his Chapel on "a deske or halpace" on the "altar whereon stood a patible of the Crucifix of fine golde, with an image of the Trinitee, an image of our Lady and *twelve other Images all fine golde* and precious stones, two paire of candlesticks of fine golde, with Basens, Crewettes, Paxes, and other ornaments."[4] One might think oneself in Spain at such an enumeration.

In October A.D. 1537 Prince Edward, son of Henry VIII. was baptised at Hampton Court, when "the High Altar [was] richly garnished with Stuffe & Plate."[5] At the funeral of Queen Mary at Westminster Abbey A.D. 1558 "in the Mydeste of the said Ralle agayne the Highe Aulter was maid a small Aulter, which was covered with velvet, and richely

[1] *Illustrations of the Manners & Expences of Antient Times in England*, Nichols. London. 1797, p. 132.
[2] *The Fabric Rolls of York Minster.* Edited by Rev. J. Raine. Surtees Society, p. 211.
[3] *The union of the two noble and illustre famelies of Lancastre and Yorke*, 1548. vol. ii. fol. lxxiii. verso.
[4] *Ib.* Vol. ii. fol. lxxiii. recto. [5] Leland, *Collectanea.* Vol. 2. p. 671.

garnished with Plate";[1] and "the High Aulter rycheley garnished with ornaments of the Church."[2]

At the Christening of the child of Lady Cicely, the wife of John Erle of Este Frieland at the Palace of Westminster 30th Sept. 1565, Queen Elizabeth being present as Godmother[3] "The Communion Table was richely furnished with Plate and Iewells, viz., a Fountayne and Basen of Mother of Pearl; a Basen and Fountayne gylte, rayled with Gould; a rich Basen, garnished with Stones and Peerles; a Shipe or Arke garnished with Stones; two great Leires, garnished with Stones; and Two lesser Leires, garnished with Stones and Pearles; a Bole of Christall, with a Cover; Two Candlestickes of Christall; Two Shippes of Mother of Pearle; One Tablet of Gould, set with Diamonds; another Shipe of Mother of Pearle; Two Payre of Candlestickes of Gould; Two great Candlestickes double gilt, with Lights of Virgin wax; and a Crosse. Over the sayd Table, on the Wall, upon the cloath of Gold, was fastened a Frount of rich Cloath of Gould sett with Pelicannes; before the sayd Table hung reaching to the ground, another Frount of the sayd suit. Also there was let down from the Rooff of the sayd Chappel Ten Candlestickes in Maner of Lampes of Silver and gilt with great Chaines, every one having Three great Wax Lights. Over the afore sayd Table was set on a Shelfe as high as the windowe Twenty-one Candlestickes of Gold and Silver double gylte, with xxiiii Lights." This 'shelfe' seems to have been a kind of gradine.

At the Marriage of Frederick, Count Palatine with the Princess Elizabeth daughter of King James 1st on St. Valentine's Day A.D. 1613, "The Communion Table was furnished with rich Plate & the Archbishop & Dean of the Chapel wore rich Copes."[4]

On Low Sunday the 2nd May 1641 William, only son of Frederick Henry, Prince of Orange, was married to Mary, eldest daughter of King Charles I. in the Chapel at Whitehall. In the Order of the preparation of the Chapel it is stated that[5] "the Walls about the Altar or Communion Table were hanged with very rich cloth of gold Baudekyn; the Septum or Rayle about the Altar was covered with the like; and the floor within the Septum or Rayle with a Fair large Turkey Carpet."

"Upon the Altar or Communion Table, the old English Bible printed in 1541, & the Liturgy or Common Prayer Book with Silver & gilt covers, together with a gilt Bason, Two Chalices, a Paten, Two Candlesticks, &c. the whole weighing Two thousand Two hundred ounces." Some of the gold hangings used on the occasion were brought from the Tower[6] "being part of the antient Crown Furniture" and the Bishop of Ely, the Dean of the Chapel and Dr. Steward the Clerk of the Closet who officiated wore rich copes.

Plate, Relics, Jewels and other valuable objects we find therefore seem to have been frequently placed in some way on, or in connection with, the Altar in England from early times, and gifts were made and legacies left such as bowls or basins of costly metal to adorn the High Altars on festivals and great occasions of rejoicing. Nor were such things placed on the Altar only, for as we see at Queen Mary's Funeral an arrangement seems to have been made, not unlike what is to be found still in use in Spain for their display.

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[1] Leland, *Collectanea*. Vol. 5, p. 318.

[2] Leland, *Collectanea*. Vol. 5, p. 319.

[3] "The Maner of Christening of the Child of the Lady Cicele, Wife of John Erle of Este Friedland, called the Marques of Bawden, Sister to Eryke King of Sweden, Which Christening was don at the Queen's Majesties Palace of Westminster. Where her Grace lay on Sunday the 30th of Sept. 1565." Leland, *Collectanea*, Vol. 2, p. 691.

[4] Leland, *Collectanea*, Vol. 5, p. 330.

[5] Leland, *Collectanea*, Vol. 5, p. 339.

[6] Leland, *Collectanea*, Vol. 5, p. 341.

It is very worthy of note that we thus find a display of Church Plate at the Altar to be a custom of very high antiquity, still in use in a part of Catholic Christendom removed far from us and yet lingering amongst us in a display of plate on the Altar at the Celebration of the Lord's Supper in many cathedrals and churches. Neither is such a custom as the instances quoted show, one of Post-Reformation or Restoration introduction, as seems to have been the idea of some, but is indeed the correct following of the old tradition of our National Church.

It would seem also that it is a right and good thing for our larger churches and such as possess great treasure to afford to our poorer brethren some pleasure in the sight and use of those rich articles, whose use in their minds seems perhaps only to be chiefly connected with the richer members of society. The richly embroidered and jewelled Vestments; the Chalice bright with enamel and sparkling gems; and the costly plate of Cathedral and Church Treasuries are no mere personal possession of the Chapter and the Clergy, but the enjoyment of them belongs to all the children of the Church alike. It is but fitting, therefore, that as great Feast follows great Feast, the Treasure of the Church should be brought forth in the service of God and placed, on the Altar, or on a "halpace"[1] or "deske," or on one side of the High Altar on "a small aulter," and displayed, so that hearts may delight and be lifted up to the Creator of all beautiful things and so perhaps will a great joy and light and gladness fall upon the lives of many whose lot in the world outside the Church is one so often and so continuously of grinding poverty, misery and darkness.

[1] "Halpas," "Halpace" or "Halfe-pace" is a term used to signify a raised floor, stage or platform, as also the landing or broad steps on a stair for rest or breathing. The French term "Haut pas" is no doubt connected with it. It would therefore seem that the Halpas is a broad stageing or rest upon which to place things such as are described and said to have been in King Henry's Chapel on the Altar. (See *A Glossary of terms used in Gothic Architecture.* Fourth Edition, Oxford. 1845, p. 197 under "Halpace.")

THE ECCLESIASTICAL HABIT IN ENGLAND.

BY

THE REV. T. A. LACEY, M.A.

By the Ecclesiastical Habit I understand that pattern of dress which the clergy are required by law, or by custom having the force of law, to wear at other times than when they are engaged in divine service. The rules of the Church in this respect differ considerably in different regions, but I confine myself almost exclusively to the rule and practice of the English Provinces.

English Christianity was in its origin monastic; the clergy were monks, and the clerical habit was simply the monastic habit. I shall not attempt to discover how far that habit, in the sixth and seventh centuries, was fixed and distinctive, or whether St. Augustine brought from Rome a fashion of dress different from that of the Scottish missionaries. No dispute arose about this matter as about the fashion of the tonsure, and perhaps we may fairly assume that in the article of dress the two parties were at once too much agreed in general and too little concerned with particulars to find here a further occasion for quarrelling. It is only with the appearance of a secular clergy that our enquiry begins. The earliest authentic recognition of secular priests is found in the acts of the Council of Clovesho, in 747, where we read nothing about the habit. During the next century we find the Minster-priest and the Mass-priest familiarly distinguished. It would be a great mistake, however, to think of the Minster-clergy as monastic in the strict sense of the word. An English monastery, even where the common life was maintained, was not a place of any strict observances. It is clear from the reforms of St. Dunstan that regularity or even soberness of habit was not to be looked for in the monks. But the reformers of the tenth century desired some degree of regularity alike in the secular clergy and in the religious. Odo's Canons require the clergy to be "apparelled according to the dignity of the priesthood." This does not however seem to contemplate any distinctive habit: it demands only a sober dignity. One of St. Dunstan's Canons forbids any priest to enter the church without his *overslype*. I shall not awaken the echoes of antiquarian controversy by asking what this may have been: I shall only note that, whatever it was, it was required only in church. It may be that we have here the germ of the ecclesiastical habit: but the germ was undeveloped. No such habit is required by the canons of this period; nor do we find any contemporary allusions to the custom of wearing such a habit. On the contrary the one external mark of the clergy which is constantly mentioned is the tonsure, and we may be sure that if they had been distinguished by anything more conspicuous, it would not have escaped notice. There is a familiar tale—whether historical or not matters little—of an English spy sent to explore the Norman camp at Hastings, who reported that he saw few soldiers but many priests. He

was deceived by the generally shaven and shorn aspect of the Normans, and he either did not observe their garments, or saw nothing in them inconsistent with the clerical calling.

The great movement of ecclesiastical reform, which began with the revival of the Papacy in the eleventh century and culminated in the fourth Lateran Council of 1215, affected the lives of the clergy in many ways. It set up a new standard of manners, which was accepted in principle even where it was not enforced or obeyed. The dress of the clergy was among the details affected. In the Constitutions of the Provincial Synod held by Stephen Langton in 1222, we find mention of a *habitus clericalis* which all ecclesiastical dignitaries, rural deans and presbyters are required to wear as their walking dress, and there is a further provision that they are to use the *cappa clausa*. The clerical habit was clearly a thing customary and well known, needing no definition. The *cappa clausa*, on the other hand, would seem to be recommended as a novelty, an addition to the usual habit. The authority of the decree is strengthened by a reference to the General Council recently held. The National Council held under the presidency of the Legate Otho, in 1237, treated the subject in greater detail, and with more particular reference to the Lateran decrees. Lay folk are said to be grievously scandalized, "de habitu clericorum, qui non clericalis videtur, sed potius militaris." Those who offend in this way are to be severely restrained by their bishops, who are to see, "quod in mensura decenti habeant vestes, et cappis clausis utantur in sacris ordinibus constituti, maxime in ecclesia, et coram praelatis suis, et in conventibus clericorum, et ubique in parochiis suis." All the clerks also of the bishops' households—*clerici commensales*—for the sake of example are to wear *vestes talares*. Here we have some details; we have also a suggestion of variations and degrees of strictness: certain occasions are specified when the clergy are to appear in full dress.

In 1268 the Legate Othobon held another National Council which renewed these provisions in a constitution which has ever since been regarded as the English rule, being closely followed in the canons of 1571 and 1604. The obligation of the habit, formerly imposed only on those in holy orders, was now extended to the whole clergy, without distinction of time or place; and all priests were to wear the *cappa clausa*, save only when travelling. "Statuimus et districte praecipimus, ut clerici universi vestes gerant non brevitate nimia ridiculosas et notandas, sed saltem ultra tibiarum medium attingentes . . . . Qui autem sunt in sacerdotio, qui etiam sunt decani, aut archidiaconi, necnon omnes in dignitatibus curam animarum habentibus constituti, cappas clausas deferant, nisi causa itineris forte, vel alia iusta causa, honeste aliam vestem gerant." Severe penalties were prescribed for disobedience, but apparently with little effect; for in 1281 the Provincial Synod under Peckham deplored the neglect of the rule and imposed further penalties. The strictness of Othobon's definition, however, was somewhat relaxed. The clerical habit was merely required to be distinguishable. "Praecipimus, ut quilibet clericus constitutus in sacris ordinibus vestem exteriorem gerat dissimilem militari vel laicali: ut pote anterius et posterius non birratam, vel saltem ex forma sua militari vel laicali congrua honestate dissimilem." If we are in doubt as to the meaning of the word *birratam*, an ignorance is respectable which was shared by Lyndwood. In 1342 a constitution of Stratford directed against certain minor abuses of dress, such as excessive brightness in the body and looseness in the sleeves, allowed a certain relaxation not only in travelling but at other suitable times as well. "Praesenti tamen constitutione nolumus prohibere, quin clerici apertis et patentibus supertunicis, alias mensalibus nuncupatis, cum manicis competentibus locis et temporibus

opportunis, ac etiam itinerantes, pro eo dumtaxat tempore quo per patriam iter faciunt, breves et strictas vestes sibi assumere et illis uti valeant, prout eis videbitur expedire." What were *supertunicae mensales?* Here again I suspect Lyndwood of being at fault, though the constitution was to him so recent. He describes them as merely old gowns which men wore at meals to save their better clothes. But as they are described as *apertae*, may we not take them to be substitutes for the *cappa clausa*, which was certainly not a convenient robe for use at table?

What was the *cappa clausa?* We know it in two forms. It was sometimes an all round cape reaching to the ankles, put on over the head, with a slit in front for the hands to come through. In this form it is still worn by the Roman Cardinals in full dress, though they usually gather up the front over the arms instead of using the slit. In precisely the same shape and colour it is worn by doctors at Cambridge, but for greater convenience it has been slit in front to the bottom, a short edging of fur, however, still marking the original length of the slit. In its unaltered form it is depicted in the plates, dated 1610, of Speed's *Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine*, as worn at the Universities, and it may be seen well represented on the effigy of Valentine Carey, bishop of Exeter, who died in 1621. Possibly the curious robe worn by the effigy of Sandys in Southwell Minster, which was once taken for a chasuble, is meant for the same kind of cope, gathered over the arms as the Cardinals now wear it; but the design is very inexact.

An alternative form had *two* armholes at the side, instead of *one* in front, a far more convenient arrangement. This would seem to have been worn in the Netherlands, for Hans Memling always paints his cardinals as wearing it. We know it however by a name of Italian origin; for it is the *chimere* of to-day, and this word is the Italian *zimarra*, coming perhaps through the French *simarre*. In France the *simarre* is a variety of the lawyer's robe. We have borrowed the name for the *cappa clausa* as worn by our bishops, no longer indeed *clausa*, for they have opened it in front. At Oxford doctors wear a similar cope of scarlet cloth in half-dress, and call it by its right name, but this too has been opened.

The habit of the mediaeval clergy, then, was the *vestis talaris*, and over this dignitaries and priests wore the *cappa clausa*. Canons and higher prelates, in later times at least, wore the rochet as well, and so completed the combination which our bishops still preserve as their full dress habit. Several brasses of the fifteenth century show rectors of churches wearing a simple *vestis talaris*, open in front, and belted with a buckled strap. I am not sure whether any of these are known to have been priests. Failing evidence, I should be disposed to think they were clerks in minor orders only, holding a benefice by dispensation.

Two details remain to be noticed, which were ruled by custom rather than enactment. The *hood* was common to all ranks, but there were special fashions for the clergy. Chaucer guessed that a man was "some chanoune," that is to say, a religious, because his hood was sewn to his gown. The *liripipe* seems to have been a broad tippet or scarf, sometimes drawn over the head, sometimes worn hanging loose on the shoulders. It was specially affected by the clergy, whence the fanciful derivation, *cleri peplum*.

When we come to the sixteenth century the sumptuary laws of Henry VIII. afford some useful evidence of custom. We learn from them that, over a black doublet, which in the higher ranks might be of satin or camlet, the clergy wore either a gown or a "sleeveless cote." We know what a gown was—a loose overcoat with sleeves short for riding, long or *syde* for walking. The "sleeveless cote" I take to be the *cappa clausa* or

chimere. This over-garment was black, scarlet, murrey or violet, and might be, in the higher grades, richly furred. Over this was worn the tippet, also furred. So Cavendish describes Wolsey, "apparelled all in red, in the habit of a cardinal; which was either of fine scarlet, or else of crimson satin, taffety, damask, or caffa, the best that he could get for money: and upon his head a round pillion, with a noble of black velvet set to the same in the inner side; he had also a tippet of fine sables about his neck." The *pillion* is of course *pileus:* by a *noble*, —the word is still used in the Eastern Counties for *navel*—the Suffolk-bred Cavendish probably meant a button, but the description baffles me. Fisher went to his death in a fur tippet. "His gown and tippet were taken away," says Dixon, borrowing from a contemporary description, "and his long slender body was seen as he stood in his doublet and hose." We know from abundant evidence, written and pictorial, that prelates usually wore the rochet and over it the chimere. The sumptuary laws to which I have referred have a further interest as showing the connection between the clerical habit and the academical. The greater part of the residents at the universities were indeed actually in orders, or had at least received the tonsure. They were clerks and their dress was distinctively clerical.

We have here some things regulated by canon, and more settled by custom. How imperative was this custom, is shown by the history of the Puritan revolt against the ecclesiastical habit. Already under Edward VI. Hooper had inveighed against this, and in particular against the square cap. Fox is mighty pleasant with him for yielding his scruples and wearing the cap, though God had made his head round. "Hooper was a roundhead;" remarks Dixon, "but, if the cap had been round, Fox would have said that his head was square." Why this fury against the cap: and why on the other hand was Hooper compelled to wear it? When did the *pileus quadratus* become a part of the recognised ecclesiastical habit? It is mentioned in no canons. Its use rested only on custom; nor was this custom of very long standing. The earliest portrait that I know of, showing the cap in this form, is that of Fox, bishop of Winchester from 1501 to 1528. Wolsey's *pileus*, as we have seen, was round, and so it appears in his portraits, pinched however into some inconspicuous corners. But by the middle of the sixteenth century the square barret was become the badge of the clergy, indeed we may say a badge of orthodoxy. When the Marian exiles returned to England cap and gown were their abomination. The authorities on the other hand insisted on them. The first injunctions of Elizabeth were imperative on the point, and many bishops who were lax in the extreme about the vesture of the priest in divine worship, were ready to use severity with any of their clergy who went abroad unsuitably clad. The *Zurich Letters* are full of wailing on this account. The hard-headed Bullinger, indeed, had little patience with the scruples of his English correspondents, but they met with sympathy elsewhere. The French Reformed were heartily with them. In both countries it was a first principle with the Calvinists to get rid of the priesthood as an order; and his walking dress, his cap and his gown, distinguished the priest even more than his choir habit or the sacred vestments. Hat and cloak became the badge of the Calvinist, as cap and gown were of the orthodox priest. In hat and cloak the Cardinal of Châtillon preached before the court of France, to signalise his adhesion to the Huguenots, when the Queen-mother Catharine was meditating an alliance with them. At Bishopthorpe may be seen a portrait of Sandys, Archbishop of York, painted in hat and cloak in token of his sympathy with the puritans. His successor Williams hangs there in the same garb: he had no strong leaning to Calvinism, but if he loved the puritans little he hated Laud much, and probably wore

hat and cloak expressly to annoy him. Royal Injunctions and Episcopal Articles charged against this fashion. In 1571 and again in 1604 the old canons were revived and reinforced, with modifications suited to the times.

The canon of 1604 is the latest legislation on the subject in the English provinces. It has never been repealed or varied, and so it remains our rule, though custom has imported some modifications of detail, and disuse has practically robbed it of binding force. Its intrinsic importance is small: its details are of little more than antiquarian interest. It practically repeats the mediaeval constitutions in new terms, adding however a formal recognition of the square cap, expresses a hope that "newfangleness of apparel in some factious persons" will soon die out, and condemns the frivolous or slovenly ways of others. Thus it forbids the clergy to go about in public "in their doublet and hose," which, as we know from a passage in Shakespeare, was regarded as unseemly in anyone of grave and reverend age or calling. The clerical gown is defined as having a standing collar and "sleeves strait at the hands, or wide sleeves, as is used in the Universities." This is merely a reference to a known standard of fashion; it does not identify the clerical habit with the academical as such, for non-graduates are to wear "the like apparel." The academical habit indeed, as I have already suggested, may be regarded as evolved from the clerical, but with differences. Those members of the University who had any pretensions to be regarded as clerks, no doubt wore the gown as here described with "standing collar." Others wore a gown of lay fashion with broad falling collar. The distinction is still observed at Oxford, where the members of foundations wear the gown with standing collar, while other undergraduates carry—I can hardly say wear—an attenuated robe of the other kind. Bachelors and doctors of the faculties of Law and Medicine also wear the lay-gown, but bachelors and masters of arts have all adopted—I cannot say at what period—the clerical habit. At Cambridge I believe the lay-gown has entirely disappeared. On journeys the canon allows the clergy to wear *cloaks*—in the Latin *pallia*—but they are distinguished from the "Geneva" cloak as having sleeves, and they are of an old-established familiar pattern, for they are "commonly called Priests' Cloaks." It is interesting as a matter of vocabulary to observe the use of the word *cassock*—formerly used, like the French *casaque*, for a military over-coat—as the English rendering of *vestis promissa*. It appears to be used quite generally in this sense, and so would include the gown. Within a few years it acquired a more specific meaning.

The canon speaks only of a single *vestis promissa*, and with this all the evidence for the custom of the sixteenth century agrees. The gown, sleeveless coat, or cassock, or whatever it was called, seems to have been worn over doublet and hose. But the mediaeval canons contemplated, for the full dress of the higher clergy at least, two such long robes. The short doublet was clearly a substitute for the long under-garment, and remained in use for a considerable time. But it is remarkable that as soon as we get any clear evidence for the fashions of the seventeenth century, we find a return to the mediaeval use. Under the influence of Laud and his school, the wearing of the ecclesiastical habit became all but universal; and not only was this the case, but a remarkable uniformity of fashion prevailed. The varieties permitted by the canon disappeared, and the English clergy came to be known by a fixed pattern of dress, worn at all times alike. The full habit consisted of a long under-garment with tight sleeves, to which the name of *cassock* was appropriated, a broad cincture round the body, and over all a gown, as required by the canon, with ample sleeves. From the

time of the Restoration onward this habit held its own without question ; there seems to have been no need of disciplinary measures to enforce it. We may possibly see here one of the fruits of that strong reaction against Calvinism, which affected the whole nation, and which secured in this, as in more important matters, the triumph of those principles for which Laud laboured and died.

With the revival and extension of the canonical habit there came however some slight modifications. The hood, which the canon spoke of as in common use, became and remained purely a habit of ceremony. The tippet, which was ordered even for non-graduate clergymen, came to be reserved, for some obscure reason, for doctors and chaplains to magnates. The square cap, so fiercely contended for in the past, became like the hood a habit of ceremony, save in the universities, and the broad-leafed hat, once the symbol of Calvinism, took its place. I do not know whether this last fashion was learnt by the English clergymen who were refugees in France during the Calvinist tyranny. It was universal before the end of the century. The hat thus introduced became in process of time the well known "*shovel*" which is still the headgear of dignitaries, but in place of which the rest of the clergy have assumed the universal ornament of civilized man, or the inventions of the clerical hatter. Another innovation was attempted without success. The ordinary English cassock was made to wrap over in front and was unfastened except by the cincture: the canon of 1604, indeed, descending to minute particulars, had forbidden the use of buttons. But early in the eighteenth century a bishop of Llandaff, travelling abroad, fell to admiring the cassocks of the French clergy, "done up before with an infinite number of little buttons," and he tried to introduce the fashion into England. But, we are told, it went no further. Within recent years ecclesiastical tailors appear to have been more successful in bringing in foreign fashions. Yet another modification calls for notice. The mediaeval gown or *cappa clausa* was an all-round garment, close in front. The ordinary clerical gown of the sixteenth century seems to have retained this character ; but by the middle of the seventeenth century, if not earlier, it had become invariably an open gown, like that of the laity. It was probably for this reason that the cassock came to be universally worn under it. The gown by itself no longer clothed the figure in that complete fashion which was thought necessary for seemliness. "Doublet and hose" were no longer sufficient even under the gown, or perhaps we may rather say the doublet was lengthened to the feet.

During a century and a half from the time of the Restoration the custom of wearing the full habit remained unshaken. I have gathered from various sources evidence of this.

Pepys tells us in his diary that on the Sunday when his parish minister first conformed to the ritual of the Church it was amusing to see him "pluck his surplice over his head, to preach in his gown." We see here, by the way, the true nature of what is foolishly called the "preaching gown." A man did not put on a gown to preach in: he took off his surplice, and appeared in his ordinary garb. The notorious Colonel Blood, soon after this, attempted to steal the regalia disguised as a clergyman. Andrew Marvell described him in a bitter epigram as choosing

> "The cassock, surcingle, and gown,
> The fittest mask for one that robs the Crown."

In the *Spectator*, No. 609, is a jesting complaint of the affectations of young clergymen. "A young divine, after his first degree in the university, usually comes hither only to show himself;

and, on that occasion, is apt to think he is but half equipped with a gown and cassack for his publick appearance, if he hath not the additional ornament of a scarf of the first magnitude to intitle him to the appellation of Doctor from his landlady, and the boy at Child's." We learn from this that the tippet or scarf was now become a badge of the doctorate, as it still remains. The same essay makes it clear that a similar scarf was worn by noblemen's chaplains, but there was some doubt whether it should be regarded as an honour or as "a badge of servitude and dependence." It was in fact a livery.

De Foe was unable to imagine a clergyman, even in a shipwreck, without his gown, Readers of *Robinson Crusoe* will remember the young French priest who was rescued from the burning ship. Accompanying Crusoe to the island, he was asked to marry the English sailors settled there to their Indian wives. Crusoe was doubtful whether they would accept his services, but "having a black vest, something like a cassock, with a sash round it, he did not look very unlike a minister." Clearly these sticklers for orthodoxy would look askance at a clergyman who appeared without his gown, even in the Caribbean Sea.

Lathbury relates how Lawrence Howell the Nonjuror was sentenced, in 1715, to a whipping. "Who will whip a clergyman?" he exclaimed indignantly. The judge, in reply, savagely bade the executioner pull off his gown at the bar. It was by way of denying his clerical dignity. In the same year, however, Mr. Paul was actually hanged, as a Jacobite, in his gown.

We read in the *Journal to Stella* that Swift, in April, 1711, took lodgings for a time at Chelsea. It was a serious matter getting to and from that remote village in rainy weather, and Swift, being a careful man as well as poor, used an old cassock and gown for the walk, keeping his best at Mrs. Vanhomrigh's, where he changed. It does not seem to have occurred to him that he might possibly wear a more convenient garb for walking in muddy lanes. We may be sure that in this he merely followed the prevailing sentiment of the time. The English clergy were much stricter than the contemporary Italian clergy. Benedict XIV. when archbishop of Bologna, had laboured to enforce regularity of dress on his clergy. In his seventy-first *Institutio* he expatiates on the advantage they had in the arcaded streets of their city; but all that he absolutely insists on is that they shall wear the clerical habit when going to church, and he expressly allows a short coat for country walks, and—as an extreme indulgence—even the use of a walking-stick: "Tolerantiam nostram ultra consuetos terminos proferentes, indulgemus pariter clericis, ut sine pallio, bacillum manu gerentes, deambulent in locis ab omni populi frequentia remotis, vel extra moenia civitatis." The English clergy do not seem to have dreamt of such irregularities. They freely wore the periwig, however, which Benedict XIV. grudgingly allowed.

The novelists of the eighteenth century bear witness to the constant wearing of the habit. That excellent but eccentric divine, Parson Adams, under a great white overcoat wore his cassock bundled up, which, falling down in one of his brawling adventures, revealed his sacred calling, and secured him the unexpected submission of a hostler. In *Amelia* Fielding has a clergyman of rather light character, who, going to Vauxhall for an evening frolic, lays aside his gown to avoid causing scandal. Fielding seems to think the precaution at once praiseworthy and unusual. There were many, indeed, who had little regard for their coat. The notorious Dr. Dodd, executed for forgery in 1777, was careful to go to the gallows in full canonicals.

Lecky says that after the middle of the century the habit began to go out of use. This

is saying too much. In 1786, it is true, Sir John Hawkins in his life of Johnson speaks of certain clergymen as "affecting, in many particulars of their dress, the garb of the laity, in disobedience to the canon." He identifies these men with the *pluralists*, who were then becoming the curse of the Church. The connection is not obvious, unless we remember that these men, accumulating benefices the duties of which were discharged by hired curates, lived themselves as mere men of the town. Hawkins tells us that Johnson "held in utter detestation those who, renouncing their garb and clerical character, affected to appear men of the world." We shall hardly be wrong in reckoning among these Laurence Sterne, who clearly presents himself in the *Sentimental Journey* as wearing neither cassock nor gown. The fashion certainly was not general; indeed it was universally reprobated. That accomplished scoundrel the satirist Churchill, who was curate of St. John's Westminster, brought every kind of discredit upon his order, but the fault of which his parishioners most complained was that he walked the streets without cassock or gown. Hawkins, indeed, says that earlier in the century, when the Freethinkers were greatly in vogue, "a clergyman in his habit, walking the streets of London, was in danger of being affronted." This may have induced some to lay aside the habit for a time; and when we find Mandeville sneering at Addison as "a parson in a tie-wig," it does look as if a clergyman were known rather by his hair than by his clothes—an amusing reversion to the eleventh century; but if this were so it was a mere passing wave of fashion, and the use of the habit was completely revived. It is certain that John Wesley wore cassock and gown at all times and everywhere. I have read a strange enthusiastic account of the marriage of Fletcher of Madeley, which casually mentions the fact that he wore full canonicals. A Spaniard travelling in England during the Peninsular War observed with astonishment that the clergy were all dressed like Benedictine monks. His account was printed, I believe, in the *Annual Register*, but I cannot determine the year. I once looked through a splendid collection of English caricatures, dating from 1780 to 1830, belonging to the present Dean of Rochester. In the earlier of these a clergyman always appears either in long cassock and gown, or in the shorter cassock used for riding. In the later ones we can trace the gradual disuse of the habit. *Dr. Syntax* in Rowlandson's illustrations never wears it.

The clergy of the Regency set the new fashion: Sydney Smith and "Ingoldsby" Barham were known as leaders. It was a period of great prosperity for the English clergy, and on the whole of great respectability, but of almost entire worldliness. We can hardly imagine the wealthy and decorous rectors who figure in Miss Austen's pages wearing the cassock. We know them well. They affected a pure lay dress, marked only by the professional gravity of black coat and white cravat. It was precisely the same costume as that of the physician. The Reform agitation and the unpopularity of the Church, which compelled the Bishops to abandon their purple, finally drove the clerical habit out of common use in England, just as a similar cause banished it for a while at the same period in France. The gown was retained only as a ceremonial dress and in the pulpit.

The tradition was not, however, speedily forgotten. An early number of the *Illustrated London News* gave a woodcut of the clerical habit as it should be, and urged its revival. That was fifty years ago. Since then we have seen many wonderful revivals, but this one lags. Is it not time to set about it? I plead for the revival of the ecclesiastical habit in the form authorized by Canon and Custom. Individual starts are of little use; individual inventions are simply mischievous. The value of the ecclesiastical habit depends on *decency*, *uniformity*, and *authority*. I plead especially for our own local form of the habit. None

else has authority. Why should we affect a foreign garb? Why wear a French *soutane*, or an Italian mantle? Why a square cap of peculiarly Italian shape,—a shape which is certainly not beautiful? Why, above all, call it by an Italian name? Why *biretta* rather than *berette*, or *barret?* Would it not be as reasonable to adopt the high-boots of the Austrian clergy, or the frock coat, the high collar and black cravat which mark the German priest? Sometimes we see amusing mixtures of foreign fashions: an English clergyman like Benedick—"a German from the waist downward, a Spaniard from the hip upward." We have our own habit, why should we want to wear any other?

I plead for reasonableness in the use of it. We understand the art of exercise better than our fathers, and the need of comfort in taking it. I plead for liberty to go in "doublet and hose," or their modern equivalent, jacket and breeches, at reasonable times. Custom gives us this liberty, and we may jealously retain it. The gown moreover need not be always of exactly the same pattern; a sort of cape for travelling is contemplated even by the canons. But can we not revive the use of the true canonical habit, at least as full dress, "Maxime in ecclesia, et coram praelatis, et in conventibus clericorum?"

I would suggest always going to church in the habit; wearing it in the pulpit, when lecturing, when teaching in schools, at confirmations, at public meetings. We should aim at uniformity. Can we not persuade our ruri-decanal chapters and conferences to require the clergy to assist in gowns? Other opportunities will follow. There is no strong prejudice to overcome, but only a slovenly custom. The gown is not obsolete; all wear it on occasions. Let us try to make those occasions more and more frequent, until it becomes the ordinary habit of the clergy.

NOTES RELATING TO THE PARISH CHURCH OF ST. MARY PULBOROUGH, SUSSEX, DERIVED FROM 15TH AND 16TH CENTURY WILLS.[1]

BY

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There are probably few, if any, better ways of obtaining accurate information respecting our churches in pre-Reformation times, than by examining the Wills of those persons who worshipped in them, which Wills often contain bequests of both goods and money for the maintenance and enrichment of the fabric, the conduct of the services, and for prayers for the dead, and not infrequently, references are made to the various side chapels within the churches, their dedications, altars, images and lights. A most admirable paper on those lines, relating to the churches of West Kent, has been contributed by my friend Mr. Leland L. Duncan, F.S.A., Hon. Sec. of the Lewisham Antiquarian Society, to the *Transactions of the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society*,[2] therefore I think that but little apology is needed from me for proposing to give you some notes derived from the Wills of Pulborough Persons, who died before the year 1559, with special reference to such items contained in them as relate to the fabric, monuments and ornaments of the church to which this paper refers.

I propose on the present occasion to deal only with such Wills as were proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, and not with those preserved in the Chichester Registry, for many of the latter were examined for the purpose of ascertaining the dedications of West Sussex churches and chapels, by Mr. Charles Gibbon, Richmond Herald, and the result was contributed by him in the year 1860, to the Collections of the Sussex Archæological Society.[3] In the recently printed index to P.C.C. Wills, compiled by Mr. J. Challenor C. Smith, covering the period 1384 to 1558,[4] there are seven references to Pulborough Wills, of which one is merely a cross reference, and another refers to a testator who resided at West Clandon in Surrey, but who mentions his lands in Pulborough.[5] Of the five remaining Wills, four are of pre-Reformation date, the other, proved in 1549, being that of a Rector (viz. Leonard Reresbee, whose name is not given in Dallaway's List of Rectors),[6] although of post-

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[1] This paper was written for the purpose of being read at a joint meeting of the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society and the Lewisham Antiquarian Society, held at Pulborough and Hardham, Sussex, on Saturday, May the 29th, 1897.

[2] Vol. III. pp. 241–298.

[3] Vol. XII. pp. 61–111.

[4] Issued by "The British Record Society, Limited," 1893.

[5] Nicholas Butt of West Clandon co. Surrey, Yeoman, dated the 10th of Aug. 1557, pr. in P.C.C. on the 20th of the same month (Register "Wrastley" fo. 29), and again on the 14th of July 1568.

[6] Dallaway's *History of Western Sussex*, Edition by Edmund Cartwright, F.S.A., 1832; Vol. II. Pt. 1, p. 358.

Reformation date, I have incorporated in my notes, for it throws some light on the social life of the times.

The earliest Will is that of Thomas Cumbe; it is dated the 15th of October 1494, and it was proved on the 3rd of November in the same year;[1] the testator is described as "Thomas Cvmbe of Pulbough in the Count. of Suss. Esquier," and he directs his "body to be buried . . . in the church of Pulbough in the place there I have made for myself to lye in yf I dey within the shyre of Sussex." It is probable that the tomb here mentioned is the one which is *now* fixed to the north wall of the north chapel, but to this I shall refer again. "Item I bequeith to the church of Pulbough toward the beying of a new Portuous[2] xxs, that is for Richard Mylle xs And for myself xs"; he bequeaths "to the College of Arundell a gylt Cup covered," and "to the church of Cvmbys beside Brembr x markes." This bequest suggests that the family may have once dwelt at, and derived its name from Coombes near Bramber in Sussex. Combe-lands, now a farm in Pulborough, is stated by Dallaway,[3] to have been "inherited by the Apsleys from a very ancient family of that name who probably preceded the Milles." The testator further bequeaths "to the church of Pulbough one of my masse bokes, ij Aulter clothes of cloth of gold for the High aulter, ij Cruettes of silu' a Pax of silu' and gilt, a Vestment of white Damaske and a chales, to Pray for my soule And the soules of my both late Wifes." Besides several other bequests for religious purposes, he wills "that the prior of Saint Mary Overyes and the House there have my grete Holy water stop of silu' and gilt and the springill thereto and a paire of Candelstykkys of silu' p'cel gilt and a Chales gilt," and he directs that certain "gownes of silke be made vestyments of, one of blacke veluet And a nother of Russet Damaske and anothr of crymsyn Damaske," etc., and that "the church of Udym'[4] have a Vestyment and a chales to pray for the soules of my most Derist Hert and Lady and for myn"; he leaves to his "mastre S[r] Reynold Bray, knight," whom he appoints one of his executors, "a couered Cup gilt" and directs "that none of myn vng'a'ous sonnes John nor Edward have no p'te of my goodes," etc., and if they endeavoured to deal with the same, he required his "executors to ponyssh theym and eu'y of them to the vttermost of the law, not sparing my goodes for the charge."

The next Will, in point of date, is that of "John Onley otherwise called John Coton," made the 12th of March, 2nd Henry VIII., 1510, and proved on the 11th of May 1511,[5] by Isabelle, relict and executrix. The Oneleys of Pulborough bore for arms:—*or*, three piles *gules*, on a canton *argent*, a mullet pierced *sable*, and according to the pedigree given in the Visitation of Sussex 1634,[6] "Thomas Oneley of Pulborough," was the son of "John Oneley of Warnford co. Hants," and although the alias of "Coton," is not mentioned in the pedigree, the person last named is probably identical with the testator. Dallaway[7] states that in 1594 one Anthony Oneley was seized of one third part of the manor of Pulborough, and that "the ancient residence of this family was at Giltenhurst in this parish, now a farm." "John Onley otherwise called John Coton," is described in his will as "of Pulbergh in the Countie of Sussex, goode of mynde"; he directs, "First I geve and bequeth my soule to almighty god, our lady seynt Mary and to all the blissed seyntes of heven, And my body to be buried

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[1] P.C.C. Register "Vox," fo. 17.
[2] The Portas (portiforium), is now familiar as "The Breviary."
[3] Vol. II. Pt. 1, p. 354.
[4] Udimore, near Rye in Sussex.
[5] P.C.C. Register "Fetiplace," fo. 1.
[6] Dallaway's *Sussex*, Vol. II. Pt. 1, p. 354.
[7] *Ib.* pp. 352 and 354.

in my Chapell w'in the churche of Pulbergh bitwene ij pillorys of the quereside and there to haue A tombe of Marbull of A yerde in height." These directions as to his tomb are of considerable interest, for they clearly identify it with a handsome one formerly in the church, to which I shall refer later on. There is another tomb (previously mentioned) of late 15th century date now fixed to the north wall of the north chapel. It is constructed of Sussex marble; in the front are quartrefoils, containing plain shields; the top is embattled. The altar slab of the tomb is now placed on edge within the arched recess, and the lower part of the tomb may have been set back. This tomb was removed a few years since from the south wall of the chancel, in order to make room for the new window now filled with painted glass in memory of the Rev. William Sinclair, Rector, who died in 1878. Mr. Jesse Greenfield, for forty six years Parish Clerk, informs me that he has always understood that about the year 1830, this tomb was removed from under the arch on the north side of the chancel, the Rev. John Austin, then Rector, having obtained permission to throw the north chapel into the church, and so desirous was the Rector to see the tomb demolished that he worked at it himself with a pick-axe, and that the portions of the tomb not re-erected, were used to form steps to the path leading from the cutting in the hill to the church-yard, which steps are now covered up with earth; further his informant had described the tomb to him as similar to that of Lord Hoo in Horsham church. Lord Hoo's is a large canopied tomb, standing away from, and apparently never attached to, a wall,[1] therefore it can hardly be considered to resemble that formerly on the south wall of the chancel, but now in the north chapel of Pulborough church. Mr. Austin subsequently appropriated this 15th century tomb as a memorial to his wife, cutting on the flat stone which had been put up on edge under the arched recess of the upper part of the tomb, this inscription:—"To the memory of Mary wife of John Austin A.M. Rector of this parish, who died March 12th 1851, aged 81 years," and at a later date the following was added for himself:—"Also of John Austin who died Decr 4th 1856, aged 86 years." Mr. Greenfield never heard of the existence of more than one early tomb, and had always understood that the one on the south side of the chancel was identical with the tomb that, prior to *circa* 1830, was under the arch on the north side of the chancel, but in this, from the following evidence, I think he was misinformed. Dallaway, whose account was printed in 1832,[2] states that the chancel contains "two tombs of Sussex marble robbed of their brasses. No escocheon nor date is seen, by which the time or founder of the church might be identified," but in his list of the monuments he says "A defaced tomb commemorated the family of Oneley." Horsfield[3] does not give any information on the matter. The Rev. Edward Turner in his paper on "Brasses in Sussex Churches," printed in 1871,[4] states that "In the chancel are two mural table tombs of Sussex marble which have been robbed of their brasses"; he probably obtained the foregoing information from Dallaway, interpolating the words "mural table," for he proceeds to describe, it would seem from personal observation, but *one* tomb only, stating that "As a memorial the tomb is a complete blank, saving and excepting that the late rector has inscribed upon it

[1] For a description of this tomb, see Dallaway's *Sussex*, Vol. II. Pt 2, p. 356. A sketch of it faces p. 63 in *Horsham its History and Antiquities*, printed by William Mackintosh in 1868.

[2] Dallaway's *Sussex*, Vol. II. Pt. 1, pp. 359 and 361.

[3] *History and Antiquities of the County of Sussex*, by T. W. Horsfield, 1835.

[4] *Collections of the Sussex Archæological Society*, Vol. XIII. p. 175.

the date of his wife's death." Sir William Burrell, F.S.A., who visited Pulborough church on July 24th, 1775, has recorded[1] that "On the North Side of the Chancell stands an Altar Monument without Inscription or Coat Armour to denote to whose memory it was erected, half of it is covered with ye Wainscoat of the Vestry." *That I identify as the tomb which was erected in accordance with the directions contained in John Oneley's Will.* It would have stood "bitwene ij pillorys of the quereside," and being detached from the wall, might well have resembled Lord Hoo's monument, and I much doubt whether, after the destruction of it by Mr. Austin, any portion was preserved as a tomb, although some of it may have been used to make steps as related to Mr. Greenfield. The other tomb mentioned by Dallaway, which, until a few years since, was fixed to the south wall of the chancel, but now to the north wall of the north chapel, is clearly that which Sir William Burrell also described in 1775, in the following words[2]:—"On the South Side of the same Chancell stands another Altar Monument partly let into the Wall, in which the Effigies of 2 Persons with 4 Escotcheons have been Pourtrayd in Brass, but were destroyed in the Civil Wars of Car. I. It is supposed to have been erected to the Memory of Some of the family of Mille, whose descendant being a zealous Royalist, the Oliverians in revenge defaced his ancestor's Tomb." If the back of the upper part of the tomb, which probably would have contained the brasses, still remains, which is doubtful, it is completely hidden by the flat slab having been placed on edge as before mentioned. It is evident from Sir William Burrell having used the words "it is supposed," that he had not any *evidence* connecting the Mille family with the tomb, beyond mere hearsay, therefore it is not improbable that it is the tomb of Thomas Cumbe, previously alluded to, and identical with "the place there I have made for myself to lye in yf I dey within the shyre of Sussex," and so mentioned in his Will.

To return to John Onley's Will; he bequeaths to the "High Aulter" of Pulborough church "for tythings forgotten iijs iiijd" and directs, "I will that myn executors make vj newe torches for my burying and monethis mynde and vj poore men to bere and hold theym and they to haue eu'y man viijd for bothe tymes and they that hold other torches every man iiijd for bothe tymes, And after my monethis mynde to geve ij of them to the p'isshe of Pulbergh, oon other to the p'isshe of Arundell, Another to the p'isshe of Slothstoke, Another to the p'isshe of Bury, Another to the p'isshe of Slyndefold[3]"; he leaves "oon kowe . . . to the p'isshe of Pulberghe there to remayn for a stocke to be praied for," and wills "that a preest syng for me & my fader and moder and for all theym that I am bounde to pray, fore the space of iiij yeres in the churche of Pulberghe and he to have x m'cks by the yere during the said yeres"; he bequeaths to every poor man and woman that comes to his burying and months mind to pray for him "1*d*, And a loff of brede to every poore child that cometh"; he wills his executors to keep "oon obite for my soule my faders soule my moders soule" etc. "in the p'isshe churche of Pulberghe" for ten years, and that every year "they shall fynde A trentall of masses" for his soul, etc., and "mete and drynke sufficiently for all poore people that shall come to that obite to praye for my soule"; he makes "Master Ernele, the Kings Attorney," his overseer, and amongst the witnesses is "Mr. Thomas Grey my Curat.'

The next Will is that of Richard Sutton; it is dated the 5th of August 1521 and was proved on the 12th of March 1521–2,[4] by Elizabeth his relict and executrix. The testator is

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[1] Add MS. Brit. Mus. No. 5699.

[2] *Ib.*

[3] All in Sussex; "Slothstoke," correctly South Stoke.

[4] P.C.C. Register "Maynwaryng," fo. 22.

described as "Richard Sutton of Pulborough in the Countie of Sussex gentilman"; he wills his "body to be buried within the Chauncell of Pulborough Church" and he bequeaths "to the High awter of Pulborough xij^{d} . . . to the rep'acion of the Churche of Pulborough iij^{s} iiij^{d} . . . to the Church of Pulborough v^{s} to bye iiij Rochettes with all, for my Children to mayntene the seruice w^{t}all, in the said Church . . . to the Rep'acion of the bells of Pulborough, Torchelight, Hersselight within the said Church of Pulborough iij^{s} iiij^{d} . . . to Sir Henry Bullock ageynst my moneths mynde iiij yards of black cloth, price euery yarde iiij^{s} viij^{d}." There are several other bequests. "Sir Henry Bullock Curat there" is a witness.

The next Will is that of "George Hamerton"; there are two documents, one registered as the Will and the other as the Testament, nevertheless both appear to have been drawn without any such distinction; the first one is dated the 3rd of May 12th Henry VIII. 1520, and the second (in which the testator directs that his "will which is in London shal stande for my laste wille" etc.), on the 21st of August 1524; they were proved on the 19th of November following.[1] In the first the testator states that he is "mynding by the grace of Jesu to goo over the See," and he directs "yf I dye in these partes to be buried at Pulborough in my Chapell, And I will that my wife cause a Tombe to be made and myne armes to be sett thereon," but in the second Will, in which he is described as "George Hamerton, Esquier, of Pulborough," he bequeaths his "body to be buried afore our lady of pitie in the blak Freres of Arundell" and gives "to the High awter of Pulborough for my tithes forgotten xx^{d}"; he wills that Elizabeth his wife "haue all hir goods that was hurs by the gifte of John Onley" and gives "xiij^{s} iiij^{d} to the Freres of Pomfret yerely in almes . . . And they to kepe a solempne dirige and masse on saint John Portlatyns Day yerely for euer." Both of the Wills contain a large number of bequests and amongst them "to Sir Henry Bullock my gostly fader xx^{s}." "Henry Bullok, Clerk," is one of the witnesses to the second Will, by which Sir Thomas West, knight, was made chief executor, and he had grant of probate.

The fifth and last Will is that of "Leonard Reresbee, Clarke, P'sone of Polbor'ghe"[2]; it is dated the 22nd of August 1549, and it was proved by his brother, Lion Reresby, Esquire, on the 29th of October following.[3] The testator is described as "sicke in bodie" and, although the Will is of post-Reformation date, he comitts his "soule unto Almightie god our blessed ladye and to all the Holly saints in Heaven," and his "body to be buried in the Chauncell of Polbor'ghe, paying tholde custome therefore"; he bequeaths, amongst other legacies, "to the poor mens boxe in the churche of Polbor'ghe viij^{d}," and mentions "a silver bole which ys at Asheover in my mother's handes, Item I bequethe to euery of my godchildren borne in Pulborow a lame and fourtie pence . . . to Syr John Full my curat a hole quarters wages and my best gowne And to every one of my syru'ntes a hole quarters wages . . . to Henry Hill my syru'nte vj^{s} viij^{d}, a hedging bill and an Axe . . . to John Smart a black sowe and three pigges . . . to Agnes my s'u'nte one of the best of my Calves & vj lambes, a payre of canvas sheets and a couerled . . . to Austen Dyson the Clarke the yoke of oxen that I bought of M^{r}. John Jorden, a calfe & iiij shepe, a couerled a payre of

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[1] P.C.C. Register "Bodfelde," fo. 27.

[2] His name does not occur in the list of Rectors of Pulborough given in Dallaway's *Sussex*, Vol. II. Pt. 1, p. 358.

[3] P.C.C. Register "Populwell," fo. 40.

sheets and a materys . . . fourtie shillings to the highwaye betwixt the churche and the North Heth"; he appoints as supervisors "Sir John Full, John Jorden sy'u'nte to the kinges majestie, William Grenefeld, mercer, Richard Martens, Austen Dyson, the clarke of Pulborow," and he bequeaths "vj^{s} to poore folke of the northe strete . . . to Mr. John Jorden my bowe and my arrowes . . . to William Grenefeld my hande gone . . . to Richard Marten my woodknyfe . . . to John Humfrey of Hayborne a calf to give to one of his daughters which he wold."

ON TWO UNUSUAL FORMS OF LINEN VESTMENTS

BY

J. WICKHAM LEGG, F.S.A.

Some years ago, in the March of 1892, I found myself at Arles; and wandering up into the cloister on the south side of that church I found a sculptured figure of St. Stephen at the north-east corner where the two walks join. The sculpture is attributed to the beginning of the twelfth century.[1] St. Stephen is dressed in what I took at first for a chasuble. Deacons are not usually represented in chasubles, but in tunicles; but then we know that they wear chasubles during a good part of the year: as in Advent, from Septuagesima to Easter, on Vigils, and on Ember days. I was then on my way to Spain; and a few days after I found myself at Valencia; there the clerks wore a curious kind of linen vestment, shaped not unlike that of St. Stephen at Arles; it came down in front like a chasuble, pointed, the arms appearing on each side of the pointed part, but each arm carried long wings passing behind: behind, the vestment was cut square, not pointed as in front. It reminded me at once of some plates which may be seen in C. Du Molinet's *Figures des differents habits des chanoines reguliers*, published at Paris in 1666. Two are reproduced below on p. 142.

One of these is a canon regular of the cathedral church of Usez in France; another is a canon regular from Klosterneuburg in Austria; and a third (on p. 113.) of a canon regular of the Holy Cross of Coimbra in Portugal. In all these three the canon wears a surplice shaped like a chasuble, over which the grey amess has been thrown, and by which therefore the under vestment is marked as a choir vestment. The Portuguese canon wears the grey amess around both shoulders, just as our bishops and canons wear their black scarf.[2] He has also a second garment under the chasuble shaped surplice, which may very likely be a rochet.

Du Molinet speaks in his preface of these surplices made like chasubles. He says that you may still see in some places a sort of surplice without sleeves, that is almost of the same form as the old chasubles in which they used in former times to say mass.[3] English advertisements and canons speak of the surplice as "with sleeves."[4]

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[1] Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'Architecture française*, Paris, Morel, 1868. t. iii. p. 417.

[2] Another figure of a canon from Du Molinet, wearing the grey amess in this fashion over both shoulders, is reproduced in these *Transactions*. (vol. iii. p. 45.)

[3] "On voit encor en quelques endroits un espece de Surplis sans manches, qui sont presque de la mesme forme que les anciens Chasubles, dont on se servoit en la celebration de la Sainte Messe." (preface, p. 6.)

[4] See the advertisements of 1566 (D. Wilkins, *Concilia*, Lond. 1737. vol. iv. p. 248.) and the canons of 1603. (No. lviii.) They order a "comely Surplice with sleeves." This order may, however, allude to the one rochet of *Ut parochiani* (Lyndwode, *Provinciale*, lib. iii. Antwerp. 1525. fo. clxxii. *b*.) The last edition of *Ut parochiani* that I know is by bishop Bonner in 1554. (Edward Cardwell, *Documentary Annals of the Reformed Church of England*, Oxford, University Press, 1844. vol. i. p. 151.) And it is also enquired, in the diocese of Exeter, "2. Item Whether you have two faire and fitting Surplesses with sleeves for your Minister, and another without sleeves for your Clarke" and further on, "63. Item Is your Parish Clark of the age of twenty yeers at

From C. Du Molinet, *Figures des differents habits des Chanoines regulicrs*, Paris, 1666.

p. 49.

A CHASUBLE SHAPED SURPLICE, THE GREY AMYS BEING THROWN OVER THE SHOULDER OF A CANON.

p. 97.

A CHASUBLE SHAPED SURPLICE OVER WHICH IS WORN THE GREY AMYS, IN ITS EARLY FORM AND USE.

Looking further amongst the few books that I have, I found one or two more instances of drawings of this chasuble shaped surplice. They were in books which the moderns would call *Rituale*, that is a book containing the forms for the administration of those sacraments not reserved to the bishop. These particular books came from the north of Italy, and were printed in the latter half of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth.

The first I may name is *Liber Catechuminorum iuxta ritum sancte Romane ecclesie*, Venetiis apud Petrum Bosellum, 1555. From this book I give four drawings. (See below, p. 143.)

There are also more of the same chasuble shaped surplices to be found in a book with the title: *Ordo Baptizandi et alia sacramenta administrandi*, Venetiis apud Iuntas, 1592. The priest wears this chasuble shaped surplice at baptism (p. 7.) the priest and clerks wear it at the giving of communion (p. 26.) at the burial of the dead (p. 78.) at the blessing of holy water (p. 139.) in procession at Candlemas (p. 188.) and here the surplice with sleeves is worn by the fellow of a clerk who wears the chasuble shaped surplice; and further on in the book the priest wears the latter while performing the ceremony of exorcism (p. 253.)

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the least . . . and doth he usually weare his Surplesse or Rochet in the time of Divine Service." (*Articles to be enquired of within the Diocese of Exeter . . . . anno Domini* 1638, London, printed by Thomas Harper, 1638.)

From *Liber Cathecuminorum iuxta ritum sancte Romane ecclesie*, Venetiis, apud Petrum Bosellum. 1555.

fo. 3. b.

BAPTISM: THE CLERK WITH LIGHTED TAPER WEARS THE CHASUBLE SHAPED SURPLICE.
N.B. the ample Surplice of the priest.

fo. 8.

MASS, AT TIME OF COMMUNION: THE CLERK WITH TORCH WEARS THE CHASUBLE SHAPED SURPLICE.
N.B. no gradine, ample linen cloth, no cross on altar, only two lights.

fo. 131. b.

BLESSING OF WATER: BOTH PRIEST AND CLERK WEAR CHASUBLE SHAPED SURPLICES.

fo. 9. b.

VISITATION OF THE SICK: THE CLERK WEARS THE CHASUBLE SHAPED SURPLICE.

A third book in which I have found drawings of this chasuble shaped surplice is the *Rituale Ecclesiae Veronensis*, Veronae, typis Bartholomaei Merli à Donnis, 1609. I give two reproductions of the woodcuts in this book.

From *Rituale Ecclesiae Veronensis*, Veronae, 1609.

page 37.

COMMUNION IS BEING GIVEN BY A PRIEST IN CHASUBLE SHAPED SURPLICE OVER WHICH IS A STOLE.

N.B.—Clerk following with a cup of wine and water. Communion apparently given from a square box. No candles on altar, but on brackets at ends.

page 226.

PROCESSION IN WHICH NEARLY ALL WEAR THE CHASUBLE SHAPED SURPLICE.

This chasuble shaped surplice may be seen very distinctly in one of the modern mosaics, probably of the seventeenth century, at St. Mark's, Venice. It is in a mosaic over one of the doorways on the right side of the church facing the piazza. The employment of colour makes it certain that we have to do with a linen, not a silken, vestment.

I have no doubt that if a full search could be made, a number of other instances would be found. Perhaps enough has been said to establish the existence of a linen vestment shaped like a chasuble in ages and places far removed from each other

There is another form of linen vestment, if vestment it may be called, to which I would ask attention, not so much for its own sake, but because it is part of a ceremony which is an interesting survival of an ancient custom. The vestment is used by the old men who bring up bread and wine at the time of the offertory in the metropolitan church at Milan. These old men, and with them are old women, are called the school of St. Ambrose, a sort of guild, of the existence of which we are assured as early as the twelfth century.[1]

A writer on the Ambrosian Liturgy thus speaks of the guild and its duties: The women wear a dress of black wool, with a girdle and a white linen cap upon which they have a veil of black silk, and they cover the neck with another linen cloth in pleats. At the offertory the two old men on duty wear over the cotta a pointed hood which ends in a tassel, and the two old women a piece of fine black silk over the white veil on their heads; both men and women have a large white linen cloth covering their shoulders, arms, and hands, and coming down to their knees. This linen cloth they call a *fanon*. With that each one holds three obleys and a silver cruet containing wine, for they must not touch the offerings with naked hands, but only with the fanon.[2] The fanon is 1. metre 20. cm. broad and 2. metres 60. cm. long: In English measures, about four feet by nine and a half. The upper of the long sides is sewn to its fellow, but so as to leave a space through which the head of the wearer can be passed, a sort of chasuble being thus produced, full behind, an appearance which disappears when the hands are joined in front, and the linen thus put on the stretch. (See the illustrations following p. 144.)

Mazzuchelli points out that the word fanon is used in this sense in *Ordo Romanus II.* The people are said at the offertory to bring their oblations, that is bread and wine, with white fanons, first the men, then the women, last of all the priests and deacons; but these only offer bread.[3] Other instances of this use of the word may be found in Georgi.[4]

In the offerings, then, of these old men and old women it would seem that we have a survival of the ancient offertory, when the whole congregation offered in kind instead of in money. It would not seem, however, that these hosts and wine are now at Milan consecrated at the mass at which they are offered, which was the ancient practice,[5] but the obleys being provided by the sacristy of the Metropolitan Church return thither, and they are afterwards used at other masses; while the wine, although also provided by the sacristy like the obleys, the *Vecchioni* have to their own use.

To return for a moment to the first of these vestments that have been spoken of. There can be hardly a doubt that an ornament made of linen and shaped like a chasuble has been often worn as a surplice, and in fact that it is nothing more than a surplice. The want of

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[1] Marco Magistretti, *Beroldus*, Mediolani 1894. p. 52.

[2] *Osservazioni* di Pietro Mazzucchelli, Milano, 1828. p. 21.

[3] J. Mabillon, *Museum Italicum*, Lut. Parisior. 1724. t. ii. p. 46.

[4] Dominici Georgii, *de Liturgia Romani Pontificis*, Romae, 1731. t. i. p. 268. See also Durandus, *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, lib. IV. cap. xxx. § 27. Neapoli, 1859. p. 224.

[5] Mazzuchelli (*op. cit.* p. 22.) gives the following extract from an inedited manuscript written by Bescapè *de ritibus ecclesiae Mediolanensis* in the Ambrosian library at Milan (p. 30.) "Sunt decem vetuli et totidem vetulae, omnes ab archiepiscopo delecti, qui in coniugio non sint. Hi a veteribus nostris, ut ex Beroldo apparet, appellati sunt schola sancti Ambrosii, et quibusdam sacris officiis intersunt. Horum mares duo et totidem feminae honesto et antiquo vestitu ad gradus presbyterii (Beroldus ait mares intrare chorum) veniunt fanonibus hoc est mappis quibusdam candidis apte involuti, et manibus panno ipso opertis, dextera oblatas, sinistra amulas cum vino tenent: quae sacerdos illuc ab altari cum ministris descendens suscipit."

orphreys in the linen ornament proves nothing, for if we may trust the monuments of the middle ages that have come down to us, a large proportion of the mediaeval chasubles, especially in England, had no orphreys whatever ;[1] even as the English stoles and maniples had no crosses. The question then arises how far does a priest really obey the Ornaments' rubric if in celebrating the Eucharist he wear one of these linen chasuble shaped surplices? The intention may be thought to be good ; but to come to the hard letter of the law, is he really obeying the rubric? Is he doing nothing more than wearing a second surplice? This wearing of a second surplice as a eucharistic vestment I actually saw this summer in Scotland at a chapel which I think is in the diocese of St. Andrews. Apparently the celebrant wore an albe, over which was a green stole ; and then over the stole and albe was a surplice with sleeves. The surplice was not very long ; it only reached the knee, and the ends of the stole were plainly visible below the hem of the surplice. Many of the wearers of linen chasubles would doubtless be much amused at this array of the good priest ; but I doubt if they themselves do not very much the same thing when they wear linen chasubles. A linen chasuble is only known to the ornaments' rubric as a possible vestment for the first four weeks of Lent. The wearing of a linen chasuble at all times of the Christian year cannot be called an observance of the ornaments' rubric, if I may be allowed an opinion. This linen ornament is only another surplice.[2]

I wish to take this opportunity of thanking my friend, the Rev. Achille Ratti, Doctor of the Ambrosian Library at Milan, for the assistance which he has given me in all that relates in this paper to the School of St. Ambrose in the Metropolitan Church. I fear that my questioning of him must often have been troublesome to him, but he has nevertheless always been most ready to give me information upon all matters, and especially upon the history and character of the fanon. I am very grateful to him for his help. And I am also under considerable obligations to the Master of the Ceremonies in the Metropolitan Church, Dr. Marco Magistretti, for the trouble which he took in arranging for the photography connected with the representations of the members of the school of St. Ambrose, which illustrate this paper.

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[1] The absence of orphreys in the chasuble was very noticeable in the exhibition of mediaeval pictures that was got together by the Society of Antiquaries at Burlington House in the summer of 1896.

[2] Mr. Micklethwaite reminded us at the meeting at which this paper was read that some thirty or forty years ago a chasuble shaped surplice was in use in some parts of England. This recalled to my recollection that on St. Peter's day 1861, I had been at a service in St. Mary's, Crown Street, then a curious old building that had been used for the services of the Greek Orthodox community in London in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when the late Mr. Chambers, the incumbent, wore over his cassock this round chasuble shaped surplice, and over that a black stole. He was assisted by the late Dr. Littledale as gospeller who wore a surplice, with a stole deaconwise ; and as epistler by one who I think was Mr. Vaux.

ON CERTAIN VARIATIONS FROM THE RULE CONCERNING THE MATERIAL OF THE ALTAR-LINEN.

BY

E. G. CUTHBERT F. ATCHLEY.

At the period known as the middle ages the altar was covered in front by a coloured pall, also known as the frontal, the nether-front or nether altar-cloth; these latter in contra-distinction to the over-front or dossal: and upon the slab of the altar were laid three linen cloths (*tualliae*)[1] and the corporas-cloth over all, at the time of offering the Holy Oblation. The text in the Canon Law *Si per negligentiam*[2] supposes four coverings to the altar, hence the canonists conclude that four are necessary. Giraldus Cambrensis[3] states that there ought to be four fair linen cloths (*lintheamina pulcra*) upon the altar, according to the afore-mentioned Text, or at least three; and that there should be a "table" (*tabula*) in front of the altar, or at any rate a decent pall (*pallium honestum*). Myrc[4] directs the parish priest who is about to say mass, as follows:

Wyth þre towayles and no lasse
Hule þyn auter at thy masse.

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[1] *Three* are required by William de Blois, Bp. of Worcester, 1229 (Wilkins, *Concilia*, i. 623); Walter Gray, Archbp. of York, 1250 (*Liber Pontificalis Chr. Bainbridge*, Surtees Society, 1875; p. 371; Wilkins, *Concilia*, i. 698); Robert Winchelsey, Archbp. of Canterb. 1305 (Lyndewode, *Provinciale*, Lib. iii. *De Eccles. Aedific.* Cap. *Ut Parochiani* Oxford, 1679; p. 252); Ord. MS. Eccles. Lexov. saec. xiii. (Du Cange, *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis*, Niort, 1886; *sub voce* Toacula ¶ Touailla); Missale Eccl. Catalaunensis, 1543 (Martène, *De Antiq. Eccl. Rit.* Lib. i. c. iv. art. i. § 13, Antwerp, 1736; t. i. col. 352.) Only *two* by 27th Constit. Peckham Archbp. Canterb. 1281 (Wilkins, *Concilia*, Vol. ii. p. 49); Fardle of Facioun (Neale and Webb, *Symbolism of Churches, etc.* 1843, p. cxxxv.); Stat. Eccl. Reatinae (Du Cange, *sub voce* Toacula).

[2] "Si per negligentiam.) . . . Si super altare stillaverit calix . . . Si super linteum altaris, et ad aliud stilla pervenerit . . . Si usque ad tertium . . . Si usque ad quartum . . ." Gratian, *De consecratione*, Di. ij. cap. 27 (*Corpus Juris Canonici*, P. & F. Pithoeus, Parisiis, 1687; i. 456). Cautelae Missae in *Missale Sarum*, Burntisland, 1861–1883, col. 655. Cautelae Missae in *Missale ad usum insig. eccl. Eboracensis*, Surtees Society, 1874; Vol. ii. p. 227. Penitent (Pseudo-), Theod. cap. 39, § 8, in B. Thorpe, *Ancient Laws and Institutes*, 1840; p. 299. "Quattuor pallae absque sudario super altare poni debent"; Lib. Usuum Cisterc. c. 53 (Martène, *De Antiq. Monach. Rit.* Lib. ii. c. 4, § ij, n. 17, Antwerp, 1738; col. 163). 11th Const. Synod of Exeter, 1287 (Wilkins, *Concilia*, ii. 139). The modern Roman rule is "Tum in superna linea mappae mundae tres saltem explicentur, quae totam Altaris planitiem, et latera contegunt." (*Caerem. Episc.* Lib. i. cap. 12, n. 11. Fr. Pustet, Ratisbon, 1886; p. 49.)

[3] Giraldi Cambrensis Opera, *Gemma Ecclesiastica*, Di. i. cap. 10, Rolls Series, 1862; Vol. ii. p. 34; *Speculum Ecclesiae*, Di. iv. cap. 29, 1873; Vol. iv. p. 331.

[4] John Myrc, *Instructions to Parish Priests*, Early English Text Society, 1868; p. 58.

Two, or at least one, of these cloths must be hallowed[1]; and to one was attached an apparel or frontlet (*frontellum*) which hung down in front to conceal the attachment of the front.[2] The constitution *Ut parochiani* put forth by Winchelsey in 1305 requires every parish to provide a frontal (*frontale*) for the high altar, with three cloths (*tuallae*): Lyndewode states that this was commonly interpreted to mean two linen cloths to lay upon the altar under the corporas, and one towel for drying the hands in the lavatory; but that as the canon seemed to require *four* cloths the corporas was folded in two.[3] At low altars and chantries it is perhaps more usual to find two, or even one,[4] than three linen cloths for the altar: *e.g.* in the will of Agnes Slubbard,[5] of Bury, in 1418, we read "assigno Ricardo Baxster capell. j vestimentum . . . ij pannos lineos super altare"; or that of Lady Ela Shardelowe[6] in 1457, "lego . . . meum vestimentum feriale cum ij tuellis et j parura pro altare . . . vestimentum meum dominicale cum ij tuellis pro altare"; much the same is to be seen in the inventories of the confiscated chantries in 1548, and sometimes even in those of parish churches, as at Hunstanton, Norfolk,[7] in the sixteenth century, where only "one corporax" and "ij aulter clothes" are mentioned. But whether this practice of doubling the corporas ever generally obtained at the high altars, or at low altars in the richer churches, may perhaps be doubted; the inventories shew that most places had at least three cloths for the high altar,[8] and in many it is recorded that there were four. For example, at Dartington in Devon,[9] there were "iiij lyn clothys over ye hye auter": at St. Laurence's altar in St. Alban's Abbey,[10] in 1429, there were three cloths of which one was linen, and two of diaper-work: and in 1471 at the Hungerford Chantry in Sarum Cathedral[11] were "iiij auterclothis to ly upon the Auter."

What was the material of which these altar-cloths were made? Obviously at first it was plain linen,[12] like the corporas. Soon it was adorned with some kind of "work": thus at

[1] "At least two must be hallowed," 11th Canon, Synod of Exeter, 1287 (Wilkins, *Concilia*, ii. 139.) "At least one to be hallowed," Constit. ii. W. de Blois, Bp. of Worcester, 1229 (*Concilia*, i. 623.) "Quarum una superior sit benedicta," *Stat. Eccl. Reatinae* (Du Cange, *Glossarium*, *sub voce* Toacula, ¶ Toallia, Tobalea.) See inventories and accounts for entries of blessed cloths and payments for hallowing them, *passim*.

[2] "Una illarum cum parura," 11th canon, Exeter, 1287 (*Concilia*, ii. 139.) See Inventories.

[3] Lyndewode, *Provinciale*, Lib. iii. Tit. 27, Oxford, 1679; p. 252.

[4] *E.g.* Bp. Audeley's Chantry in Sarum Cathedral "a lynnen clothe to leye upon the altar." Six or seven of the other Wiltshire chantries only had one linen altar-cloth in 1548 (*Wilts. Arch. and Nat. Hist. Mag.* 1885; xxii. 324 *sq.*) There seem to have been only "two old Aulter clothes of lynnen cloth" at Alderly Parish Church in 1549 (J. P. Earwater, *East Cheshire*, London, 1880; ii. 627.)

[5] *Wills and Inventories from . . . Bury St. Edmunds*, Camden Society, 1850; p. 3.

[6] *Ibid.* p. 13.

[7] *Historical MSS. Commission*, 9th Report, Appx. pt. i. p. 358.

[8] For instance, at the Greyfriars' Church at Bridgewater, at the time of the Dissolution, there were found "on ye auter iij autre clothes." (W. A. J. Archibald, *The Somerset Religious Houses*, Cambridge, 1892; p. 225.)

[9] *British Magazine*, 1834; Vol. vi. p. 145.

[10] John Amundesham, *Annales Monas. S. Albani*, Rolls Series, 1870; Vol. i. p. 449.

[11] *Wilts. Arch. and Nat. Hist. Mag.* 1869; Vol. xi. p. 336. Dugdale, *Baronage of England*, London, 1676; Vol. ii. p. 208.

[12] There are several different varieties of linen mentioned in the inventories. The quality may be judged to some extent from the price, and from the custom-house duties printed by Sir Egerton Brydges (*The British Bibliographer*, London, 1810; Vol. ii. p. 397 *sq.*), *The rates of the Custome house . . .* 1545. 1. LINEN CLOTH, *linthiamum;* it cost 6*d.* an ell in 1460, 7*d.* in 1476 at St. Ewens, Bristol (*Trans. Brist. and Glos. Arch. Soc.* 1890–1, p. 172); about 6¼*d.* an ell in 1498, another 5½*d.* an ell, in 1508 it was 4*d.* a yard, 8*d.* a yard in 1555 at Yatton (*Som. Churchwardens' Accts.* Som. Record Soc. pp. 121, 130, 167); at St. Michael's, Bath, in 1487, it cost 8*d.* an ell, 6*d.* a yard in 1500, 7*d.* and 10*d.* an ell in 1502 (*Som. Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc. Proc.*

Sarum Cathedral in 1222 there were "tualliae benedictae et operatae xiiii, tualliae benedictae non operatae xix"; and similarly at the altars of St. Peter, All Saints, St. Nicholas, and St. Mary Magdalene[1]: to the Lady Chapel of St. Paul's Cathedral[2] in 1445 belonged "vi pannae lineae operis elaboratae ad cooperiendum altare": from the thirteenth century onwards such entries are the usual thing. There are various adornments which may be described as "work" to be met with in inventories, etc.: *e.g.* in the accounts of St. John's, Glastonbury,[3] for 1418, there is a payment for making fifteen crosses with silk on five "auter clothes": at All Saints, Bristol,[4] in 1464, there was "an awter clo̊e of playn w^t^ Crossys. Item, an awtyr

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1879; pp. 89, 95). At St. Matthew, Friday Street, 1549, 1*s.* a yard was paid (*Journ. Brit. Arch. Ass.* xxv. 365); 7*d.* an ell in 1487, and 4*d.* a yard in 1488 at St. Andrew Hubbard (*Brit. Mag.* xxxii. 274, 278). Cloth for a corporas cost 1*s.* 3*d.* an ell at Yatton in 1539 (*Som. Ch. Accts.* 153). 2. BRABANT CLOTH, said to be fine linen, 6½*d.* an ell in 1455 at St. Ewens, Bristol (*Brist. and Glos. Arch. Soc.* 1890–1, p. 158). "Brabande clothe the hole pece, xiii.s. iiij.d." (*Brit. Biblio.* ii. 397). 3. HOLLAND CLOTH, fine and coarse. At Stratton, Cornwall, it cost 1*s.* a yard in 1529, but only 10*d.* in 1532 and 1558 (*Archaeologia*, xlvi. 210, 212, 224). In 1557, at Eltham, it cost 10*d.* a yard for an alb, and coarse Holland cloth for the roodcloth 10*d.* an *ell*, while canvas for the altar cost only 6*d.* a yard (*Archaeologia*, xxxiv. 54). At St. Werburgh's, Bristol, it cost 1*s.* 4*d.* the ell, for a surplice, in 1558 (Nichols and Taylor, *Bristol Past and Present*, Vol. ii. p. 222). "Eight shillings an ell," Shakespeare, *Henry IV.* pt. 1, Act iii. sc. 3. The customs' rate was "Hollonde clothe right and all other sortes of clothes in hollond ploye, xii.s." 4. DOWLAS, a coarse kind of linen cloth, according to Halliwell, made at Daoulas in Brittany. The Act 21 Henry VIII. cap. 14, mentions "lynnen clothe called Dowlas and Lockeram . . . wrought and made in Brytayne" (*Statutes of the Realm*, printed by command of H. M. King George III. 1817; Vol. iii. p. 296). In 1526 and 1529 it cost about 4½*d.* a yard at Stratton, but in 1558, to make an altar cloth and surplices, it cost 8½*d.* a yard (*Archaeologia*, xlvi. 208, 216, 225). In 1558, at Yatton, it cost 10*d.* a yard (*Som. Ch. Accts.* 170); and 9*d.* an ell at Ludlow in 1540 (*Ch. Accts. of Ludlow*, Camden Society, 15, 16). "Dowlas, filthy dowlas: I have given them away to bakers' wives, and they have made bolters of them" (Shakespeare, *Henry IV.* pt. 1, Act iii. sc. 3). The customs' rate table says "Doughlas, Bretysshe clothe, creste clothe, or lokeram conteyning v score elles, xx.s." 5. LOCKRAM, from Locronane in Brittany. It was used to line vestments at Ludlow, 1547 (*Ch. Accts.* 30). At Calne, Wilts. there were "iiij communyon clothes wherof iij are of holland & one of locaram," and "ij surplyces, j of hollande & j of locaram" (*Wilts. Arch. and Nat. Hist. Mag.* iv. 208). "A shert of locrame" (F. W. Weaver, *Wells Wills.* London, 1890; p. 179). "The kitchen malkin pins Her richest lockram 'bout her reechy neck" (Shakespeare, *Coriolanus*, Act ii. sc. 1). 6. RAINES, fine linen from Rennes, also in Brittany (Halliwell). Used for altar-cloths at Exeter, 1337 (Oliver, *Lives of Bps. of Exeter*, 314). Legacy of best sheet of cloth of Reynes to Easter Sepulchre, 1373 (R. R. Sharpe, *Calendar of Wills . . . in Court of Hustings*, London, 1890; ii. 155.) Customs' rate, "Raynes boultell the dosen xxiiii.s.; the pece, ij.s." 7. CRESS-CLOTH, fine linen (Halliwell), but included in the same group as Dowlas and Lockram in the table of customs' rates, and the price of it was small, about 6¾*d.* a yard in 1512 at Stratton, but only 4*d.* in 1526 and 1532 (*Archaeologia*, xlvi. 208, 209, 212. Compare the price with that of Holland same place and date); and at Yatton in 1516 it was only 3*d.* a yard (*Som. Ch. Accts.* 135, *cnf.* 129, 133). 8. IRISH CLOTH was of very poor quality, costing about 1½*d.* a yard at Yatton in 1497, and about 2¼*d.* a yard in 1533 (*Som. Ch. Accts.* 121, 147). Will of Joice Yonge, 1530: "a payere of shetts, oon paire of hollon, and another paire of canvas (three times), a tabull clothe of fyne hollon (twice), napkins of Iryshe clothe, a tewell of lockram" (*Wells Wills*, 18). There is some doubt whether this was flaxen cloth. See *Household Expenses of Richard de Swinfield*, Camden Society, 1854; i. 193. 9. TWILL was a sort of coarse linen cloth (Halliwell). There were altarcloths of this material at All Saints, Bristol, in 1464. 10. DIAPER, a thick linen, patterned in warp and woof; cost about 3*s.* 6*d.* an ell at Yatton in 1535 (*Som. Ch. Accts.* 149). Compare "for ij awter clothes of vj yerds & a halfe, ye price a yerd ij*s.* v*d.* ob." (*Ibid.* 142). 11. CAMBRIC, fine white linen, originally made at Cambrai in Flanders. Used for altar-cloths at Windsor, St. George's, 1377 (*Mon. Anglic.* vi. 1366).

[1] *Vetus Registrum Sarisberiense*, Rolls Series, 1884; Vol. ii. pp. 132, 139, 140.

[2] *Archaeologia*, 1887; Vol. l. p. 522.

[3] *Notes and Queries for Somerset and Dorset*, 1895; Vol. iv. p. 186.

[4] *MS. Inventories and Accounts*, in the custody of the Vicar of All Saints, Bristol.

clothe of Dyapyr . . . w^t Crossys a pon": at St. Catherine's College, Cambridge,[1] in 1465, there were eleven *towels* to lie upon the altar, with black crosses in the middle. Amongst others, at St. Margaret Pattens[2] about 1480, there was "an awter Clothe of diapir . . . the werke therof is fflour-de-lusis and crownez w^t v red-crossis theron and Jhs in þe middis"; at St. Mary Hill[3] in 1485 there were altar-cloths of diaper, one "with 3 part blew starres at the one ende," another "garnyshed with blewe at both ends," another "with 3 blew kayes at each ende of the saide clothe," a fourth "imbroidered with the blew keyes, in the myddl," and a fifth "marked with red sylke in 2 places with I H S"; and in 1524 a "playne aulter cloth marked with sylke in the middis, and oure Lorde beyng in the Sepulcre."

The following suggests that sometimes one of the cloths was painted: at the Priory Church of St. John the Baptist, Bridport,[4] anno 32 Hen. VI. were one painted altar-cloth called a *superaltar*, and 2 *auterclothes* lying on the altar: the *superaltar*, however, may have been a dossal.[5] Diaper appears to be a kind of linen with a pattern woven in the fabric: it is used for certain of the cloths, several examples of which have already been noticed. At Lincoln,[6] in 1548, there was a white frontal and frontlet with two cloths of diaper belonging to them, and another of red cloth-of-gold with two cloths, only one of which was diapered. In illuminations it is not uncommon to see the altar out of mass-time with a pattern on the cloth lying upon the altar slab, but when some time during the mass is represented, the cloth is always, or almost always, plain: this, together with what we can gather from inventories, etc., suggests that the diapered cloths were employed for the under-cloths, but that the uppermost was always plain.

Sometimes more costly material was employed.[7] At Sarum, in 1222, there were two silk cloths to hang before the altar (*coram altare*), each of which had a cloth of the same kind to match to go upon the altar (*super altare*)[8]: it is, however, possible that *super* may mean *over* here, that is as a dossal at the back. At any rate, at the altar of St. Stephen in the same Cathedral there were six towels (*tualliae*), one of which was of silk.[9] In the Lady Chapel of St. Paul's,[10] 1445, there were two old cloths of cloth-of-gold for covering the altar (*pro altare cooperiendo*): in 1495 Cecily, Duchess of York,[11] left "six auter clothes of white sarcenett, with crosses of crymsyn velvet" to Thomas Lentall, and four of the same material embroidered with garters to Compton Church. Robert Burnel,[12] canon of Wells in the

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[1] *Hist. MSS. Comm.* 4th Report, Appx. p. 422.

[2] *Archaeological Journal*, 1885; Vol. xlii. p. 323.

[3] J. Nichols, *Illustrations of the Manners and Expences of Antient Times*, London, 1797; pp. 114, 115, 117.

[4] *Hist. MSS. Comm.* 6th Report, Appx. p. 493.

[5] *Cf.* St. Mary Magdalen, Old Fish Street (eleventh century): "iij palle super altare, una depicta, una earum parata delicta serica" (*Archaeologia*, 1897; Vol. lv. p. 298). At the Lady Chapel at Winchester in 1539 there were "two altars of silk for the altar" (*Mon. Anglic.* i. 203). These *may* have been altar-cloths.

[6] *Archaeologia*, 1893; Vol. liii. pp. 61 *sq.*

[7] See August. Krazer *De Liturgiis*, Aug. Vindel. 1786; p. 178: and Du Cange *sub voce* 2. Palla.

[8] *Vetus Regist. Sarisb.* Rolls Series, 1884; Vol. ii. p. 133. *Cnf.* p. 131.

[9] *Ibid.* p. 140.

[10] *Archaeologia*, 1887; Vol. l. p. 523.

[11] *Wills from Doctors Commons*, Camden Society, 1863; pp. 5, 7.

[12] *Two Chartularies of the Priory of St. Peter at Bath*, Somerset Record Society, 1893; p. 158.

thirteenth century, gave to the Priory Church at Bath two towels (*tuallae*) transversely striped with gold for the high altar. At Windsor,[1] in 1377, there was a blessed towel (*tuailla*) for the high altar of black silk with gold rays across it, and another of white silk with the same; also two towels of Cambric with black crosses in the middle of them. Commoner and cheaper material was sometimes used: for example, there were "two aulter clothis of canvas" at St. Mary Hill[2] in 1485, and "iij tableclothes of canvas" at Shapwyke, Dorsetshire,[3] in 1552. At Lincoln Cathedral Church[4] in 1557 there was "a clothe of blacke velvet w^t a frynge . . . w^t a canves clothe affyxed to the same." The following items appear amongst the charges for "halowynge the aulter" at St. Peter Cheap[5] in 1555; "for an ell and a halffe of fyne clothe, ijs.: a ell of corse canvas, iiij^dob.: a nother elle of corse canvas iiij^dob." Apparently these were for the three cloths, the uppermost of fine linen, the other two of canvas. Canvas is seemingly cloth woven of hemp. Rock quotes Herodotus, who states that some could hardly be known from linen, although it was only hempen; yet in another place he points to a linen amice as an example of what was meant by canvas in the middle ages.[6] Be it as it may, the numerous church accounts shew that it was less than half the price of fine linen,[7] costing in the middle of the sixteenth century about 3½*d.* to 6*d.* a yard, as against 10*d.* to a 1*s.* or more for the latter: not infrequently it is called *coarse*, and it was used for lining vestments,[8] especially copes. As copes would get rougher usage than other vestments, they would naturally require a stronger lining; but it is specially mentioned as the material used for covering over the linen cloths when the altar was not in use; as, for example, at St. Ewen's, Bristol,[9] in 1455, where there were "eight auterclothys with one covar of canvas," and "to the two lowe auters two clothys with a canvas kevyr to the auter"; and in 1476 there was paid "for V yardes of canvas to hele the auters, xv^d"; at All Saints, Bristol,[10] 1464, there was "a Keueryng of Kanvas for þe hye Awtyr," and "a Keueryng of Kanvas for our lady Awtyr"; at All Saints, High Wycombe,[11] in 1547, there were "ii alter clothis of diaper and one of playne clothe," and also "a canvas

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[1] Dugdale, *Mon. Anglic.* J. Caley, H. Ellis, and B. Bandinel, 1817-30; Vol. vi. p. 1366.

[2] J. Nichols, *Illustrations, etc.* 116.

[3] *Notes and Queries for Somerset and Dorset*, iv. 100.

[4] *Archaeologia*, 1892; Vol. liii. p. 76. Dugdale, *Mon. Anglic.* vi. 1292.

[5] *Journal Brit. Arch. Assoc.* 1868; xxiv. 262.

[6] Daniel Rock, *Textile Fabrics*, London, 1870; Introd. p. xiij; p. 185, No. 8307.

[7] Canvas appears in "The rates of the Custome house . . . 1545" (*Brit. Bibl.* 399 *sq.* 508) under several forms. "Canuas called Newcastell the hundreth elles, xx.s. Canuas Normandy browne the hundreth elles, xxx.s. Canuas Normandy whyte the hundreth elles, xl.s. Canuas course for packyne the hundreth elles, xx.s. Canuas called barras the hundreth elles, xxvi.s. viij.d. Canuas called sprewee canuas the hundreth elles, xx.s. Canuas the bolle iij.s. iiij.d. Vittery canuas the bolle, conteyning ii.c. and a halfe, iij.li." The inventories do not, as a rule, specify the variety of canvas. At St. Andrew Hubbard, 1518, canvas cost 3½*d.* an ell; and "whyted canuas" 5*d.* an ell in 1533 (*Brit. Mag.* xxxiv. 29, 301); 3*d.* a yard at St. Ewen's, Bristol, in 1477 (*Brist. and Glouc. Arch. Soc.* 1890-1, p. 270); the same price at Leverton, Lincs. in 1542 (*Archaeologia*, xli. 355). At Eltham, Kent, in 1557, it was 6*d.* a yard, while Holland cost 10*d.* (*Archaeologia*, xxxiv. 54). At St. Mary Hill in 1503 Normandy canvas was about 5½*d.* an ell (Nichols, *Illustrations, etc.* 104). It was 2½*d.* the ell in 1289 (*Household Expenses of Richard de Swinfield*, Camden Society, 1854; Vol. i. p. 115).

[8] *E.g.* at Stratton, 1529, to mend a cope (*Archaeologia*, xlvi. 210).

[9] *Trans. Brist. and Glouc. Arch. Soc.* 1890-1; Vol. xv. pp. 154, 270.

[10] *MS. Inventories and Accounts* in the custody of the Vicar of All Saints, Bristol.

[11] *Hist. MSS. Comm.* 5th Report, Appx. 555.

clothe for the aulter"; while at Welwyn, Herts.,[1] in 1541, we find "one canvase cloth to cover the alterclothys." Entries of this sort are common.

If we consult any modern book on Sarum or English Ceremonial we are almost sure to find it stated, if the subject is mentioned at all, that the first covering of the altar ought to be a cere-cloth, made of waxed coarse linen.[2] In one book this is given in a list of ornaments of the Church prescribed by the rubric, as having been in use in the second year of Edward VI. This statement, it would seem, however, is not altogether borne out by facts. At St. Paul's Cathedral Church,[3] in 1240, the inventory mentions no cere-cloth, though there is a large purple cloth noted to be *sine cera:* in 1547, however, it is recorded[4] that the clergy of St. Paul's wrapped up an image of St. Mary in cere-cloth, and hid it away: still, this does not show that it had ever been used for an altar. The common use for cere-cloth was to bind up a corpse, as in the will of Richard Preston,[5] 1521: "I will that my body be bound & well winded with a cerecloth & a winding sheet." The only instance I have come across of its use as an altar-cloth is in the inventory of St. Mary Hill,[6] about 1524, where are mentioned "an old seer dyapry cloth of an ell di. Item. an olde seer dyapry towell of 3 ells quarter." The former of these may have been placed next the altar slab, but the towell (*tuallia*) would seem by its length to have been the uppermost cloth. If this shews anything, it would equally prove that the first and third cloth ought to be waxed. Further investigation may bring other instances to light, as even vestments were treated in this way in some places: *e.g.* at St. Michael's, Bath,[7] there is an entry in the accounts for 1468 "pro emendacione cape sericis et ij tenyclys, ij.s.; et pro lynynge dicte cape vij^{d}; et pro wex-candell pro cerynge dicte cape ij^{d}."

Now, at St. Peter Cheap[8] in 1431 there were "ij canvaces for the hy auter, oon above and the toder next the heire," and "j canvas for our lady auter abowe." Dr. Sparrow Simpson suggested that "heire" meant "higher" in the glossary he appends to his paper, but perhaps some cause may be hereafter shewn for differing from his opinion. It may be noted that at least one of the "linen cloths" was here made of canvas, those "above" being in all probability the covers to the altars. But what is the "heire"? the answer is to be found in the following passage from Becon's *Catechism*[9]: "Their altar and superaltar must be consecrate, . . . be covered with a cloth of hair, and garnished with fine white linen cloths and other costly apparell." This "cloth of hair" is very frequently mentioned in the

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[1] Sir H. Chauncey, *Historical Antiquities of Hertforshire*, 1826; Vol. ii. p. 32.

[2] The Roman Pontifical orders at the consecration of an altar a cloth as follows: "Tum ministri ponunt super altare Chrismale, sive pannum lineum ceratum, ad mensuram altaris factum; deinde vestiunt altare tobaleis et ornamentis benedictis." (*Pontificale Romanum Clementis VIII. ac Urbani VIII. Jussu editum*, Venetiis, 1836; p. 244.)

[3] *Archaeologia*, 1887; Vol. l. p. 495.

[4] *Wriothesley's Chronicle*, Camden Society, 1877; Vol. ii. p. 1.

[5] Sir N. H. Nicolas, *Testamenta Vestusta*, London, 1826; p. 595.

[6] Nichols, *Illustrations, etc.* 117.

[7] *Som. Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc. Proc.* 1879; Vol. v. p. 67. See Rock, *Textile Fabrics*, xxxv. for an account of a waxed frontal at Westminster.

[8] *Journal Brit. Arch. Assoc.* 1868; xxiv. 158. *Cnf.* St. Mary Winton: "xj Ulnae canvas pro altare inferius cooperiendo." M. E. C. Walcott, *William of Wykeham, &c.* Winchester and London, 1852; p. 211.

[9] *Works*, Parker Society; Vol. ii. p. 297.

inventories and church accounts of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries all over England. We will give some examples :—

QUEEN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD.

1386. 3^{s} 4^{d} paid for three hair cloths for the three altars.

Historical MSS. Commission, 2nd Report, Appendix, p. 131.

ST. MICHAEL, BATH.

1415. Pro panno cilicino ad magnum altare, xiij^{d}.

1425. De xx^{d} pro iiij virgis cilicinis ad ij altaria.

Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society's Proceedings, 1878 ; Vol. iv. pp. 22, 31.

ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL CHURCH (THE LADY CHAPEL).

1445. Unus pannus cilicinus pro magno altare Beatae Mariae Virginis.

Archaeologia, 1887 ; Vol. l. p. 523.

ALL SAINTS, BRISTOL.

1449. Jt$\bar{m}$ for J clo$\eth$e of her to $\eth$e hye Awtyr, xj^{d}.

MS. Accounts in the custody of the Vicar of All Saints.

ST. MARGARET, SOUTHWARK.

1464. Paid for the hayere upon the high Awter, x^{d}.

British Magazine, 1847 ; Vol. xxxii. p. 645.

ST. STEPHEN, COLEMAN STREET, LONDON.

1466. It iiij Coffyns to ly o$\bar{n}$ the auters, w^{t} v herϱ.

Archaeologia, 1887 ; Vol. l. p. 44.

CHAPEL OF ST. LEONARD, HYTHE.

1480. For a cloth of *hayre* for one of the altars, 10$\frac{1}{2}^{d}$.

Historical MSS. Commission, 4th Report, Appendix, p. 432.

ST. ANDREW HUBBARD, LONDON.

1480. Item. for ij yerdis and di. of here to Sir John's awtir, xj^{d}.

1482. Paide for ij haires for the high auter and our lady auter, xx^{d}.

1493. Paid for a here for they hey aulter, xij^{d}.

1557. Paid for iij yerdis of here cloth for the hy awter, ij.s.

British Magazine, 1847 ; Vol. xxxii. pp. 37, 146, 178, 395.

ST. CHRISTOPHER LE STOCKS, LONDON.

1488. Ther beth . . . iiij heeris to lay upon the alters, and iiij canvasse to cover the altars.

Archaeologia, l. 116.

YATTON, SOMERSETSHIRE.

1496. Payd for herys for ij auters, xvj^{d}.

1497. Payd to Thos. Bene for a here to the hye auter, xx^{d}.

1501. Payd for iij new herys to iij awters, iij.s.

1507. Payd for a here to ye hye awter, xxij^{d}.

1539. Payd for ij yards of here cloth for an awter, xv^{d}.

Somerset Churchwardens' Accounts, Somerset Record Society, 1890 ; Vol. iv. pp. 121, 125, 129, 153.

TINTINHULL, SOMERSETSHIRE.

1516. Item for a clothe of heere for the low awters ij.s. ij.d.

Somerset Churchwardens' Accounts, 202.

ST. NICHOLAS, BRISTOL.

152½. Itm for v yerdes hayrre for the hey alt' at v^{d}, ij.*s.* i.*d.*

MS. accounts in custody of the Vicar of St. Nicholas.

SUTTERTON, LINCOLNSHIRE.

1527. Three yards of haircloth bought for the high altar.

Archaeological Journal, 1882; Vol. xxxix. p. 62.

LEVERTON, LINCOLNSHIRE.

1506. Payd for hayre cloth . . . to hour ladys awter & to scaynt Thomas, xviij^{d}.

1541. For fyve yerds off hayre clothe to the auters, xxij^{d}.

Archaeologia, 1867; Vol. xli. pp. 342, 355.

ST. FRIDESWIDE, OXFORD.

1545. "Uppon thighe alter a here cloth, 40.s. Item two altercloths, one of olde diaper and thother of fine lininge clowth.[1] *Thile in the southe side of the quere.* Item, a here cloth. Item, alter cloths of lyning clothe." The same items appear at the first altar in the north aisle, while the other three have each a hair-cloth, and one other altar cloth.

W. Dugdale, *Monasticum Anglicum*, 1817–30; Vol. ii. pp. 166 *sq.*

ALL SAINTS, HIGH WYCOMBE, BUCKS.

circ. 1548. Item iij heres for the aulters.

Historical MSS. Commission, 5th Report, Appendix, p. 555.

STANFORD IN THE VALE, BERKS.

1553. Item, ij here clothis for the alter.

T. W. Perry, *Lawful Church Ornaments*, London, 1857; p. 90.

ST. MATTHEW, FRIDAY STREET, LONDON.

1554. Pd for ij yards di here clothe for ye auter, xviij^{d}.

1556. Paid ffor iiij yards of here clothe, ij.s.

Journal of British Archaeological Association, 1869; Vol. xxv. pp. 365, 368.

ST. MARTIN, LEICESTER.

1555. For the Paschal stock and a hair cloth, 8*d.*

John Nichols, *History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester*, London, 1815; Vol. i. p. 572.

LUDLOW, SHROPSHIRE.

1556. Paid to Margery Pyme for iiij yeardes and dim. of heere clothe for the hyghe alter, iij.s. ij^{d}.

Churchwardens' accounts of the town of Ludlow, Camden Society, 1869; p. 73.

ST. MARY, READING.

1558. Paide for v yards of here clothe for the altars, ij.s. viij^{d}.

C. Coates, *History of Reading*, London, 1802; p. 130.

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[1] The hair is apparently included amongst the linen cloths, to make up the three altar-cloths.

Thus we see that from the beginning of the fifteenth century until the end of Queen Mary's reign in the middle of the sixteenth, the lowest altar-covering was very often woven of hair and not of flax, and of the others one or more was sometimes made of canvas: and that waxed linen does not seem to have been employed, with the possible exception of St. Mary Hill, where cere-cloth, but no hair, is mentioned. At Melford in Suffolk,[1] in 1529, under the heading of "Coverlets," there were four cloths, to lay upon the altar, of black buckram, and also there was "a black buckram cloth upon the altar" of the Lady Chapel: again, St. Peter's, Cornhill,[2] had, in 1546, "a couering for the hige awter of black Bockeram": and in 1445 there was "unus pannus niger ad cooperiendum pallium altaris" in the Lady Chapel of St. Paul's Cathedral Church,[3] which was possibly of the same material. Rock says that buckram was a fine cotton textile fabric imported from Bokhara[4]: the Promptorium Parvulorum merely gives "clothe" as the meaning of "Bokeram," and Mr. Way, in his notes thereto, states that some ancient writers describe it as *telae subtilis species*. He also quotes from William Thomas (*Principal Rules of Italian Grammar*, 1548), "*Bucherame*, buckeramme; and some there is white, made of bombase, so thinne that a man mai see through it."[5] On the other hand, Shakespeare describes Falstaff as having "peppered . . . . two rogues in buckram suits"[6]; and Skeat explains it to mean a coarse kind of cloth.

At Yatton, Somerset,[7] in 1526, there were "ij awterclothes, won of diaper and another of bocaram"; and at Waltham Abbey[8] in 1562, "a cloth of buckeram for the communion table": and Fuller, who was not over-given to liking costly ornaments for churches, comments, "could they not afford a better?" It is evident that there was more than one sort of cloth called by this name[9]: one made of bombase, which I take to be some kind of silk, or silk and cotton interwoven, and another of coarse strong cloth of various colours—sometimes black, sometimes blue, green or lake, and sometimes white, but of what material is not clear. The inventories and accounts shew examples of buckram being used both to make and to line the canopy over

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[1] Neale, *Views of Collegiate and Parochial Churches*, 1825; Vol. ii. p. 18. The headings seem to bear no relation to what they are placed over, *e.g.* under "Cross cloaths" are candlesticks and a ladder.

[2] *Antiquary*, N.S. No. 93. September, 1897; p. 282.

[3] *Archaeologia*, l. 523.

[4] Rock, *Textile Fabrics*, p. lxxxv.

[5] *Promptorium Parvulorum*, Camden Society, 1843; Vol. i. p. 42.

[6] *King Henry IV.* Part I. Act ii. sc. 4: *cnf.* Act i. sc. 2.

[7] *Somerset Churchwardens' Accounts*, Somerset Record Society, p. 142.

[8] Fuller, *Hist. of Camb. Univ. and Waltham Abbey*, London, 1840; p. 275.

[9] Buckram cost 4*d.* a yard at Yatton in 1508 (*Som. Ch. Accts.* 130). At Stratton in 1512 it cost 7*d.* a yard to make stolés, and about 4½*d.* a yard in 1515 (*Archaeologia*, xlvi. 204). At St. Andrew Hubbard, 1528, 5*d.* a yard (*Brit. Mag.* xxxiv. 186). There was a chasuble of buckram at Westlee, 1297 (*Visitation of Churches belonging to St. Paul's*, Camden Society, 1895; p. 8.); an alb of buckram at Canterbury, 1315 (Dart, *Hist. and Antiq. of the Cath. Ch. of Canterbury*, Appx. p. ix.); another at Sarum, 1222 (*Vet. Reg. Sarisb.* ii. 132). At St. Stephen, Coleman Street, there was a "Ryddyll of blewe bokrame, j stole of lake bokrame lynet w^t^ blew bokrame, j stole . . . lynet w^t^ blak bokrame, j stole of blewe damask lynet w^t^ grene bokrame." A "Hangyng of blake Bokrame w^t^ I.H.S. etc." (*Archaeologia*, l. 44, 47). At St. Margaret's Pattens "a cote for Sent Margarett of white damaske . . . lyned with gren bokeram" (*Arch. Jour.* xlii. 325). A canopy, at Stratton (*Archaeologia*, xlvi. 217). At St. Ewen's, Bristol, a pall, a canopy-lining, and a lining for a vestment (*Brist. and Glouc. Arch. Soc.* xv. 154, 177, 263). Altar-cloths at St. Mary, Southwark (*Brit. Mag.* xxxiii. 181). At St. Andrew Hubbard, a child's cope (*Brit. Mag.* xxxii. 279), to line a blue stole and copes (*Brit. Mag.* xxxiv. 571, 575, 577,) for the roodloft (*Ibid.* 676), "for a surplyce for mr. parson" (*Brit. Mag.* xxxv. 179).

the Eucharist; to make a pall for the hearse; for lining stoles, copes and other vestments; to make albs, the parson's surplice, stoles, curtains, and hangings, veils for images, etc. It is probable, therefore, that these buckram cloths were of some strong coarse material to lay upon the altar as the undermost covering, like the hair-cloth, to protect the finer fair linen from being cut by the sharp edges of the altar slab: at St. Paul's, and St. Peter's, Cornhill, it would seem to have been used as the cover to the altar (or the frontal).

At Westminster in 1388 we find this entry: "Palle vero sive togelle magni altaris sunt decem, ex quibus quinque sunt de opere Parisie vel Northfolchie. Reliquie autem quinque constant de panno lineo sine opere curioso."[1] Norfolk-work is no doubt worsted, as Dr. Wickham Legg points out in his notes; but it is not clear from the passage whether the whole altar-cloth was worsted, or whether it was a linen cloth worked with worsted. At St. John's, Glastonbury,[2] in 1428, the inventory mentions no hair-cloth, but there are "ij canvaces" for the High and Lady Altars, and "iij lyntheaminis de braban," that is, of fine Brabant linen: and at Heybridge, Essex,[3] "three new awterclothys of fyne holand to laye a ponne the awtyr": so that when there was no "hair," the undermost covering was either fine linen, canvas, or buckram; and we are not told that any of them were waxed.

Upon the uppermost linen cloth at masstime is laid the larger of the pair of corporasses, the other being employed to cover the chalice. Originally there was only one corporas, of considerable size,[4] which not only covered the altar but also was turned up to cover the oblations. Convenience prompted the employment of two: one, larger, to consecrate upon as before; the other, smaller, to cover the chalice: consequently, it is usual to find the corporasses mentioned in pairs, that is, a set; and also whatever rules determine the material of the one apply with equal force to the material of the other. Now, the material of the corporasses is laid down very plainly and emphatically by the canonists[5]: they may not be made of silk or of sendal, but of pure flaxen cloth alone, which further must be blessed by a bishop, or some presbyter having authority to do so: nor may any corporas be hallowed that has had any starch or other thing put into it to make it stand stiff and rigid over the chalice: but it must be of pure linen made of flax without the admixture of any other material

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[1] *Archaeologia*, l. 230. At Mere, *temp.* Ed. VI., there were "vi tuall' quorum iv sunt de opere parisient'." (Sir R. C. Hoare, *The Modern History of Wiltshire*, London, 1822; Vol. i. *The Hundred of Mere*, p. 145.) I do not know what is meant by Paris work.

[2] *Notes and Queries for Somerset and Dorset*, iv. 144; *cnf.* 187, 189. The "canvaces" no doubt were the covers for the altar.

[3] Nichols, *Illustrations, etc.* 197.

[4] "Accipiens itaque diaconus corporale, eat ad dexteram altaris partem, iactetque illud devolvendo ad alteram altaris partem, quod alius suscipiens diaconus, expandat illud desuper altare." Ordo Romanus V, § 8. (Mabillon, *Museum Italicum*, Lutet. Paris, 1724 and 1689; Vol. ii. p. 67.) "Coopertorium quo altare Dominicum cum oblationibus tegitur" (Greg. Turon *de Vitis Patrum*, c. 8, *apud* Du Cange *sub voce* Corporale).

[5] Gratian, *De Consec.* Di. j, cap. 46; Di. ij, cap. 27 (*Corpus Juris Canonici*, Paris, 1687; t. i. pp. 451, 456). Lyndewode, *op. cit.* p. 235. *Polychronicon Ran. Higden*, Rolls Series, 1865–86 (1874); Vol. v. p. 11. Regino Prumiensis in W. Maskell's *Ancient Liturgy*, etc., Oxford, 1882; p. 54. Stat. MS. Augerii Episc. Conseran. anno 1280, "Corporalem Palam non de serico, aut de tincto peu operibus variato, sed solum de simplici albo panno lineo, fieri prohibemus, praecipientes ut munda et bene composita et plicata est" (Du Cange, *sub voce* 2. Palla.) Antiquae Consuetudines Can. Reg. insig. monast. S. Victoris, Paris, cap. xxii. "Corporalia autem de purissimo et mundissimo panno praepari oportet" (Martène, *De Antiq. Eccles. Rit.* Appx Antwerp, 1736; t. iii. col. 737. C.).

whatsoever, whether more precious or of less value: moreover, it must be white, fair, and fine (*delicata*),[1] *i.e.* neither dyed nor coloured in any way, but clean, decent, and of fine woof.[2] Such was the rule from the earliest times: and like all other rules, there were occasional exceptions made. In the Additions to the Rules of Syon Monastery,[3] we read: "Whan the sexteyn of the brether syde hathe wasche the corporas ones, sche [*i.e.* the sister's sexton] withe help of her sustres schal wasche them, sterche them, drye them, folde them up, and delyuer them in aȝene to the seyd brother; so that no suster wasche nor touche and halowed corporas withe her bare handes, withe out lynnen gloues, thereto ordeyned, nor sterche hem but with sterche made of herbes only."

There was always a tendency to ornament each vestment and article used in Divine Worship, as shewn in the development of the maniple from a simple handkerchief held in the hand; in the use of silk and other rich material for the alb even in Anglo-Saxon times[4]; in the ornamentation of the linen cloths for the altar in the thirteenth and following centuries: even the surplice was made of silk in the case of some dignitaries in the sixteenth century[5]: so that it is not altogether surprising to find that some "improvements" were effected in the corporas.

Amongst the new vestments in the time of Prior Henry, at the Cathedral Church of Canterbury,[6] are corporasses described as *brudata; consuta; consutis et brudata;* and a red suit consisting of the following: *Casula rubea de Cotsamit palliata, cum alba, amictu, stola et manipulo, et corporalibus rubeis omnibus brudatis.* The vestments of William de Ledebur in 1315 likewise include corporasses described as *brudata; de serico consuta; brudata de armis Regum Angliae et aliorum; brudata ex parte una imagine crucifixi.* A few pages further on, among the vestments of Gilbert de Bissoppestoun,[7] there is mention of a corporas *cum crucifixo et assumptione brudata,* another *de aurifrigio;* and then *Casula de purpureo et rubeo sindone duplicata, cum alba et amictu de rubeo sindone brudata, cum imaginibus aureis et corporalibus, de panno de Tharse viridi.* If this entry be not corrupt it can only mean that the corporasses were of green cloth of Tarsus; and if it stood alone we might doubt its accuracy. This is a rich and costly fabric, and, according to Rock,[8] woven of fine goat's hair and silk, and therefore quite unfitted for the material of a corporas. At St. Mary Hill in 1485 there was a corporas-case of needlework, the backside thereof of purple velvet, and a fine corporas therein

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[1] Gir. Camb. *Gemma Ecclesiastica*, Di. j. cap. 10; *Opera*, Vol. ii. p. 35: *Speculum Ecclesiae*, Dis. iv. cap. 29; *Opera*, Vol. iv. p. 331.

[2] Sometimes poor sorts of linen were used, *e.g.* The Brotherhood of Trowbridge had, in 1548, "Two corporas cases with two clothes. Another clothe of dowlesse" (*Wiltshire Arch. and Nat. Hist. Mag.* 1885; xxii. 326).

[3] G. J. Aungier, *History and Antiquities of Syon Monastery*, Nichols, 1840; Appx. p. 367.

[4] See an Anglo-Saxon Pontifical and Hittorp's *Ordo Romanus* quoted by Daniel Rock, *Church of our Fathers*, London, 1849; Vol. i. p. 427. Dart, *Canterbury Cathedral*, Appx. vii. Dr. Wickham Legg's Inventory of the vestry in Westminster Abbey in 1388 (*Archaeologia*, 1890; Vol. lii. p. 241). It is disputed whether these precious albs were coloured: certainly the inventories seem to state they were; and coloured albs were certainly known on the Continent. At Angers in the eighteenth century the celebrant and the canon who read the words of our Lord in the Passion, on Good Friday, both wore *yellow silk* albs with apparells (De Moleon, *Voyage Liturgiques*, Paris, 1757; pp. 95, 96). Reginald, Bishop of Bath and Wells, gave "albam quoque preciosam auro textam" to Bath Priory (*Two Chartularies of Bath Priory*, 154).

[5] *a work entytled of ye olde god and the newe*, London, 1534; sheet L.

[6] J. Dart, *History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Canterbury*, London, 1726; Appx. pp. x. *sq.*

[7] *Ibid.* p. xvii.

[8] Rock, *Textile Fabrics*, lxxxix.

with seams of gold[1]; an infringement of the canon by the inweaving of something more costly than linen.[2] Later on entries of corporasses of rich materials, no longer white but coloured, become not infrequent.

ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL CHURCH. (ALTAR OF ST. JAMES AND ST. LAURENCE IN THE "HOLMECHAPELL.")

1448. Unum corporas de serico cum le case.

Historical MSS. Commission, 9th Report, Appendix 55.

ST. CATHARINE'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

1465. A *corporax* of black silk on one side and green bustian on the other.
Another *corporax* of *chekere werke* in gold and silver cloth.

Historical MSS. Commission, 4th Report, Appendix 422.

ST. DUNSTAN, CANTERBURY.

1500. A corporas of blew cloth of tissue.

Gentleman's Magazine, 1837; Vol. ii. p. 570.

ST. MARY-THE-LESS, CAMBRIDGE.

circ. 1510. A corporal of purpell velvet having an IES up onyt of cloth of golde.

Ecclesiologist, 1857; Vol. xviii. p. 280.

INVENTORY OF THE GOODS OF DAME AGNES HUNGERFORD.

1523. A corprax of velvet a pon velvet.
A corprax of cremesyn velvet and gren imbroidered in letters of golde with E and A.

Archaeologia, 1860; Vol. xxxviii. p. 362.

INVENTORY OF THE GOODS OF HENRY FITZROY, DUKE OF RICHMOND.

1527. A corporax of crimsen velvet.
iij corporaces of damask.

Camden Miscellany, 1855; Vol. iii. p. 13.

GUSSAGE ST. MICHAEL, DORSETSHIRE.

1552. j corporas of Black Velvet.

Notes and Queries for Somerset and Dorset, 1895; Vol. iv. p. 31.

CALNE, WILTSHIRE.

1552. Item, j rede corpores cloth of felvet & satten.

Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine, 1858; Vol. iv. p. 208.

WALTHAM ABBEY.

1558. Item, three corporasses, whereof two white silk and one blew velvet.

Thomas Fuller, *History of the University of Cambridge and of Waltham Abbey*, London, 1840; p. 275.

BODMIN, CORNWALL.

1566. One corperal of red velut & a nother of grene.

Sir J. Maclean, *History of the Deanery of Trigg Minor*, London, 1868; Vol. i. Appendix ii. p. 341.

[1] Nichols, *Illustrations, etc.* 115.

[2] *Cf.* At S. Ewen's, Bristol, 1460: "Item for purpal sylk to the couerchyf . . . for the best coupe and the iiij stones of syluer ouer gylt and the makyng thereof, xjd" (*Trans. Brist. and Glouc. Arch. Soc.* xv. 171.)

The next may refer to the case or to the corporas; it is not clear which:

GREYFRIARS CHURCH, BRIDGEWATER. (At the Dissolution.)

v corporasseys wth ther casseys on sylke

W. A. J. Archbold, *The Somerset Religious Houses*, Cambridge, 1892; p. 227.

There are a few entries in the inventories like the following:

MELFORD, SUFFOLK.

1529. Two corporasses with the cloths of crimson velvet embroidered with gold.

T. P. Neale, *Views of Collegiate and Parochial Churches*, 1825; p. 20.

CRANEBOURNE, DORSETSHIRE.

1552. j corporas blewe veluet with a cloth.

Notes and Queries for Somerset and Dorset, iv. 56.

NUNNERY OF ST. MARTIN, DOVER.

1538. Item vij old corporacę of div̄s cullors silk, w^{t} vij kurchers to the same.

W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicum*, iv. 542.

These may mean, either that the term "corporas" was here applied to the corporas-case, which does not seem altogether certain, as in the Melford inventory the quotation is immediately followed by an entry of a corporas-case: or else that the veil for the chalice was called "the corporas," and "the cloth" was applied to that on which the priest consecrated. In the Lady chapel of St. Paul's Cathedral,[1] 1445, there was "unum corporale de viride veluto posterius, et salutacione angelica interius": this seems to be corrupt,—*interius* for *anterius;* and the description would certainly fit the burse better than the corporas cloth. At Windsor[2] in 1377 there were two corporasses, one *de ale*, and the other *de ravidale:* what these words mean I have not been able to find out.

We have some corroborative evidence from abroad. Dominic Soto (1494–1560) states that in very many churches in Italy, Germany, and England he observed that they did not use that square linen cloth which the Spanish call *filiola* (*i.e.* the lesser corporas), but employed a sort of silken cover (*tabella*) for enveloping the chalice while it was on the altar, except at the sacring.[3] This silk coverlet or corporas is singularly like what is known as by the name of "the silk chalice veil" in the modern Roman use: so like, in fact, that we may assume that the one was the origin of the other.

At All Saints, High Wycombe, Bucks.,[4] in 1475, there was "a kercheffe[5] of plesans with

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[1] *Archaeologia*, l. 522.

[2] Dugdale, *Mon. Anglic.*, 1817–1820; Vol. vi. p. 1365.

[3] Quoted by August. Krazer, in *De Liturgiis*, Aug. Vindel. 1786; p. 508.

[4] *Historical MSS. Commission*, 5th Report, Appx. p. 555.

[5] Kerchief is a common name for a corporas in old accounts and inventories: *e.g.* YATTON, 1459, "for a carchawe to the chals ij^{d}. (*Som. Ch. Accts.* 101). ST. EWEN'S, BRISTOL, 1460, "A couerchyf to serue the best coup for pryncepal dayes" (*Brist. and Glouc. Arch. Soc.* xv. 171). ASHMERE, DORSET, 1552, "ij corporas cases & a charchef" (*Notes and Queries for Somerset and Dorset*, iv. 100). STRATTON, CORNWALL, *c.* 1553, "v corporis cassis and ij kyerchares" (*Archaeologia*, xlvi. 231). Compare "iij of my best kerchers to make iij corporas" (*Will of Mrs. Jone Porter*, 1529. F. W. Weaver, *Wells Wills*, London, 1890; p. 187); "to the hye awter [of Compton Martyn] a lawnd kerchew" (*Will of Mrs. Elsabeth Mayne*, 1534. *Ibid.* 62). See also *Bury Wills*, Camden Society, 1850; pp. 117, 134.

a bordur of sylke and golde," which in all probability was used as a corporas. Halliwell describes "pleasauntes" as a kind of lawn or gauze; and it is evident from the following quotation that it was a semi-transparent fabric: "Their faces, neckes, armes & handes, couered with fyne pleasaunce blacke: Some call it Lumberdynes, which is merueylous thine so that thesame ladies seemed to be nygrost or blacke Mores."[1] It probably was a cotton material similar to fine muslin.

Diaper does not seem to have been used for corporasses, at least for those in use at mass, probably because of its thickness: but at St. Margaret Pattens,[2] in 1470, there was "a corporax case of rede velvet w[t] gren trulove flowres, and a cloth of dyaper for the pyxte therein." Also there was at All Saints, Bristol, in 1464, "i Case of blewe bawdkyn w[t] a corporas of Dyapyr" (MS. Accounts.) Friar John Peckham, in his constitution *Dignissimum*,[3] ordained that the Eucharist was to be placed in a most fair linen cloth, a corporas in fact, inside the Pyx, and Lyndewode[4] refers it to the same rule as the rest of the altar-linen.

Although, as we have seen, corporasses of rich material were employed for covering the chalice in some churches, yet the practice was not universal, and in the majority of cases the rules were obeyed. Almost all inventories mention *pairs* of corporasses of some sort of linen, and comparatively few a coloured or rich corporas: moreover, in some instances in the sixteenth century it is recorded that linen was used for covering the chalice, as for example in the accounts of Stratton, Cornwall,[5] in 1526, there is an entry, "For iij quarters of crescloth for to cover the chalys, iij[d]." Halliwell explains cress cloth as very fine linen, and it was used at Stratton also for altar-cloths and the childrens' rochets (see note on p. 149). At St. Matthew, Friday Street,[6] London, in 1549, there was "paid for iij qrs of lynnen clothe to lape the Communion Cupe in, ix[d]."

The employment of any material other than linen for the corporas-cloths is by no means commendable: on the contrary, it was a falling away from the canon, and the old customs and traditions of centuries, and a development on bad principles.[7]

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[1] *Hall's Chronicle*, London, 1809, p. 514. He also mentions "kerchiefes of pleasaunce backed with fyne gold," and "vochettes of pleasantes." At St. John's, Glastonbury, 1428, there was "j canape cum ij foletts de plesauns pro corpore Christi" (*Notes and Queries for Som. and Dorset*, iv. 144.) *Cnf.* "A kerchief of sypers to make a corpas," Croscombe, 1478 (*Som. Ch. Accts.* 6).

[2] *Archaeological Journal*, 1885; Vol. xlii. p. 48.

[3] Lyndewode, *Provinciale*, Lib. iii. Tit. 25, p. 248.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 248: *sub vocibus* Lino candidissimo.

[5] *Archaeologia*, 1880; xlvi. 208.

[6] *Jour. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* 1869; xxv. 365.

[7] When the Church orders linen and private individuals choose to use silk and other rich stuff, they can only do so from a desire to do honour to *themselves*, or they would bear in mind that "to obey is better than sacrifice."

SOME NOTES ON THE BEGINNING AND GROWTH OF THE USAGE OF A SECOND GOSPEL AT MASS.

BY

E. G. CUTHBERT F. ATCHLEY.

In the mass according to the use of the modern Roman Church, and as a private "devotion" in some Anglican Churches, the priest after the blessing reads the first fourteen verses of the Gospel according to St. John. Of the many that are accustomed to hearing or reading this gospel, few have any idea when or why the custom began. It is the purpose of these notes to endeavour to demonstrate its origin and trace its developments.

The earliest mention that we have of this gospel (used for votive purposes[1]), which is usually known by its first two words *In principio*, is in the tenth canon of a council held at Seligstadt,[2] near Mainz, in the year 1022 A.D., which prohibits layfolk in general, and matrons especially, from hearing daily the gospel, *In principio erat Verbum*, and votive masses such as those "of the Holy Trinity" or "of St. Michael": these were only to be said at their proper seasons, unless any of the faithful wished to hear the mass solely out of reverence for the Holy Trinity, and not for any magical purpose: the council, unfortunately does not give us any information how they were thus employed.

Towards the end of the next century, we get a little more light thrown on the subject. By this time there had grown up a habit of multiplying introits and gospels at low mass, a custom which Giraldus Cambrensis[3] condemns as new and uncanonical, and which he says arose from the greed of the clergy, because soldiers and layfolk in general used to make their offerings at certain gospels for which they had a particular fancy just as at the mass itself: soldiers were especially recommended to hear mass of the Epiphany every day, or at any rate the office and gospel, because of the mention of kings, and of offering gold. In France the priests used to say many gospels *before* the mass began, but in England (most probably including Normandy) the same vicious custom obtained *after* mass. In France

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[1] It was, of course, in regular use as the gospel for Christmas Day at a much earlier date.

[2] "Quidam etiam laicorum et maxime matronae habent in consuetudine ut per singulos dies audiant evangelium *In principio erat Verbum* et missas peculiares, hoc est, *de Sancta Trinitate* aut *de Sancto Michaele*: et ideo sancitum est in eodem concilio ut hoc ulterius non fiat nisi suo tempore, et nisi aliquis fidelium audire velit pro reverentia Sanctae Trinitatis, non pro aliqua divinatione: et si voluerint ut sibi missae cantentur de eodem die audiant missas vel pro salute vivorum vel pro defunctis." Canon 10, Council of Seligstadt, 1022 A.D. (*Tomi quattuor Conciliorum omnium . . . . . per F. Laurentium Surium.* Coloniae Agrippinae, 1567; Vol. III, p. 537). This canon is attributed to the Council of Tribur, 895 A.D., in *Decr. Greg. IX:* Lib. III: *De celeb. miss.* cap. ii, and somewhat altered. All collections of Councils place it under Seligstadt.

[3] These statements from Giraldus are in *Gemma Ecclesiastica*, Dis. I; cap. xlviij: *Opera*, edit. J. S. Brewer, Rolls Series, 1862; Vol. II, pp. 126 *sq.* Compare cap. xlix, pp. 130 *sq.*

they used to multiply introits as well as gospels, and we find a twelfth century synodal statute of a Bishop of Paris[1] decreeing that no one should dare to celebrate mass twice in one day, or to double the introit, except in cases of great necessity: and we find the same custom in England also. Of course the reason for not saying the whole mass was because it was forbidden to consecrate more than once a day,[2] except in certain cases of need, amongst which that of receiving the offerings of the congregation does not appear: however, the practice of consecrating more than once prevailed to a noticeable extent even in the thirteenth century.[3] Sometimes the priests used to say several *missae siccae*, down to the offertory, one after the other, and take the offerings; Giraldus tells an amusing story about such a one[4]: but the practice of saying only the office and gospel was by far the more common, doubtless because it was less trouble. Deacons soon took advantage of the teaching that a gospel was as good as a mass, for they could read a gospel just as legitimately as a priest. Nor were subdeacons to be outdone; *dpropos* of which Giraldus relates the following tale: A woman once went to church to return thanks after child-birth, and found a clergyman there whom she asked to say mass for her, or at any rate a gospel, and to receive her offering; but as he was only a subdeacon, he could do neither, but instead read two epistles over her and received the offering, with the remark that "*Two* epistles are certainly equal to *one* gospel!"

This "new and uncanonical custom," however, did not yet obtain in the larger churches, or in cathedral churches and minsters, nor apparently at the High Altars of any church; no priest had ever so presumed: still, in the opinion of Giraldus, the custom (vicious though he states it to be[5]) might be tolerated to a limited extent, supposing that any of the laity should ask for a gospel to be read, out of devotion; yet that only in the smaller churches and altars: and, he says, that it would savour of greater discretion, and less cupidity, if, when an extra gospel was asked for, only the office and gospel of the Sunday should be added; and on Sundays, that "of the Trinity": nevertheless, he repeats, only in the smaller churches and parishes, and in chapels.

Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln, once entered a parish church in his diocese and heard mass[6]:

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[1] "Nullus bis in die missam audeat celebrare, aut cum duplici introitu, nisi in magna necessitate." *Capitula de Sacramento Altaris*, § 9, amongst *Statuta Synod. venerabilium Parisiensium episcoporum Galonis Cardinalis, Odonis, etc.*; contained in *Summa omnium Conciliorum collecta per F. Barth. Carranzam Miranden, Ordinis Praedicatorum; Accesserunt statuta quaedam synodalia Parisiensis et Senonensis ecclesiae, etc.* Parisiis, 1678; p. 788. See also *Giraldus*, II, 126, 282.

[2] Gratian, *De Consecr.* Di. I: cap. 53, *Sufficit sacerdoti.* (*Corpus Iuris Canonici* . . . editum a Petro Pithoeo et Francisco fratre, Parisiis, apud Dionysium Thierry, 1687; tom. i, p. 451.)

[3] Langton in Council of Oxford, 1222 A.D. cap. *Ad haec duximus*; apud Lyndewode, *Provinciale.* Lib. III: Lit. *De celebr. missarum*, Cap. *Ad excitandos*, pars. iv, Oxford, 1679; p. 227. Maurice in Council of Rouen, 1231 A.D., canon 14; in Martène and Durand, *Thesaur. Novus Anecd.*, Lut. Parisiorum, 1717, tom. iv, col. 177. See Martène, *De Antiq. Eccl. Rit.* Lib. I: c. iii: art. iii: § 18: Antwerp, 1736; t. i, col. 290.

[4] *Giraldus* II, 127.

[5] "Multiplicationis vitium illud." *Giraldus*, II, 127.

[6] "Item, vir venerabilis Hugo Lincolniensis Episcopus, transiens aliquando per ecclesiam quandam parochialem, et intrans ut missam audiret, invenit presbyterum ibi divina parochialis suis celebrantem, qui, hostia missa et licentia data, statim coepit evangelia multiplicare, primo 'Initium Sancti Evangelii,' deinde 'Spiritus Domini,' demum 'Salve, Sancta Parens,' et alia quaedam nihil attinentia. Episcopus autem, his auditis, facete subiecit: 'Quid cras dicturus est presbyter iste, qui hodie quod novit totum effudit?' Ut etiam errorem suum, cum ab eruditis inde arguuntur, utcunque tueri possint, dicunt, 'Quia medicina est et phantasma fugat, praecipue Iohannis initium.'" (*Giraldus*, II, p. 129.)

after *Ite missa est*, the priest at once began to multiply the gospels, first with the commencement of St. John, then *Spiritus Domini* (office for Whitsunday), and then *Salve, Sancta Parens* (office of a votive mass of St. Mary), and others besides. When at length all was finished, the saint called out, and wished to know what that worthy priest was going to say on the morrow, seeing that he had said all he knew that day?

It was the common opinion amongst the ignorant and unlearned at the time Giraldus wrote, that these additional gospels "were good physic, and drove away ghosts and phantoms, and especially powerful in this way was the beginning of John." We shall find that this opinion was deeply rooted, and that even now it is not eradicated.

Durandus[1] mentions that some priests of his day used to recite the gospel of St. John or some other after their mass. In the Ordinary of the Friars Preachers, of 1254 A.D., cases are given where a priest might recite the *In principio* whilst unvesting: and the same is allowed in several other ancient missals.[2]

In the early part of the fourteenth century Pope Clement granted an Indulgence of one year and forty days to everyone who recited or heard the gospel *In principio* and kissed something (*osculanti aliquid*) at the words *Verbum caro factum est*, as we find on a flyleaf of a Lincoln Supplement to the Sarum Missal (*circ.* 1400).[3] This doubtless still further increased the popularity of this gospel in the lay mind. Evidently the same Indulgence is referred to, with the addition of an order to genuflect, in the following lines from *The Manner and Mede of the Masse*,[4] written in the latter part of the fourteenth century in the Northumbrian dialect.

ȝit prei ur ladi as I ow telle
þat ȝe forȝete not· þe god-spelle
For þing-þat may bi-falle.
Tac a good entent· þer-to,
Hit is· þe *Inprincipio*
On latin· þat men calle.
A ȝer and fourti dayes· atte leȝt
For verbum caro factum est
To pardoun· haue ȝe schalle.
Mon or wommon· schal haue þis,
þat kneles doun· þe eorþe to kis;
For-þi· þink on hit, alle.

We may observe that the gospel is "for thing that may befal": an object similar to that given above from Giraldus.

A canon was agreed to in the council of Apt[5] in 1365 A.D., which granted "twenty days indulgence to all truly penitent persons who had been shriven, on saying or hearing the office

[1] Durandus, *Rationale Div. Offic.* Lib. IV, cap. 24, § 5, Neapoli, Jos. Dura, 1859; p. 197.

[2] Pierre Le Brun, *Explication .... de la Messe*, Part vi, Art. v, § ii, Paris, 1777; tom. i, p. 670. T. F. Simmons, *Lay Folks Mass-Book*, Early English Text Society, 1879; p. 383.

[3] Given in *Tracts of Clement Maydeston*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 1894; p. 173.

[4] *Lay Folks Mass-Book*, p. 146.

[5] "Nec non dicentibus et audientibus missae Officium Beatae Mariae Virginis, quod dicitur regulariter post missam aliamquamcumque cum S. Iohannis evangelio videlicet, *In principio erat Verbum*, alios dies xx. vere penitentibus et confessis." (Martène and Durand, *Thesaurus novus Anecdotorum*, Ant. Parisiorum, 1717; t. iv, col. 331.) Apt is in the south of France, now in the department of Vaucluse.

of the mass of St. Mary, which was said regularly after mass, together with St. John's gospel, to wit, *In principio.*" Was this office the *Salve, Sancta Parens* mentioned by Giraldus? probably it was so, as we find it still popular in later times.

In 1305 A.D., Archbishop Winchelsey promulgated certain constitutions in a council held at Merton, the 5th of which ordains that stipendiary priests, on Sundays and feast days, or when a corpse was present for mass of *Requiem*, should not begin their masses until after the reading of the gospel at the High Mass. Lyndwode, writing about a century later glosses it, *immo videtur quod non ante solemnem missam finitam*,[1] making the constitution refer to the second gospel: most probably, however, he here expresses the interpretation of the words current in 1400, and not that of 1305; the word *videtur* points to this opinion: and we may compare the ordinance with other similar ones; *e.g.*, at the Church of Farringdon, Berkshire,[2] 1227 A.D., there were certain chantry priests whose masses were to be said, on Sundays and greater feast days, *statim post lectum evangelium solemnis missae de die.* Again in 1354 A.D., the chantry priest of Thomas Nyewe in the Church of Reculver,[3] on the same days, was not allowed to say his mass before the offertory without special permission. And in 1441, the Rector of Bridport[4] prevented the chaplain of St. Katharine from celebrating his mass "before reading the gospel of the parish mass." These last may be taken as confirming the opinion ventured above as they are later than Winchelsey, and one before and the others after Lyndewode wrote his gloss; by his time however *In principio* had much more firmly established itself, although it was not officially recognised in the mass-book. Lydgate in *The Vertue of the Masse*, stanza 4, tells his readers to be present at the morrow-mass from the time the priest rests, until he has done, because—

> To alle thy werk is grete furtheryng
> To abyde the ende of *Inprincipio.*[5]

And in another place he alludes to the genuflection at the end:

> Yowre hertis ye lyft up into the est,
> And al your body and knees bowe adowne,
> Whan the prist seyth *Verbum caro factum est.*[6]

At the Collegiate Church of Tonge in the diocese of Lichfield,[7] in 1410 A.D., they followed the Sarum use in general, but at the end of the daily mass of the Blessed Virgin in the Lady-chapel they used to say the gospel *Missus est Angelus*,[8] except when it had been

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[1] *Provinciale* Lib. III, Tit. *De celeb. Miss.*, cap. *Presbyteri stipendarii*, pars tertia; verb. *Lectum evangelium*, Antwerp, 1525; fol. clxxiij, verso: and Oxford, 1679; p. 238.

[2] *Charters and Documents Illustrating the History of the Cathedral, City, and Diocese of Salisbury*, Rolls Series, 1891; p. 188.

[3] *Litterae Cantuarienses*, Rolls Series, 1887–9, Vol. III, p. 320.

[4] *Historical MSS. Commission, 6th Report*, Appendix, p. 495. But on the other hand Brentyngham, Bishop of Exeter, in 1386: "quod a celebrationibus huiusmodi missarum privatarum ante missam parochialem decantatam . . . se abstineant, ac cessent penitus, et desistant." Wilkins, *Concilia*, London, 1737; Vol. III, p. 199.

[5] *Lay Folks Mass Book*, p. 163.

[6] *Minor Poems*, Percy Society, p. 60: quoted in *L.F.M.B.* p. 385.

[7] W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicum*, J. Caley, H. Ellis, and B. Bandinell, London, 1817–30; Vol. VI, Part iii, p. 1408.

[8] S. Luke, I, 26. The gospel of the Annunciation, 25th March. The collect *Graciam tuam* is the post communion for the same day in the Sarum mass-book, and the collect in the Book of Common Prayer.

previously read at the same mass as the gospel for the day, followed by the collect *Graciam tuam.* We also find that this gospel, according to various MSS. of the York Missal,[1] together with the anthem and collect of St. Mary, might be said in place of *In principio* after the third mass of Christmas Day, and the Chapter-mas during the octaves.

At the end of the fifteenth century the Sarum Missal received the *In principio* gospel, and appointed it to be said by the celebrant on his way back to the vestry. It had previously been placed in the Sarum fifteenth century pontifical now at Cambridge, from which Maskell quotes so frequently in his liturgical works.[2] The Hereford Missal does not order it; nor does it appear in the ordinary of the mass in any York Mass-book, except the Sidney Sussex MS.,[3] although it is referred to apparently by all except Dr. Henderson's MS. C. (fourteenth century) at the end of the third Christmas day mass.

About the same time, or a few years earlier, *In principio* began to appear in many French and other diocesan uses.[4] Martène gives the following: a Rouen missal,[5] and a Rouen Breviary[6]; a Tulle missal[7]; a Jumièges missal according to Evreux use[8]; a missal of Leon in Brittany[9]; and a missal belonging to Ayné, of Lyons use[10]; all of the fifteenth century. In the last-named the gospel was said whilst unvesting at the altar[11]; and this was the general custom, as we have already seen, in England and Normandy at the low altars, for in most cases the priest vested and unvested by the left (or north) corner of the altar at low mass.[12] The puritan writers give witness to the same: thus Becon says: "then ye fall once again to kneeling down at the altar, and because ye are our Lady's knights, ye salute her most humbly with some devout orison. That done ye rise again . . . and saying the beginning of S. John's gospel, ye bless you and cross you . . . After all these things ye truss up your trinkets, &c."[13] And Tindale "thousands while the priest pattereth S. John's Gospel in Latin over their heads, cross themselves, I trow, with a legion of crosses."[14] Lydgate notices this crossing in the verses from which we have already quoted some lines:

> Withe al youre inwarde contemplacioun
> Youre mowthe ferst crosse with hyghe devocioun,
> Kissing the tokens rehersed here aforne.[15]

An interesting MS. of the middle of the fifteenth century describing "The maner of makynge Knyghtes aftar ye custom of England in tyme of peace" tells us that "at ye levacion of the sacrament one of ye govonours shall put of the hode of his maister, and

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[1] *York Missal*, Surtees Society, 1874; Vol. I, pp. 19, 20.

[2] W. Maskell, *The Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England*, 3rd Ed. Oxford, 1882; p. 258.

[3] *York Missal*, I, 204.

[4] Abbot Nicholas de Tudeschis states that it was the general custom in 1488 for *In principio* to be read after each mass. *Lectura supra V libros decretalium*, Basel, 1488; t. 3, FF4 verso. See below, p. 158, note 9.

[5] Martène, *De Antiquis Ecclesiae Ritibus*, Lib. I: cap. iv: art. 12: ordo xxvi: Antwerp, 1736; Tom. I: col. 638.

[6] *Ibid.* Ordo xxxvij: col. 678. [7] *Ibid.* Ordo xxxi: col. 652. [8] *Ibid.* Ordo xviij: col. 645.

[9] *Ibid.* Ordo xxxiv: col. 664. [10] *Ibid.* Ordo xxxiij: col. 661.

[11] This is also found in the Paris missal of 1504: see below, p. 159.

[12] For an instance of this, see, amongst other places, N. Pocock's edition of Archdeacon Harpsfield's *Pretended Divorce between Henry VIII. and Queen Katherine*, Camden Society, 1878; p. 235.

[13] *Works of Thomas Becon*, Parker Society; Vol. III, *Prayers, etc.*, p. 282.

[14] Tindal's *Answer to More*, Parker Society, p. 61.

[15] *Minor Poems*, Percy Society, p. 61: quoted in L.F.M.B. p. 385.

afftar ye syght of ye sacrament he shall do it on agayne tyll *In principio* be begunne: and then one of his govenours shall put of his hode and make hym stonde and holde ye sayd taper in his honde, havynge in ye sayde taper stikynge a peny nye to the light: and when ye priste saythe *Verbum caro factum est* he shall knele downe and offer ye taper and ye peny to ye worshipe of God and ye peny to ye worshipe of hym that shall make hym knyghte."[1] A somewhat later MS. further illustrates the same practice, this time at solemn masses of *Requiem*: the writer is giving rules for the conduct of "The Enterments of Noble Men"; and after premising that there were to be three masses, the first "of oure Ladye," the second "of the Trynete," and the third "masse of *Requiem*, by the noblest Prelate *in Pontificalibus*," he continues, "the offeringe done, the sermon to begin; and at the laste ende of the Masse (at *Verbum caro factum est*) the banners of the armes or pennons to be offered."[2] And that this was the actual practice we know from Leland's description of the funeral of Prince Arthur in 1502 A.D.,[3] where we read, "At the time of St. John's Gospel, Sir Griffith ap Rice offered to the Deacon the rich banner": and from Strype's account of Henry VIII.'s funeral,[4] "after the sermon the mass (of *Requiem*) proceeded to the end, and at *Verbum caro factum est* the Lord Windsor offered the Standard of the Lion."

After the introduction of the English Communion Service of 1548 A.D., the priests used to read the second gospel in English instead of in Latin. N.D. in a work entitled *A treatise of the Three Conversions of England*, written towards the end of Elizabeth's reign, tells us "after that again, the Epistles and Gospels in English and then the Canon of the mass in Latin, and lastly the Benediction and last Gospel in English."[5]

In Scotland it was inserted into the mass-book at a somewhat earlier date than in England: the Arbuthnott Missal, which is a Sarum book adapted for the use of the diocese of St. Andrews, of the fifteenth century, has a rubric at the end of the Ordo missae[6] requiring the priest, after having given the blessing with the paten, to say the gospel *In principio* whilst he took off his chasuble. Moreover, at the end of the votive mass *de nomine Iesu*, many persons considered that it should be replaced, so the rubric of the Arbuthnott Missal tells us, with the gospel *Apprehendit Pilatus Iesum et flagellavit eum*, followed by the appropriate collect.[7] This is the Passion of our Lord according to St. John as arranged by John xxii, and endowed with an indulgence of three hundred days.[8]

We find *In principio* after mass in the Ambrosian Liturgy as printed by Martène from the edition of 1560 A.D.[9]

In general this gospel was read after the blessing, and facing the altar, as it is in the present Roman use: but in a Breviary quoted by Martène, containing an *Ordo missae* of

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[1] MS. Nero C ix, 168b, in *Three fifteenth century Chronicles*, Camden Society, 1880; pp. 108, 109.

[2] MS. Tiberius E viij, quoted in Strutt, *Manners and Customs of the English*, London, 1774–6; Vol. III, pp. 162 *sq.*

[3] Leland, *Collectanea*, W. and J. Richardson, London, 1770; Vol. V, p. 380.

[4] Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, Bagster, London, 1816; Vol. VI, p. 289.

[5] *A Treatise of the Three Conversions of England*, by N.D. author of *The Wardword*. Reprinted by Henry Hills, London, 1688; p. 206.

[6] *Liber Ecclesie Beati Terrenani de Arbuthnott, Missale secundum usum Ecclesiae Sancti Andreae in Scotia*, Burntisland, 1864; p. 164.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. xcix.

[8] *Missale d us um Insignis et Praeclarae Ecclesiae Sarum*, Burntisland, 1861–83; col. 890.*

[9] Martène *op. cit.* Ordo iij: col. 489.

Rouen use of the fifteenth century, it is ordered to be read *before* the blessing[1]: and in an MS. Codex belonging to the Abbey of Bec the verses of the first chapter of St. John beginning at *Et verbum caro* to *plenum gratiae et veritatis* inclusive are alone read, instead of the usual number, also *before* the blessing, which is given with the chalice.[2] In the Orthodox Armenian Liturgy it is also appointed to be read before the blessing, and, according to the version printed by Hammond in his *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, facing the people: a direction omitted in the new edition by Brightman,[3] but which was carried out at the Armenian mass at St. John's, Westminster, a few months ago. Its introduction is comparatively recent and due to Roman influence.

One MS. of York use (Dr. Henderson's MS. C, fourteenth century) refers to the custom of reading a gospel after mass, in smaller churches where there was only one priest, to commemorate a vigil when it concurred with an Emberday[4]; for which purpose the gospel of the vigil was read: the other books and MSS. of York use order the *missa de Vigilia* (MS. B.) to be read after mass, or else *memoria cum toto Officio Missae de Vigilia* (the rest), that is, a *missa sicca*: this one, while ordering a gospel after mass in the case specified, omits the rubric on Christmas day referring to the custom of saying St. John's gospel after mass, nor does it make any reference to it after the *Ordo missae*.

According to the modern Roman mass-book,[5] when *In principio* is the gospel for the day, as at the third mass of Christmas day, the Epiphany gospel is said after mass instead: but in the Sarum missal there is no such rule. Moreover, when a feast concurs with a Sunday or a feria with a special gospel of its own, according to modern Roman use, the dominical or ferial gospel is used instead of St. John's. The germ of this method of commemorating a displaced mass has already been seen in the fourteenth century York MS. cited above: but in Mediæval England so long as there were two priests this did not obtain; at any rate the rules do not mention such a custom, but are rather opposed to it than otherwise.

On the other hand the use of a second gospel would not appear to be quite universal, for there is no mention of it in the poem known as the *Lay Folks Massbook*, all the texts of which state that the mass is all done after *Ite, missa est*[6]: as the various texts range from about 1370 to early in the sixteenth century, and as they further show many adaptations to circumstances, it is surprising that *In principio* is ignored. Again, one might perhaps have expected an allusion to it in the story of Sloth, who lay abed in Lent until the secular churches had done matins and mass, and then went to the friars: "Come I to *Ite, missa est*, I hold me yserved," he says.[7] The Dominicans, at any rate, had taken up with the custom many years before 1377 A.D., the date of this text of Piers the Plowman.

In 1541 A.D. Gardiner and some others presented a *Book of Ceremonies* to Convocation which gave a rationale of the mass: but while it mentions the blessing after mass which,

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[1] *Ibid.* Ordo xxxvij: col. 678.
[2] *Ibid.* Ordo xxxvj: col. 675.
[3] p. 456.
[4] *York Missal*, I, p. 8.
[5] *Missale Romanum ex decreto Sacrosancti Concilii Tridentini restitutum*, Rubricae generales Missalis, XIII. Antwerp, 1682.
[6] *L.F.M.B.* p. 56. John Myrc says nothing about it in his *Instructions to Parish Priests*.
[7] *The Vision of William concerning Piers the Plowman*, Passus V, Early English Text Society, 1873; Vol. II, p. 79.

though long established,[1] had not been put in the mass-book, yet it ignores the "last gospel" which *was* therein.[2] So also does the English Communion service of 1548, and the prayer-book of Edward VI. in 1549.

Perhaps we may account for this omission by the great abuse of *In principio* in the fourteenth and following centuries. The mendicant friars or limitours used to go about from house to house begging for money or alms in kind, in return for which they used to recite this gospel. In the prologue to the Canterbury Tales (*circa* 1395 A.D.) Chaucer tells us of his friar:

> He wasthe beste beggere in his hous;
> For thogh a widwe hadde noght a sho,
> So plesaunt was his *In principio*
> Yet wolde he haue a ferthing, er he went.[3]

And the writer of that satirical attack on the Friars, known as *Jack Upland*, 1401 A.D., asks

> Why hate ye the Gospelle to be preached
> Sith ye be so much hold thereto?
> For ye win more by yeare
> With *In principio*
> Than with all the rules
> That ever your patrones made.[4]

And Tindale in his *Answer to Sir Thomas More* 1530 A.D.: "Such is the limitours saying of *In principio* from house to house."[5]

Another superstitious abuse was to wear a piece of parchment or paper with *In principio* written or printed on it, round the neck, to act as a charm to put away dreams, drive away devils, and even to preserve the wearer from drowning. As Tindale says, "And such is that some hang a piece of S. John's gospel about their necks"[6]: and again, "God saith, if thou believe Saint John's Gospels, thou shalt be saved, and not for bearing of it about thee, with so many crosses."[7] Miles Coverdale, 1545 A.D., also mentions the custom of "hanging S. John's gospel, or an *Agnus Dei*, about our necks."[8] Among the matters forbidden by the Injunctions of Edward VI. in his second year, is "bearing about . . . . S. John's Gospel . . . . to the intent thereby to be discharged of the burden of sin, or to drive away devils, or to put away dreams and fantasies."[9] Three hundred and fifty years before this we have seen the same notions recorded by Giraldus as prevalent amongst the unlearned of his day. Bale speaks of "that blessed holy mother the church which sometime had . . . . so much holy water for

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[1] It is ordered, *circ.* 1300 A.D., in *The Evesham Book*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 1893; col. 4, 9, 16. It is mentioned in Hampole's *Pricke of Conscience*, Book IV, l. 3405: edited by R. Morris, Ascher and Co., Berlin, 1863; p. 93. Also in the *Song of Roland*, l. 583 (end of fourteenth century), printed with *The Sege off Melayne*, E.E.T.S., extra Series, 1880: by Chaucer, in *The Personnes Tale*, Penitence, Part ii, at the end: Lyndewode, *Provinciale* Lib. III, Tit. *De celeb. miss:* cap. *Presbyteri stipendarii*, pass tertia, verb. *maioris missae*, Oxford, 1679; p. 238. And very frequently after 1400 A.D.

[2] Strype, *op. cit.* Vol. VI, p. 184.

[3] *The complete works of Geoffry Chaucer*, ed. W. W. Skeat: *The Canterbury Tales*, ll. 252, *sqq.* 1894; p. 3.

[4] *Political Poems and Songs*, Rolls Series; Vol. II, 23.

[5] III, 6c. [6] III, 61. [7] III, 110.

[8] *Works*, Parker Society, I, 511.

[9] *Works of Thomas Cranmer*, Parker Society, II, 503. Christiana Ongham, 1455, left a silver girdle inscribed with *In principio erat verbum.* R. Sharpe, *Calendar of Wills*, London, 1889; Vol. II, p. 528.

spirits, and S. John's gospels with the Five Wounds and the Length of our Lord, for drowning."[1] Calfhill, 1565 A.D., also mentions the superstition of "carrying about S. John's gospels,"[2] and that the priests used to give them "to hang about mens' necks."[3] This superstition seems to have lingered on till the end of the sixteenth century: George Giffard in 1593 writes in his *Dialogue concerning Witches and Witchcraft*, as follows: "I have heard—I dare not say it is so—that shee weareth about her Saint John's Gospel, or some part of it."[4]

"The additional gospels are good medicine, especially the beginning of John." With this reputation it is not surprising to find that the beginning of St. John's gospel was read over persons, as well as carried about, to charm away, and even to prevent, disease. In St. Austin's days it was the gospel at the mass for the newly-baptized at Easter, to which the saint refers several times in his sermons[5]: and from this fact very possibly arose the later practice of reading it either after a part of St. Mark's gospel, or alone, over the newly-baptized infant who was laid upon the altar the while: the gospel being all that remained of the original *missa neophytorum*. This custom was observed in England,[6] and at Paris, Sens, Reims,[7] and Limoges.[8]

Whatever its origin may have been, the intention with which it was recited in England in mediæval times is plainly stated in the Sarum Manual; though not compulsory, it might be read *si placuerit, quia secundum doctores maxime valet pro morbo caduco*: because it was a powerful preventive of epilepsy, a disease also known as *morbus Sancti Iohannis*. John of Gaddesden in his *Rosa Anglica*, about 1310 A.D., mentions the use of another gospel, that which is read in September in Harvest-time,[9] for the purpose of curing a demoniac or an epileptic. It was to be read over him by a priest in church on a Sunday, and then the patient was to wear it round his neck.[10]

Although *In principio* was omitted in the service used by the Kings of England on Good Friday for hallowing Cramp-rings, it was not forgotten in the ceremonies for healing the

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[1] *Image of Both Churches* (1553-59) in *Selections from Bale*, Parker Society, 525.

[2] *Works*, Parker Society, 17. [3] *Ibid.*, 111.

[4] Quoted by T. Wright, in *Literature and Superstitions of England in the Middle Ages*, London, 1846; Vol. I, p. 281.

[5] *S. Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis Episcopi Opera*, Opera et studio Monachorum Ordinis Sancti Benedicti e Congregatione Sancti Mauri, Antwerp, 1700; tom. v, col. 675 *sq.* *Sermones* 225, 226. Compare also *Sermones* 117-121. Martène, *op. cit.* Lib. IV: cap. 25: § 22; III, 487. It is the present gospel for Easter Day in the Holy Orthodox Church (G. V. Shann, *Euchology*, Kidderminster, 1891; p. 480).

[6] *The York Manual*, Surtees Society, 1874; pp. 18, 19. Sarum Manual (in appendix to the same volume), pp. 15,* 16.*

[7] Martène, *op. cit.* Lib. I: cap. i: art. xv: § 18; I, col. 157.

[8] *Ibid.* Ordo xviii: col. 215.

[9] Ember-Wednesday in September seems to have been regarded as a thanksgiving day for the Harvest. The proper preface in the Gregorian Sacramentary (*S. Gregorii Mag. Opera omnia.* Studio et labore Monachorum ordinis S. Benedicti e congregatione Sancti Mauri, Parisiis, 1705; t. iii, col. 132: cnf. *Communio*, col. 721), and the *Missal of Robert of Jumièges* (Henry Bradshaw Society, 1896, p. 133), refers to it, *Aeterne Deus, qui nos ideo collectis terrae fructibus per abstinentiam tibi gratias agere voluisti, etc.* The two lessons in the Sarum mass-book, Amos ix, 13 to the end, and Nehemiah viii, 1-10, and the Secret (*Missale Sarum*, Burntisland, 1861-83; col. 540), all refer to the same idea. The gospel is S. Mark, ix, 17-29. Compare *The Leonine Sacramentary*, Feltoe, Cambridge Press, pp. 113, 114, 116, 117, 169, 170, for similar allusions.

[10] Quoted by Edward Berdoe, *The Origin and Growth of the Healing Art*, London, 1893; p. 327. There was to be also a preparatory three days' fast, then mass was to be heard on Friday and on Saturday, with the gospel read as above on Sunday. Cf. *Missale ad usum Percelebris Ecclesiae Herfordensis*, Leeds, 1874; p. 447.

King's Evil.[1] In the forms of service used by English Sovereigns from Henry VII. down to James II. inclusive, the sufferers were handled or touched during the reading of a gospel from St. Mark[2] (the same was read after a baptism, and it is mentioned by John of Gaddesden above), after which *In principio* was read: and during the verse *Erat lux vera*, He was the true Light, (*In mundo erat* in Elizabeth's form), the sovereign signed the forehead or the part affected with a perforated gold coin, and then hung it round the patient's neck (the signing was omitted by James I. and the two Charles). Forms of service were provided for Anne and George I., but in both *In principio* is absent. Even as late as the year of Grace 1896, an instance was brought under my notice of "St. John's gospel" being read over an Irish lady to cure her sore throat: she told me that it is often done in Ireland at the present day.

Intimately connected with power of healing is power of exorcising in the demon-theory of sickness, which was the general belief of the middle ages. We have seen how the beginning of St. John's gospel[3] was credited in England with exceptional power to drive away devils, ghosts, and phantoms. Durandus[4] informs us that a gospel will expel a devil *sua virtute*, because there is nothing devils hate so much as a gospel. St. Norbert,[5] his biographer tells us, caused many gospels to be read, on a certain occasion, over the head of a young girl possessed of a devil. St. Hugh of Lincoln[6] is related to have cured a demoniac by reading *In principio erat verbum* over him. We find "St. John's gospel" in a very old exorcism printed by Dr. Sparrow Simpson, which closely resembles the service for healing the King's Evil[7]: in the *Rituale Sacramentorum Romanum* of 1584, an exorcism against demoniacs read at Rome in St. Peter's before the Lord's Pillar[8]: in the modern *Rituale Romanum* as the first of several gospels in the form for exorcising one possessed[9]; and in a MS. of the seventeenth century printed by Dr. Sparrow Simpson, containing a number of other magic formulæ and charms.[10]

At mass on Sundays, bread was hallowed and distributed to the congregation, and known as Holy Bread, or the Eulogia, which in common opinion had similar powers of driving away evil. Many formulæ for this rite begin with a gospel, frequently *Abiit Iesus*

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[1] *Journal of British Archæological Association*, 1871; Vol. XXVII, pp. 284 *sq*. See also D. Wilkins, *Concilia*, Vol. IV, p. 476, for the form used by Henry VII, which is given by W. Maskell, *Monumenta Ritualia*, Oxford, 2nd Ed. Vol. III, p. 387. A later form is in Bp. Sparrow's *Collection of Canons, etc.*, 1671; p. 165.

[2] S. Mark ix, 17–29. "Respondens unus de turba, dixit ad Iesum: Magister attuli ..... nisi in oratione et ieiunio."

[3] Not only S. John's gospel, but also S. John's wort, *Hypericum perforatum*, was supposed to expel demons. (*Magna Vita* S. *Hugonis*, Rolls Series, 1864; pp. 271, 273.) It had great reputation as a salve for wounds until this century. See John Gerarde, *The Herball*, London, 1633; p. 541.

[4] Durandus, *Rationale Div. Off.*, Lib. IV: cap. 24: § 21.

[5] "Inchoata igitur ministerio, uentum est ad evangelium, et illa applicata ad altare, plurima evangelia super caput eius lecta sunt." (Vita S. Norberti, cap. xx, die vi Iunii, apud Laurentium Surium, *De vitis Sanctorum*, Venetiis, 1581; t. iii, fo. 169.)

[6] "Evangelicum interim capitulum, scilicet *In principio erat verbum*, voce suppressa percurrens." (*Magna Vita*, 275.) The bishop seems to have tried to hypnotize the man afterwards: "percurso itaque evangelio usque ad locum ubi dicitur *Plenum gratiae et veritatis*, erexit se episcopus, et patientem aliquam diu tacitus consideravit." (p. 276.)

[7] *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, 1871; Vol. XXVII, p. 295.

[8] *Rituale Sacramentorum Romanum*, Romae, 1584; p. 694. This edition is attributed to Cardinal Severinus.

[9] *Rituale Romanum Pauli V.* De exorcizandis obsessis a daemonio (Mechlin, Dessain, 1876; p. 401.)

[10] *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, 1884; Vol. XL, p. 327.

trans mare Galilaeam (John vi, 1–14)[1]: but in England *In principio* was used in its place on Sundays where the Sarum books obtained.[2] It may be that the bread was blessed at the altar immediately after the recitation of the last gospel, as *In principio* is not in the York formulæ or *Ordo missae*. Yet there seems to be a connection between the two, and they are coupled together in Edward VI.'s injunctions[3] as being used for much the same objects. Robert of Brunne says, that Holy Bread availed for "life's travail" as well as "soul's help," and that it was "husel against the fiends" in case of sudden death.[4] Ridley says that it was received to obtain health of mind and body.[5] But the popular idea lingered on till Herrick's time, and he notices it in the following lines:

Bring the Holy Crust of Bread
Lay it underneath the Head:
'Tis a certain Charm to keep
Hags away while Children sleep.[6]

and again:

If ye fear to be affrighted
When ye are by Chance benighted,
In your Pocket for a Trust
Carry Nothing but a Crust:
For that Holy Piece of Bread
Charms the Danger and the Dread.

This is exactly what *In principio* was credited with doing, and we shall not be far from the truth in supposing that the powers of the gospel were thought to be conferred on the bread over which it was recited; long after the rite of hallowing was disused, we still find the magic powers attributed to bread, though unhallowed.

On the feast of St. John the Evangelist, wine was blessed with some ceremony as a protection against poison. We see an instance of this in a Roman *Sacerdotale* printed at Venice in 1579.[8] Here again *In principio* was read over the wine first of all. An earlier edition contains a service for blessing a new ship, at the end of which is *In principio* followed by *Salve Regina* and the collect *Concede nos*.[9]

At Liège,[10] in 1553, this gospel was read by the priest over the newly-wedded couple after the marriage-mass, special stress being laid on the words *Verbum caro factum est et habitavit in nobis*, which "contain the Holy Mysteries of Wedlock." The same verses were

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[1] For example, that in Durandus' Pontifical, quoted by Martène, *op. cit.* Lib. IV: cap. 28: § iv; III, col. 540.

[2] *Manuale ad usum Insignis Ecclesiae Sarum*, in the Appendix to *Manuale et Processionale ad usum Insignis Ecclesiae Eboracensis*, Surtees Society, 1875; p. 31*. See also *Missale Sarum*, Burntisland, 1861–83; col. 35**, from the Paris edition of 1526.

[3] *Cranmer's Works*, II, 503.

[4] *Handlynge Synne*, ll. 837 *sq.*, in L.F.M.B. p. 336.

[5] *Works*, Parker Society, p. 107.

[6] *Hesperides*, Charms; Morley's Universal Library, p. 221: Canterbury Poets Series, p. 169.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 251, Edit. Morley: p. 172, Canterbury Poets Series.

[8] *Sacerdotale ad consuetudinem S. Romanae Ecclesiae*, Venetiis, 1579; fo. 206.

[9] *Liber sacerdotalis*, Venetiis, 1537; fo. 223.

[10] Martène, *De Antiq Eccl. Rit.* Lib. I: cap. ix: art. v: ordo xiv; Vol. II, col. 387.

read at Amiens,[1] over the married couple in the evening, after the blessing of the marriage-bed. When a woman was not well enough to come to church to give thanks after child-birth at Châlons in Champagne,[2] the priest came and read the beginning of St. John's gospel over her and then gave her *pain bénit*. In some parishes in Limoges,[3] at public churching, after blessing bread, the priest used to place the end of his stole on the woman's head whilst he read *In principio*: and the same passage, followed by the gospel *Postquam impleti sunt dies purgationis Mariae*,[4] appears in the form of the same service given in the above-mentioned *Sacerdotale Romanum*.[5]

When we first hear of the custom of reciting *In principio*, it is to find that it was forbidden to be heard by the laity, and especially married women (amongst whom the practice seems to have been well established in the beginning of the eleventh century, at any rate around Mainz), because it was done for some magical purpose, and not for reverence or devotion. It may be that the gospel and votive masses were said with the intention of doing hurt to another, as in the next century imprecatory masses were said over waxen images in the hope of harming the originals of the said images[6]; but it is more probable that the object of the married women was fecundity. Giraldus tells a story of one of Henry I.'s numerous mistresses, who heard mass of *Rorate caeli desuper*[7] every day for a whole year, by the advice of her chaplain, in the vain hope of becoming pregnant by her royal lover.[8] No doubt this was not a solitary instance, and *In principio* may very probably have been listened to with a like hope on the part of the German matrons of the eleventh century.[9]

As late as the end of the seventeenth century, the gospel of St. John which is directed to be said after mass by the rubric, was, Martène tells us, entirely omitted in a very great number of churches, or else only recited by the priest on his way back to the sacristy; and further, it was quite a recent institution in monastic services, of which there was no mention in the Ritual of the Benedictines of Monte Casino, the Customs-books of Germany, or of the

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[1] *Ibid.* Ordo ix: II, col. 374. [2] *Ibid.* Ordo xi: II, col. 378. [3] *Ibid.* Ordo xii: II, col. 382.

[4] Luke II 22–32. The two gospels are recited directly after mass, in the *Sacerdotale* of 1579, fo. 39.

[5] *In principio* is also appointed at the end of the form of service in the Pontifical of Archbishop Chichele (1414–1443) for blessing the foundation-stone of a Church, immediately after Memorials of St. Mary (*Adorate* [? Rorate] *caeli desuper*) and the Holy Trinity (*Benedicta sit Sancta Trinitas*), and before the final blessing. (*Liber Pontificalis Chr. Bainbridge Arch. Ebor.*, Surtees Society, 1875; Appendix, p. 297.)

[6] *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, II, 137. (*Gemma Ecclesiastica*, Di. i: cap. 49.) "Iterum quod flens dico hoc tantum sacramentum quidam in artem magicam verterunt, celebrando missas super imagines cereas ad imprecandum alicui: etc."

[7] The votive-mass of our Lady in Advent. See *Missale Sarum*, col. 761*.

[8] *Giraldus*, II, 128.

[9] It was perhaps forbidden because the use of the gospel in this way was considered improper, but more likely because the people neglected the ordinary ferial services for these votive devotions. The words of Abbot Nicholas de Tudeschis may be of interest on this: they occur in his "lecture" on Decr. Greg. IX, Lib. III, *De celebr. miss.* cap. ij; *Quidam.* "Propter missam specialem missa de feria dimittenda non est h.d. primo excessus, secundo prouisio. Nota primo quod euangelium *In principio erat verbum* non est de necessitate dicendum in qualibet missa nam si hoc esset uerum non notarent isti laici qui in singulis missis uolebant audire illud euangelium non tamen per hoc putes malum esset in qualibet missa illud audire maxime cum hodie hoc habeat communis consuetudo. Sed damnatur hec suspitio quia credebant isti sicut dicunt quedam uetule quod non potuerunt isti sine poenia decedere audiendo illud euangelium ut quod simile . . . Nota ibi non per alia deuotione quod missa peculiaris non debet audiri nisi principaliter ob reuerentiam Dei et Sanctorum non autem ob aliam deuotionem puta ut habeant meliores segetes." (*Lectura domini Nicolai Abbatis Siculi super V libros decretalium*, Basil, 1488; tom. iii, fo. FF4 *sq.*).

Cluniacs, the Use of the Cistercians, or the Ordinary of the Carthusians.[1] The earliest date at which he found *In principio* in a monastic use was 1608, in the Ordinary of Bursfeld.[2] This statement needs some modification, however; for although we do not find it in England in either the Westminster Mass-book, or the Evesham Book, it was read after mass at the Brigettine Monastery of Syon in the middle of the fifteenth century[3]; and it is also in the Abingdon mass-book, of the same century.[4] The Carthusians to this day never say *In principio* after mass: while the Casaline Benedictines used to say it as they folded up the corporas-cloths.[5]

Claude de Vert states that it was not used at Lyons in the eighteenth century: most likely the missal quoted above pertained to the diocese and not to the cathedral church: he adds that even in churches where it was said by the officiant, the choir ignored it and often sang the office that followed the while.[6]

De Moléon[7] mentions that the last gospel was not said after High mass in the churches of St. John at Lyons, St. Gatien at Tours (but it was said aloud here after Low mass), St. Stephen at Auxerre, St. Stephen at Sens, St. Julian at Le Mans, Our Lady at Chartres, St. Lô and most others in Rouen: that it was said returning to the sacristy and whilst unvesting at S. Martin at Tours, Our Lady at Paris, Our Lady at Reims, and Meaux: and that at the Cathedral church of Rouen though it was said, the congregation went out directly after the blessing, and the choir sang Sext. The Rouen missal of 1604 ordered it to be said whilst unvesting,[8] whilst the Orleans mass-books of 1504 and 1581 do not give it even for Low mass.[9] The Paris missal of 1504 orders *In principio* to be said whilst unvesting at the end of mass: at the end of the third mass of Christmas day the gospel *Pastores* is read instead; *In principio* is also the gospel for Trinity Sunday and *Cum venerit Paracletus*, the gospel for the Sunday after the Ascension, is read on that day after mass.[10] As late as 1846 the celebrant recited St. John's gospel on his way back to the sacristy, and in many other French dioceses it is still so said.[11]

Le Brun also tells us that in several dioceses in France it was said on the return from the altar, and even in the sacristy.[12]

In the story Giraldus tells about St. Hugh which was quoted above, mention is made of other "multiplyings" besides *In principio*, amongst them *Salve Sancta Parens*, the office of the votive Lady-mass said all the year round at Sarum except from Advent to Candlemas.[13] In this case the use of the office persisted, and that of the gospel, which probably at first

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[1] Martène, *De Antiquis Monachorum Ritibus*, Lib. II: cap. iv: § 19: Antwerp, 1738; IV, col. 187.

[2] Gerbert, *Disquisitiones*, I, 405, cited in L.F.M.B. p. 383, gives the date. But Martène in his preface, 1738, says that the Ordinary and Missal of Bursfeld which he used were written *ante annos ducentos*.

[3] G. J. Aungier, *History and Antiquities of Syon Monastery*, Nichols, 1840; Appendix, 327, 404.

[4] J. Wickham Legg, *Missale ad usum Ecclesie Westmonasteriensis*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 1897; Fasciculus III, p. 1506.

[5] Martène, *De Ant. Mon. Rit.* Lib. II: cap. vi: § 40; col. 208.

[6] Claude de Vert, *Explication . . . . . des Cérémonies de l'Eglise*, Paris, 1706; t. i, p. 135.

[7] Le Sieur De Moleon [Le Brun des Marettes] *Voyages Liturgiques de France*, Paris, 1757; pp. 60, 118-9, 159, 169, 222, 230, 246, 292, 404; 124, 127, 246, 428, 432; 369.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 315.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 200.

[10] *Notice Historique sur les Rites de l'Eglise de Paris*, par un prêtre du Diocese, Paris, 1846; pp. 11 *sq.*

[11] *Manuel des Cérémonies selon le Rite de l'Eglise de Paris*, par un prêtre du Diocese [? Abbé Caron], Paris, 846, partie iv, Chap. i, § 39; p. 302.

[12] *Explication . . . . de la Messe*, loc. cit. p. 672.

[13] *Missale Sarum*, col. 779.*

accompanied it, died out. There is an instance of this being said at Tours after mass,[1] in this case *missa pro defunctis*, about the year 1170: it is in the Life of St. Thomas of Canterbury by William Stephan's-son, and is spoken of as an established custom. The mass was ordered by the English King instead of the proper mass for the day, so as to avoid the necessity of exchanging the kiss of peace with his archbishop (the pax is not given in mass for the departed); and "after the mass was ended, *Salve, Sancta Parens* was said, as was customary, in veneration of our Lady Mary the ever-virgin." In the next century the Pontifical of Durandus[2] prescribes that at a mass before the bishop, the priest shall go to the same for the Blessing, and recite *Salve, Sancta Parens*, if he liked, on his return to the altar: in the following one we have the second canon of the council of Apt which has already been quoted. *Salve, Sancta Parens* does not seem to have ever been so popular as *In principio*, nor to have had any very special powers attributed to it. Stress came to be laid on the fact that the office was a prayer to, or salutation of, our Lady, and so we find that other similar orisons were substituted for it, such as the *Salve Regina*, the anthem sung after Complin in many places. This latter is appointed to be said *before* mass in a Jumièges book which is according to the use of Evreux[3] of the fifteenth century (it will be remembered that in France[4] offices and gospels were multiplied before mass in the twelfth century): it is appointed to be said *after* mass in MS. belonging to the Monastery of St. Gregory *in valle Gregoriana* in the diocese of Basel,[5] of the same century: after the third mass on Christmas day in the York missal,[6] and the capitular mass in the octaves: in the recension of the Mozarabic use by Archbishop Ximenez,[7] where there is no *In principio*: in the use of the Carmelites about the same time, and perhaps also in England in Becon's time. Judging by his expression "some devout orison" there was no fixed form in use in his days, but each priest said what prayer he pleased. One can hardly say for certain that it was the *Salve Regina* with which our Lady was "saluted humbly" and with kneeling, although this was the attitude in which it was sung after Complin.[8] At Marstoke Priory in 1336 a somewhat unusual form of *Ave Maria* was said by the celebrant after the Lady-mass.[9] The use of the anthem *Salve Regina* is becoming common after mass in the Roman Communion.

While the Roman Missal[10] from the first insertion[11] of *In principio* contained an injunction for the priest to kneel at *Verbum caro factum est*, the Sarum Mass-book did not ever enjoin this, nor does it appear to have been customary for the celebrant to do so,

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[1] *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket*, Rolls Series; Vol. III, p. 115.

[2] Martène, *De Ant. Eccl. Rit.*, Lib. I: cap. iv: art. 12: ordo xxiij; I, col. 620.

[3] *Ibid.* Ordo xxviij: col. 642.

[4] *Gemma Ecclesiastica*, Di. i: cap. 48; *Girald. Cambr. Op.* II, 126.

[5] Martène, *op. cit.* Ordo xxxvii: col. 658.

[6] *York Missal*, I, 19, 20. Quite possibly, however, the Anthem was *Salve, Sancta Parens.*

[7] Martène, *op. cit.* Ordo ij: col. 480

[8] "Cum devota genuflexione," at Tonge, 1411 A.D. in Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicum*, 1817–30; Vol. VI, p. 1408. This devotion became popular during the fifteenth century; see amongst other places, *Mon. Angl.* VI, 1422.

[9] "Ave Maria, gracia plena, Dominus tecum, benedicta tu in mulieribus et benedictus fructus ventris tui, Ihesus, Amen. Et benedicta sit venerabilis mater tua Anna, ex qua tua caro virginea et immaculata processit. *Et respondeat Chorus*, Amen." (Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* VI. 525.)

[10] Ritus celebrandi missam, cap. xii: De benedictione in fine Missae, et Evangelio Sancti Ioannis.

[11] It is usually stated that *In principio* was first inserted into the Roman Missal in 1570, but Dr. Wickham Legg tells me that it occurs in several editions before that date, though not in many.

although, as we have seen, the people used to kneel in many parts of England: at any rate, neither Becon nor any other Puritan writer alludes to a genuflection by the priest in any way.

To sum up: the second gospel and the *Salve* are both remnants of votive *missae siccae*, of which the gospel in the one case, and the office in the other, have alone survived. The custom of saying them arose from the greed of the clergy,[1] who recited them because popular opinion attributed supernatural effects to certain of them; and hence only those gospels were read which brought in money,[2] and any gospel such as that "of the Epiphany" which describes offering, or "of the Holy Innocents" which excited the pity of the women in the congregation,[3] was often read: while masses or gospels *de B. Lino* or *de B. Sebastiano*,[4] etc., which were neither credited with such powers nor stimulated the feelings of the hearers, and consequently were not profitable, were not said. The powers attributed to *In principio* being greatly in excess of those attributed to the others, and being helped by the indulgence of a year and forty days, it speedily outstripped its rivals in popularity, and ultimately got into the mass-book. The devout orison to our Lady, on the other hand, was said in honour of the Blessed Theotokos, but was not inserted into any English mass-book or the Roman missal. It is to be noticed that even after High mass it is not the deacon who reads *In principio*, but always the celebrant; thus preserving a relic of its origin as a *missa sicca bassa*: the *Salve* would in any case be read by him, being the office of the mass. Of course the present intention in reading the beginning of St. John's gospel is quite different. Catalani, commenting on the use of it in exorcisms, remarks that the Devil is greatly afraid of the Gospels, and that this particular one is read to shew forth "the ineffable Being of God and the wondrous Incarnation of the Son of God."[5]

Such is the muddy source whence arose one of the most popular liturgical innovations of the middle ages: one in defence of which there is, perhaps, more to be said than for any of its fellows, from a theological standpoint; but, from the historical point of view, scarcely anything.

The accentuation of the gospel at mass which is visible in what has been recorded above may also be traced in the custom of reading a gospel in the course of the Palm Sunday or Rogationtide processions; in the statement by Bishop Cosin[6] that "in reading the gospel, *and never else*, is adoration made at the name of Iesus": and perhaps also in the rule that one

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[1] "Quae ex sacerdotum inolevit avaritia." (*Gir. Camb.* II, 126.) Compare the following from the life of St. Thomas, by Herbert de Boscham: "Illos vero inpraesentiarum nec memoratu dignos, non Christi sed mammonae sacerdotes, praetereo, qui propter oblationum quaestum unam Christi et semel oblatam hostiam quotidie non semel, sed libentius iterum, non tam consecrant quem dilaniant, Filium Dei quaestui habentes et ostendui." (*Materials for the History of Thomas Becket*, Rolls Series, 1877; Vol. III, 207: and 1879; Vol. IV. p. 286.)

[2] "Facit etiam cupiditas praeter missam diei debitam missas favorabiles." (*Gir. Camb.* II, 131.)

[3] Efficax esse allectorium ad oblationes, propter favorem occisorum." (*Gir. Camb.* II, 137.) This implies that the hearers understood Latin, hence were of some education.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 131. In later times, however, St. Sebastian obtained the credit of being able to cure or prevent the plague, and votive masses *de St. Sebastiano* became common. See T. Rogers, *The Catholic Doctrine of the Church of England*, Parker Society, 1854; pp. 226, 227: and *Missale Sarum*, col. 892.

[5] "Initium Euangelii S. Ioannis, quod ineffabilem Dei essentiam ostendit, et admirabilem Filii Dei incarnationem." (Jos. Catalani, *Rituale Romanum Benedicti Papae XIV*, Patavii, 1760; t. ii, p. 331.)

[6] *Works of John Cosin, Lord Bishop of Durham*, Oxford, 1855; Vol V, *Notes and Collections on the Book of Common Prayer*, p. 90.

should not communicate if one arrives in church after the reading of the gospel for the day; but this may be rather because the Gospel was the beginning of the *missa fidelium*.[1]

Finally, although the Sarum mass-book ordered *In principio* to be said on the way back to the vestry, yet the rubric was not obeyed at Low mass, but it was said aloud at the altar, often while unvesting: and at High mass in connection with public functions the same exception obtained. What the actual practice was at the High mass *de die*, we do not know: but possibly the rubric was obeyed.

[1] See Dr. Wickham Legg's note in *Missale ad Usum Ecclesie Westmonasteriensis*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 1891–7; Fasciculus III, p. 1435.

AN EARLY IRISH TRACT IN THE LEABHAR BREAC DESCRIBING THE MODE OF CONSECRATING A CHURCH.

BY

THE REV. T. OLDEN, D.D., M.R.I.A.

The following is the original of the early Irish Tract on the consecration of a new Church, of which a translation has already appeared in these *Transactions*, Vol. IV. p. 101. It is now printed at the desire of some Irish scholars who wish to study it, the *Leabhar Breac* from which it is taken not being easily accessible :—

INcipit coisecrad eclasi indso no daurthaige núi.

LÍNE andso dorigensat hécnaide eolcha um cháirechtair toraind n eclasi, do erslocud eolais coisecartha eclasi no daurthaige núi, co taisceltar asin líne sea cia mét fotha asan fhasann coisecrad eclasi ocus cia lín fotha fasas as cach fotha díb, *ocus* cia hord fil forsna fothaib ocus forsna fódlaib fasas uadib o thús co deired.

IS amne din taisceltar erslocud in eolais sin asin líne, .i. *sic disponitur, exsurgit nunc Ordo* .i. atraig innosa in t Ord *Consecrationem* .i. in *via* coisecartha na n.ilchoisecarthason na h.eclasi *no in* daurthaige núi. Cia lín in Uirdsin? Ni *ansa* Octduplex [Octtriplex?] .i. octfiltech fo tri .i. tri hocht conadhe a cethar xx fo sodain.

Can didiu atraig in t-Ordsin? Ni *ansa . ex quinis radicibus* .i. onaib mecnaib coicdib .i. fasait na iiii fódla fichet coisecartha na h.eclasi ho choic fóthaib.

Ite na cóic fotha, *Pavimentum*, ocus *altare cum instrumentis suis*, ocus *consecratio deforis cum xii psalmis canticum*, ocus *asparcio aque intus*, ocus *asparcio deforis.*

Cid ém frisi casmail in t.Ord ochtfilltech fo tri atraig asna coic fothaib? Ni *ansa. Similis virgulto rudi*, is casmail don fualascach maeth .i. amail atraig ilar flesc o fuathmecnu *sic* na fódlai o na fothaib.

Toegam tra for corp ar líne beos. *Hoc modo primus exsurgit, vel primo* .i. in cetnai du atraig ém Ord in coisecartha eclasi *solius* .i. na heclasi oenda .i. in láir. Cia lín in Uird *sin*? Ni *ansa . Septiplex* .i. víi filltech ár amail fasait vii flesca a hoenmecon *sic* víi fódla coisecartha as in lár na heclasi. Cadeat na víi fodla hisin fasda as in lar bá chosmailius vii flesc a hoenmecon?

Ni *ansa* . Isi in cetna fódal ém *Intróit* a h.ainm .i. Quando dicitur *Introibo in domum tuum Domine... usque laudabo te.* Ocus in ní chanar iarum in dorus in daurtaige conice in Crand m.bith co canar Pater Noster amail ro gab uli in t Ord isin Libar espoic, is ead tra chanar iar n-dul dar crand m.bith ocus *Factus est in pace locus ejus et domus mea domus orationis vocabitur.*

IShi in fódal tanaise fasas as in lár .i. coisecrad usce ocus salaind do gní in t.espoc cona thinchedul cóir as in Liber espoic airm ambi in Caingel, ocus combuig in salaind hi tri ocus do m.beir in usce ocus beirthe in deochon in usce sin combí fon altoir.

IShi in tres fodail in choisecartha fasas as in lár .i. sailm ocus orthain filet isin Liber espoic *ad ejiciendos demones.*

ISí i*n* cetramad fodal i*n* coisecartha fásas as i*n* lár .i. ṡailm ocus orthai*n* filet isi*n* Lib*er* espoíc .i. *a*[*d*] *maledicendos demones.*

IShi *imorro* in cóiced fodal ḟásas as i*n* lár .i. orthain choisecartha i*n* láir fessin am*ail* ro gab is i*n* Libar epsc*oip.*

IShi i*n* seised fodal i*n* coisecartha fásas as in lár .i. i*n*d apgitir sc*r*iptha fo dí is i*n* lár. Is as a tinnscna i*n* c*et*na apgitir as i*n* uilli*n*d airth*er*-desc*er*taig co f*oir*cnith*er* is i*n* uilli*n*d iarthar-thuaisc*er*taig. Ti*n*nscna i*m*orro i*n*d apgit*ir* tha*n*ai*s*e as i*n* uilli*n*d airtair-thuaisc*er*taig co f*or*cnider is i*n* uillind iarthar-dhesc*er*taig co co*n*racat na dí h.O.O. i*n* medon i*n* láir no co*n*bi . . láir.

IShi in sechtmad [fodal cois]ecartha ḟasas as i*n* lár[1] . . . . . gabsat is i*n* Libur . . . *altaris* i*n* etrum . . . . *ublex* .i. exsurgia .i. *ordo consecrationem* .i. coisecartha na h-altora *co n*a n.aidmib.

Cia lín i*n* Uird si*n*? .i. *Sextuplex* sefilltech .i. am*ail* ḟasait vi flesca a hoe*n* . . . . no a hoe*n* mecon, is aml*aid* ḟasait vi fodla coisecartha as i*n* altoir *co n*a h.aidmib.

IShi in c*et*na fodal coisecartha na h.altora .i. ablu 7 us*ce* ocus fín co mestar in oe*n* lest*ar* i*n*malle ocus coisecarth*ar* am*ail* ro gab ti*n*cetul a coisecartha isi*n* Lib*er* epsc*oi*p. Ocus is aire coisecarth*ar* i*n*a t*ri* si*n* a tosach fo bith ite atopretar f*or*ti do gr*és* ic oiffrind.

Ishí i*n* f*odal* t*á*nai*s*e ḟásas as i*n* altoir .i. coisec*r*ad clair na.haltora budessi*n* .i. do f*oi*rni i*n* epsc*op* fessi*n* cetheora c*r*ossa c*o n*a scín i ceth*ri* ardaib i*n*na altora ocus do f*oi*rni t*r*i c*r*ossa t*ar*a medon i*n*na Altora .i. cross t*ar*a medo*n* tair *co* a hor. ocus cross t*ar* a medo*n* tiar c*o* a hor ocus cross t*ar* a fírmedo*n* fessin ocus do nig clar na h.altora anuas c*us* i*n* us*ce* ocus c*us* i*n* fín ocus c*us* i*n* abluin*d* ocus i*n* ni a*m*bi do*n* us*ce* do fórti i*m* fotha ocus do derna i*n* altoir dia anart bec co*m*bi tiri*m*, ocus adan*n*a i*n*chs illestar bec f*or*si*n* altoir ocus canaid *Dirigatur Oratio mea sicut incensum — usque vespertinum.* am*ail* dórim*e* is i*n* Lib*er* epsc*oi*p, ocus ongaid *co n* oloe choisecartha vii crossa tórai*n*d is i*n* altoir *et dicitur ungore* [*ungere*?] *altare de oleo sanctificato* cos i*n* ti*n*cetul do t.coisc is i*n* Lib*er* Epi*sc*opi.

ISi i*n* tress f*odail* ḟasas as i*n* altoir .i. coisec*r*ad nan-anart ocus a suidiugud f*or* i*n* altoir.

IShi i*n* cethr*am*ad f*odail* ḟasas as i*n* altoir .i. coisec*r*ad i*n*d *Impertoir* .i. na méssi *no* bréit bec dia n.*air*iter corp Cr*ist.*

IShi i*n* coiced f*odail* fásas as i*n* altoir .i. coisec*r*ad i*n* choilig *ut dicitur in Libro Episcopi.*

IShí i*n* seised f*odail* ásas as i*n* altoir .i. coisecrad coicend fil is i*n* Liber Episcopi f*or* si*n* altoir *eo n*a h.uilib áidmib i*m*alle.

O ra rédigsem t*r*a na da fotha thoisechu dori*m*e ar líne cus na teora fódla x ḟásta estib .i. a vii as i*n* lár, a sé as i*n* altoir. Rédigem i*n*nossa a tress fotha c*o n*a ḟódlaib am*ail* dórim*e* i*n* Líne .i. *quatuor ministeriorum ecclesiasticorum triplex exsurgit* .i. at*r*aig Ord coisecartha *quatuor ministeriorum ecclesiæ* .i. na ceith*ri* timterecht n.ecl*as*tacda.

Cia lín side? Ni *ansa.tri*plex .i. defilltech (*sic*). ISe *coi*secrad ocus doefis atrubartmar is na fóthaib ria*mh* ocus it teora fódla ḟásta ass condat xvi fodla sámla as na t*ri* foth*aib* do rurmisiu*m* conad dá fodla ocus viii fódla ardunta do rediugad iaram.

Ceist? cadeat na cethri fodla eclasdacda atrub*r*amar is i*n* tress fothusa? Ni *ansa* . cethri fódla ḟodailter occa coisec*r*ad dianectair 7 cetheora fodla fodail*ter* na dí ṡalm x canticu*m* occo co*n*a n.urfoclaib. Is aire is t*ri*plex in t.ord si*n* fo bíth is t*ri*ar chanus na salmu si*n* dianectair ocus t*ri*ar di*din* no dos can ár medon.

Ce*i*st. cia cruth fodalit*er* i*n* Sailmsi*n* hi iiii fódla? Ni *ansa.* atat dí chetfaid ann la h.ugtaru coisecartha inna h.eclasi.

IShi cétfaid in cetna lochta .i. Teit in t.espo*c* ocus dí ṡacart leiss, asi*n* ec*lais* sechtair ocus fácbuid t*ri* sacairt is in eclais immedon. Teitsiu*m* t*r*a ocus a dí sacart ti*m*chell athuaig co*n*ice i*n* telcholu*m*ai*n* aniar ocus dof*oi*rni i*n* t.escop croiss co*n*a scín isin tulcholu*m*ain anair conid as ind aired

[1] The MS. is illegible here.

o sin anair intinnscana lais *i*[*n*] coisrecrad dianechtair ocus *dicit prius. Fiat pax et habundantia in domu tua Domine ocus* t canait a *tri*úr i*n*a dægaid. *Ad Dominum cum tribularer clamavi et levavi oculos et lætatus sum in his.* Canaid an airfocvl re*m*eper*t*a i for*c*end na t*ri* salm fo gloir ocus *sicut erat in principio nunc et semper.* Ocus a canas an t*ri*ar anec*h*tar iss*ed* chanas na t*ri* sacairt ar medo*n*. Ito chomaitecht fo chutru*m*a fri*ú* ocus is i*m* medon in t.slessa a*n*dess forcendait*er* na t*ri* sailm tóisechusin it*ir* a medo*n* ocus anec*h*tair.

Ti*n*nscna iarsuídiu aurfocal na t*ri* Salm tá*nais* as in airdsin it*ir* a medon ocus anechtair .i. *Domine miserere* nostri, ocus ité na tri Sailm ca*n*t.r ann. *Ad te levavi oculos meos. Nisi quia Dominus. Qui confidit.* co forcnider i*m*medo*n* ocus anec*h*tair oc doras ecl*as*i aniar, fo*n*d erfoccul re*m*eper*t*ha fo gloir et *sicut erat.*

INti*n*nscna atherruch i*m*medon ocus an*c*htair on dorus ániar aurfoccul na t*ri* Salm do coiscedar i.e. *Erit uxor tua sicut vitis habundans in lateribus domus tuæ. IN converteudo dominus, Nisi dominus Beati omnes* co for*c*nedtar i*m*medo*n* ocus an*e*chtair, i*m*medon tslessa na h.ecl*as*i atuaig fon aurfoccul cetna fo gloir ocus *sicut erat.*

Ti*n*nscna di*diu* i*m*medo*n* ocus anechtair asin airdsin atuaig aurfoccul na tri Salm ṅ-dedinach .i. *Sperat Israel in domino et hoc nunc et usque in seculum. Sæpe expugnaverunt . De profundis clamavi. Domine non est.* co for*c*nider ít*ir* i*m*medon ocus anectair ocu*n* taulcholamain aniar fon aurfoccal cetna fo gluair.

Canar .i. . . . on taulcholamain sin an . . . i*m*belaib in tsacairt bis . . . [ca]nar. *Tollite portas . . . rex glorie.* Fr*i*sgair in sacart i[s] sruithe bis isin eclais i*m*medon. *Quis tibi*[1] *est iste rex gloriæ* co frecair amuig in sacart bis for laim clí in epscoip, *Dominus virtutum ipse est rex glorie.*

IN lucht tra is a cetfaid atchuadumar do thindscetal in coisecartha on cholamain anair iss*ed* do feith do fo bíth is airechdu i*n* ran*n* airtherach ar cid anusairechda ocus anussruithe legthar i talum .i. Parrd*us* Adaim is*ed* adbar bidhe cend in betha ocus bid an airther no beth. Is anair *didiu* tinnscna ádrad cruiche Cr*ist* da ca*ch* ecl*ais* fil o chroich siar co fui*n*ed. Is anair *didiu* taurcaib gr*i*an as comainm do Cr*ist.* Is anair di*diu* legthar tetacht do Chr*ist* *in die judicii.* Is anair *didiu* scribthar i*n*d apgiter isin tegdais i*m*medon.

Aniar *imorro* o dorvs ecl*asi* ti*n*nscna a coisecrad anechtair .i. is i*n* lucht aile do úgdoraib ocus is fodail cetharda tete for*s*in ecl*ais* dianectair oca coisecrad ocus for*s*na Salmu Canticum .i. on ersai*n* desc*er*taig aniar cus in m.be*nn*cobar iarthar-thuaiscertach osuidiu cus *in* mbe*nn*cobar airth*er*-thuaiscertach o suidiu cus i*n* mbendcobar airth*er*descertach ocus is and sin dofo*r*ni in t.es*c*op crois as in tulcolamain anair ocus on mbendcopur airterdescertach anair don benncobar iarthar-desc*er*tach ocus dognith*er* amedon ocus anechtair i*n* fodail cechtarda sin don ecl*ais* ocus do*n*a Salmuib fo*n* cosmailius cétna. Ocus is aire is tr*i*plex i*n* t.Ord sin fobíth is tr*i*ar do gní in t.ordsi*n* amedo*n* ocus anectair ocus it sé fódla x *am*ne fasdai as na foth*aib* remeperthaib ocus canar *Domini est terra* on bennchobur iarth*ar*-desc*er*tach co*n*ice i*n* dorus *usque dum dicitur, Atollite con*dentar an i*m*frecra remeper*t*ha it*ir* i*n* triar cétna amedo*n* ocus anectair.

IS aire t*ra* is on dorus aniar i*n*ti*n*nscna i*n* coisecr*a*d anectair lasi*n* lucht sin ar na beth fe*cht* fás aniar cen cetul neich don coisecr*a*d; ocus ind *Intróit* cétna canair o: dul isi*n*d ec*lais* isí chanair oc dul i*n*te i*n* fecht si*n*.

Redigem a cethr*am*ad fotha *con*a fódlaib am*ai*l atfét ar Líne, *Id est quinque gradu*[*u*]*m . . . feimorum* (sic) *triplex* .i. na coic gr*a*id ferda .i. atraig Ord consecr*ation*e*m*. Ce*ist*; cid a línside? N*iansa Triplex* .i. trefiltech, co*n*idhe anoi x a*m*ne os na cethri foth*aib* ocus ise *Aspersio intus* inso asrubartmar as cethr*a*mad fotha in coisecartha.

Ité na cóic graid ferda .i. in cóicer bis occa .i. epscop ocus t*ri* sacairt ocus deochan . Gabid in deochan in lestar bís fon altoir cosin us*ci* ocus cos in saland coisecartha, ocus b*er*thi remi don aird

[1] This seems to be a blunder of the scribe.

airther-descertaig *i*nna eclasi ocus do*for*ni i*n* t espo*c* cona scín crois isin capur airth*er*desc*er*tach isin slis a*n*dess, ocus asréi di*n* us*c*e choisecartha . Bíid tra croeb de hisóip illáim ca*ch* fir do na [t]sacartaib ocus asréi fer díb in da*m*dhabaig tís cosin usci ocus asréi f*er* aile in sliss, fer aile i*n* dru*m*clí . IS aire is t*ri*plex in t.Ord sin fobíth is tréde asrethar ann ocus is triar asrei ocus canait uli in furfocculsa *Asperges me hísopo . . usque dealvabor. Miserere mei Deus secundum magnam.* co foircend ocus an urfoccul cétna fair fo gloir ocus *sicut erat* ocus i*n* ní as dír do i*n*adhiaid in *Libro Episcopi.* Do taegat iaru*m* don ochair iarth*ar*desc*er*taig i*n*na eclasi ocus do *for*ni in epscop co*n*a scín croiss isin capor n*d*esc*er*tach aniar inna airchini, ocus asréi i*n* crois sin cos*in* usci ocus toegat don ochair iarthar-thuaisc*er*taig don t.sliss atuaig ocus do*for*ni in epscop crois *con*a scín isi*n* capor n.iarthair atuaig.

NOTE ON SOME WORDS IN THIS TRACT.

Crand mbith. Supposed at first to be the *ambitus altaris*, or wooden screen forming the enclosure of the altar; but Mr. Stokes refers to a gloss in O'Davoren, p. 57, *garb n-ochrach a crand mbith* where *bith*, genitive case of *bi*, is said to mean *tairsich*, a threshold (*limen*). *Limen* appears to have meant in early ecclesiastical usage a sanctuary, and thus *crand-mbith* would mean 'the wooden rail of the sanctuary.'

Copur. Roof, borrowed from Old French *covers*, now *couvert*. *Cf.* Coopertura, tectum ædificii. French *couverture* (Ducange). Hence *Bendchopur*, a peaked roof, the term applied to the roof of a round-tower.

Damdhabhach. Literally, Ox-tub, glosses *torcular*, a wine-press in the Milan Codex. The font used in Ireland in early times, large enough to permit the baptism of adults by immersion according to the rule of the Irish Church. Examples are at Tallaght, Clondalkin, Co. of Dublin, and elsewhere.

Deforis, hence French *dehors*.

Drumclí, a panelled ceiling.

Impertor. The Antimensium or consecrated Cloth of the Eastern Church used in the place of the mensa or of the altar.

Telcholamain. Front pillars? or perhaps *colaman* is for κολύμβιον, a "fountain or cistern of water for people to wash their hands and face before they went into the Church." (Bingham's *Origines.*)

Urfoccal, erfoccal, aurfoccal. 'Chief word,' is evidently used here for the Antiphon, but not a translation.

Airchini, a verbal error for *airclne*, a pyx, diminutive of *arc* for Latin *arca*.

THE BLACK CHIMERE OF ANGLICAN PRELATES: A PLEA FOR ITS RETENTION AND PROPER USE.

BY

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It is evident to those who watch the development of the ceremonial of our Prelates, on public occasions, that the conservatism which hitherto has withstood bravely the senseless ridicule of "the magpie-dress of our Bishops" is yielding slowly, but surely, to the well-founded opinion that the "Episcopal habit" of rochet and black chimere is not a suitable dress for a Bishop at every ecclesiastical function, or on every public occasion requiring the use of some distinctive Episcopal dress. There is probably as strong a sentiment now against the use of the black chimere upon all occasions as there was forty years ago against the universal use of the black scarf by Priests. But however glad the present generation may be to see the stole in constant use in our churches, there is, in certain quarters, a regret that the black scarf has not been generally retained also, especially since the stole is often improperly used. The singular custom of sewing the lawn sleeves to the chimere, however convenient, is now commonly deprecated; as is also the curious pleating and narrowing of the back of the chimere, between the shoulders, to make room for the abnormally-developed lawn sleeves. But still, there is a true and proper use of the black chimere (deprived of the rochet sleeves and the pleats at the back) which it is easier to defend now than it would be, perhaps, after further changes have been made tending towards its entire disuse. To retain what is still in use is less difficult than to restore what has been discarded.

The restoration of the black scarf by the Canons of St. Paul's has been ably defended, on antiquarian grounds, in an interesting Paper by Dr. J. Wickham Legg[1]; but there is a fallacy underlying the whole argument of that Paper, in the unjustifiable assumption of the identity of the black scarf with the grey almuce. The scarf is a *tippet*, and has as little to do with the almuce as with the black stole. The scarf, or tippet, was worn in common life: the almuce in choir, in processions, and the like, but not in common life. Notwithstanding all that has been said in its defence, the restored black scarf at St. Paul's is not an almuce stripped of its fur (as Dr. Legg maintains), but the black *tippet*, brought back into use again

[1] "The Black Scarf of Modern Church Dignitaries and the Grey Almuce of Mediaeval Canons." (*Transactions of the St Paul's Ecclesiological Society*, Vol. III. pp. 41–48.)

after the black stole had unlawfully usurped its place.[1] It is the representative neither of the "Calober" almuce of the "pettie cannons,"[2] nor of the "gray ammess" of the Canons of the upper grade, an almuce of grey squirrels' skin lined with minever, which "in Powelles ware put down, with the Calober," on June 3, 1549, probably without due authority.[3]

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[1] The scarf, or tippet, was not worn by Bishops or Canons in choir, before the reformation.

[2] See Dr. Legg's Paper, p. 42, note 3:—"Harl. 4080, British Museum, is an early eighteenth century transcript of a number of documents dealing with St. Paul's, London; on ff. 73b. to 74b. is a copy of a document allowing the minor canons to wear the almuce. 'Statuimus et ordinamus ut omnes dicti minores canonici in dicta ecclesia de die et nocte almicias de nigris pellibus Calabre vulgariter nuncupatis exterius confectas et interius cum munitonar (*sic*) furratas . . . gestent et habeant.' It should be noticed that Calabre is here distinctly said to be black." Dr. Legg seems to base upon this his assertion, that "the minor canons acquired the right of wearing the grey almuce" at St. Paul's in 1356 or 1364; but, if so, the learned gentleman has quite mistaken the meaning of his own quotation, which proves the direct contrary to his assertion. Possibly he imagined that the grey almuce of the Canons at St. Paul's of both grades was made of black Calabre fur, lined with grey fur; for he states that "the outside was certainly black at St. Paul's in 1356 or 1364." Whereas, in reality, it was the almuce of the *Minor* Canons which was black outside. *The grey almuce was not black on either side.* The outside was made of grey squirrels' skins; and on the inside there was a fur lining of minever (*de minuto vario interius et exterius de griseo.* See *Regist. S. Osmundi*, edit. W. H. Rich Jones, Vol. I. p. 36, note). Dr. Legg's quotation proves that the Minor Canons were *not* allowed to wear the grey almuce; but, on the contrary, they were to wear a black "Calabre" almuce (*i.e.* made of the furry skins of the Calabrian black squirrel.) If the Statute granted any new privilege to the Minor Canons, it was probably the privilege of using a fur lining of minever (like the higher Canons) instead of lambswool. There was no black cloth or silk in the almuces of the Canons of either grade; but probably the Vicars Choral at St. Paul's wore the same sort of almuce as that worn by the Vicars at Salisbury Cathedral—"*non minuto vel grosso vario* (*i.e.* minever or ermine) *aut griseo, sed pellibus duntaxat agninis aut caprinis sub panno nigro.*" See *Statutes of the Cathedral Church of Sarum*, ed. by Dayman and Rich Jones, p. 60.

The Chaplains at Queen's College, Oxford, wore an almuce of dark blue cloth, almost black,[a] and lined with black fur; but the Provost and the Scholars wore an almuce lined with minever.[b] The date of the Statutes of Queen's College is *circa* 1340 A.D. (See *Statutes of Queen's College*, pp. 29–31.) The Warden of New College wore the Canon's grey almuce.[c] Probably the Heads of Colleges, generally, wore a grey almuce; but at Cardinal's College (Christ Church) the Dean and all the Canons of the first order wore the grey almuce; the Canons of the second order wore a hood shaped like an almuce, of *blodius* cloth with either a cerulean border or a border of grey fur. (*Statutes*, pp. 59, 166.) In Henry VIII.'s College (after Wolsey's fall) the Canons wore the grey almuce, lined with minever; and the Vicars, an almuce of black cloth, lined with black fur or black silk. (*Ibid.*, p. 191.) The Vicars wore an almuce, not a scarf.

[3] *Chronicles of the Grey Friars, London*, Camden Society, 1852, p. 59, ed. Nichols. It is certain that the black scarf was not worn as a substitute for the grey almuce in 1549, when the latter was "put

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[a] "Utantur autem praedicti capellani in dicta capella seu ecclesia quotidie supelliciis [*sic*] et amuciis de panno nigro, Anglice *Pers*, etiam nigra furura fururatis," etc. "*Pers*" is explained in a note as:—"'*Bleu tirant sur le noir*'—Roquefort; '*sort de drap*'—Raynouard; see also Ducange, under the word *Persus.*"

[b] "Praepositus autem et scholares Dominicis diebus, in festis majoribus et duplicibus, propter Dei honorem, conditionis suae et ecclesiae honestatem, amuciis utantur duplicatis de griso," *i.e. de minuto vario*, or *petit gris*, the name of the animal; not *de griseo*, the colour *grey*. See Du Cange, *sub voce* Grisum.

[c] See Description of Plate I. in the Appendix, p. 210.

The inconspicuous black silk scarves, still worn by our more conservative Bishops over the black chimere, lack the dignity of the furred black scarves or tippets of Archbishops Arundel, Warham, and Cranmer, of Bishop Fox, or of Archbishop Parker's rich black scarf, or "collar of sables."[1] Bishop Ridley wore out of doors a tippet of sables to the day of his

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down." "On Whitsondaie the Cannons and petie cannons in Poules left of their gray and calaber amises, and the cannons [instead of grey "amises"] wore hoodes on their surpleses after the degrees of the universities, and the petie cannons [instead of "Calaber amises" wore] tipittes like other priestes." (*Wriothesley's Chronicle*, Camden Society, Vol. II. p. 14.) When the almuce was restored in Queen Mary's reign, both grades seem to have worn the grey almuce. Apparently neither hood nor tippet was worn at St. Paul's, when the "amises" were "put down" for the second time in Queen Elizabeth's reign, on Aug. 12, 1559; for, as Wriothesley relates, "the Prebendaries and Pettie Canons [were] commaunded to leave of the grey amises of furre, and *to use onely a surplesse in the service time.*" (*Ibid.*, p. 146.) The wrong thing has been restored at St. Paul's, if it was the intention to restore the almuce; and the Canons of both grades are now wearing, simultaneously, *two substitutes* for the proper almuces of their respective grades—viz. the academical hoods, and the "tipettes like other priestes," instead of the grey or calober almuce. The grey almuce used at St. Paul's was doubtless identical with the grey almuce used in the Choir of Salisbury by the Canons of the upper grade. Their grey almuce (of grey squirrels' skins, lined with minever) was allowed by a Statute of 1319, after permission granted by the King, Edward II. (*Regist. St. Osmund.*, Tom. I. p. 36, ed. W. H. Rich Jones. See also *Statutes of the Cathedral Church of Sarum*, ed. E. A. Dayman and W. H. Rich Jones, p. 30). Almuces, both grey and Calabre, were worn at St. George's, Windsor, as late as 1561, on the Feast of St. George; which, it is interesting to note, had been transferred from April 23rd to May 18th. (*Diary of Henry Machyn*, ed. J. G. Nichols, p. 258.) The use of the grey almuce was condemned in strong terms in the *Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical* of 1571.[a] These were signed by the Archbishops and Bishops of both Provinces; but they never received the assent of the Lower Houses of Convocation, nor of the Queen; and apparently they were never promulgated. The Ornaments Rubric of the Prayer Book of 1662 seems to authorize the restoration of the almuce in choir; instead of which the Prayer Book of 1549, in the *third* year of Edward VI., had permitted the use of the hood *in Cathedral Churches and Colleges, and to graduates when preaching.*

[1] The sable fur with which these black scarves were lined was not black. Although in the technical language of heraldry the word *sable* means black, it is a mistake to imagine that the fur of the animal itself is black. See "*The Animal Kingdom*, by the Baron Cuvier, with Additional Descriptions by Edward Griffith and others," "The Sable (*Mustela Zibellina*). Pall. Spic. Zool. XIV. 111, 2, Schreb. CXXXVI. So much celebrated for its rich fur. It is brown, with some spots of white on the head, and is distinguished from the foregoing [*sc.* the common Marten] by having hair even under the toes." *Class Mammalia*, pp. 36, 37. It is a native of Siberia. From this description it is evident that Archbishop Parker's rich "collar of sables" was lined with brown fur, like the black tippet or scarf worn by Archbishops Warham and Cranmer. The fur cuffs turned up over the sleeves of the rochet in Holbein's portrait of Warham (see Appendix, Plate III.) are of sable, like the lining of his black scarf. By the Statute of Henry VIII., Anno 24, "no man, under the state of an erle," was allowed to wear "furres of sables" in his apparel. Bishops ranked above Dukes until the 31st year of Henry VIII., A.D. 1540, when it was enacted that they should rank below Viscounts. Even after that date, however, they retained the use of "furres of sables," as we learn from the case of Bishop Ridley. See note 1 on following page.

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[a] See Cardwell's *Synodalia*, Vol. I. pp. 115, 116.

death, October 16, 1555; although the "grey ammess" had been "put down" in St. Paul's, his own Cathedral Church, in 1549.[1] These pre-reformation black scarves, lined with rich sable fur, and worn out-of-doors were very different from the choir almuces of the Canons, or the black tippets worn out-of-doors by the inferior clergy. They were, however, dignified *tippets*, and not almuces.[2]

But to return to the chimere.—From various causes the black chimere is being less and less frequently used. It may be well to enumerate some of these causes:—

(1.) A mistaken and mischievous attempt has been made, by the alternate use of a purple chimere, to substitute by degrees for the Anglican chimere the Roman *mantellettum*. "Episcopal purple," plum-colour, or violet has been used by a few Prelates instead of the more usual colour of black. What the significance of their mistaken attempt would be if the chimere should be ultimately turned into a *mantellettum* will be pointed out later on.

(2.) The use of the cope, and even of the chasuble, by our Prelates is becoming more and more frequent.

(3.) And lastly, the greatly increased use of the scarlet chimere during the past few years. An illustration of this may be found in the "Official Arrangements" for the Lambeth Conference of 1897. It was ordered: That "when robes are worn, the Bishops will wear *either the black or red chimere, as each may find convenient.*" The result of this order was that only a few black chimeres were to be seen at the closing Service; all the English Bishops, and most of the others present, wearing scarlet.[3]

Past researches have failed to throw light upon some of the obscure points connected with the origin of the Episcopal chimere; and the present discussion of a confessedly difficult subject

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[1] The description of the dress worn by Ridley, on the way to the stake, differs in the first and fourth editions of Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, printed by John Day. It is interesting to compare the different accounts:—

From edition of 1563.	*From edition of* 1583.
"Mayster Ridley in a fayre blacke Goune, such as he was wonte to weare when he was Bysshoppe, with a tippett of sables aboute hys necke nothing undressed." Page 1376, col. 2.	"M. Ridley had a faire blacke goune furred, and faced with foines,[a] such as he was wont to weare beyng Bish. and a tippet of velvet furred lykewyse about his necke, a veluet night cap upon his hed, and a corner cappe upon the same, goyng in a paire of slippers to the stake." Page 1769.

The "fayre black Goune" was probably a cassock, like the furred cassock of Bishop Gardiner, in his portrait in the Bodleian Portrait Gallery. No mention is made of a rochet; but it is likely that he had been deprived of that some time before his degradation, on the preceding day.

[2] See Appendix, pp. 217–220.

[3] "The Archbishop of Canterbury and *all the members of the home Episcopate*, as well as most of the Colonial and American Bishops, wore their scarlet robes, but *a few appeared in black chimeres*, and two or three in violet." (*The Guardian*, Aug. 4, 1897, p. 1219, col. 2.) At the consecration of the present Bishop of Stepney, the Bishop of Marlborough wore a scarlet chimere, but the other Bishops wore black chimeres. (See *The Guardian* for Dec. 1, 1897, p. 1900, col. 2.)

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[a] Fur made of the skins of polecats.

does not profess to clear away all difficulties; but the writer hopes that the result of investigations made by him from time to time, by way of recreation, in the intervals of more important work, will help to banish certain misconceptions, and point the way to a true solution of the vexed question. The chief merit of the Paper (if there be any merit) will be found to consist, probably, in the quotations contained in the foot-notes from sources which are not all easily accessible to the ordinary reader, and in the Plates in the Appendix. Much obscurity has been caused by mistaken suppositions, some of them displaying considerable ingenuity, which have been repeated as indisputable by subsequent writers, who have accepted the assertions of their mistaken authorities, without the thought of making a careful examination for themselves; as, for example, that the black chimere is the same as the *cappa nigra* or black choral "cope"; or, that the chimere in pre-reformation times was always scarlet; and that the colour was changed to black because Hooper scrupled at being consecrated in a scarlet vestment. These are all errors.

I. The Origin of the Episcopal Chimere.

The chimere seems to be a veritable *chimera;* for when an antiquary is quite persuaded in his own mind what it ought to be, he stumbles across something which tells him that that is just what it is not. For instance, if he has quite settled in his own mind that, though the modern black chimere has lawn sleeves, it ought to have no sleeves at all, and that it ought to be red, instead of black; he finds, to his surprise, that Archbishop Scrope, A.D. 1400, wore a *blue* (*blodius*) *chimere, with sleeves of the same colour.* One learned antiquary, with an ingenuity equal to the occasion, has given an explanation which seems plausible; but which will not bear a careful investigation. He has asserted, without proof, that the chimere of the Archbishop had sleeves which could be worn at pleasure, or allowed to hang down at the sides like the sleeves of the gown of a Cambridge Bachelor of Arts at the present day; but he has made no attempt to explain how the chimere has lost its sleeves.[1] As a matter of fact, the word chimere, even when applied to the dress of Bishops, has been used to designate two different garments. It *always* denotes some sort of over-garment (*superindumentum*); but what is at one time an over-garment obviously becomes also an under-garment for the time being, when other garments are put on over it.

Now an Anglican Prelate, vested in the full Episcopal habit, wears at the same time *two* chimeres. This statement sounds preposterous; but fortunately, we are in possession of sufficient evidence to establish beyond a doubt the existence of two kinds of Episcopal chimeres; one of which had sleeves; and the other, none.[2] Clement Maydestone (well known to ritualists as the

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[1] Walcott's *Sacred Archaeology, sub voce* "Chimere." The learned author has also fallen into the common error of mistaking the wide black scarf in Archbishop Warham's portrait by Holbein, A.D. 1527, to be a black chimere. The present writer, through the kindness of His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, was able, by a close and careful scrutiny of the portrait at Lambeth Palace, to see clearly the folds of the rochet where the chimere, if it had been worn, must have concealed the rochet, viz., below the left elbow. See the Louvre portrait, Plate III. in Appendix.

[2] In the present Paper, we are concerned with Episcopal chimeres only. An extensive series of quotations from authors of various dates, referring both to Episcopal and other chimeres, will be found

compiler of the new Sarum *Ordinale* and the author of a little Tractate, entitled *Defensorium Directorii ad usum Sarum, etc.*), in narrating the "History of the Martyrdom of Richard Scrope, Archbishop of York," beheaded under a charge of treason on June 8, 1405, says that the Archbishop was led to the place of his death, outside the walls of York, seated upon an unsaddled horse, and vested in a sleeved chimere of the colour '*blodius*,' *i.e.* blue.[1] The chimere of the Archbishop was probably what we should call a dark blue, or purple, cassock[2]; for the fact that particular attention is called, in the narrative, to the circumstance that the sleeves were visible would seem to prove incontestably, that the rochet was properly worn *over*, and not under, this '*chimaera*.' The description of the dress of Archbishop Scrope in no way answers to the 'sleeveless coat,' as the chimere worn *over the rochet* by Bishops of a later date was sometimes called.[3] This inner chimere is represented in the modern Anglican Bishop's habit by the short, black, sleeveless, cassock. By a strange freak, the outer, or sleeveless, chimere, has become possessed of sleeves—the sleeves of the rochet; and the inner, or sleeved, chimere

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in that admirable work, Murray's *New English Dictionary*, now in course of preparation and publication. The compiler of the Article *Chimere* makes, however, a curious mistake in ascribing to a Bishop a "chymeris" of "chambelote purpour brown"; whereas the wearer of that particular garment was Æsop, the writer of fables. The quotation is taken from Henryson, a fifteenth century writer. It is worth while to note the error here, in view of what will be said later on about the colour of the chimere.

[1] The account is so interesting that a somewhat lengthy extract is given here: "Anno Domini MCCCCV, viii die mensis Junii, scilicet in die Sancti Willelmi Confessoris, quae tunc fuit feria secunda Pentecostes, Magister Ricardus Scrope, Baccalarius Oxoniae Artium, Doctor utriusque Juris Cantabrigiae, Advocatus pauperum nuper in curiâ Romanâ, et deinde Lychfeldae Episcopus, et postea Archiepiscopus Eboracensis, decollatus est extra muros prope Eboracum." A more detailed description follows: "Et postea eâdem die circa meridiem ductus est super equum valoris XL denariorum sine sella; et gratias agens, dixit quod nunquam placuit mihi melius equus quàm iste placet. Et Psalmum *Exaudi* secundum decantavit, sic equitando cum capistro et in *blodia chimaera et manicis chimaerae ejusdem coloris existentibus*. Vestem tamen lineam, qua utuntur Episcopi, non sinebant Archiepiscopum uti. Et sic cum caputio jacincti coloris sive consimili colori circa humeros suos pendente ductus est, sicut ovis ad victimam, qui vero non aperuit os suum nec ad vindictam nec ad excommunicationis sententiam. Qui cùm ad locum decollationis pervenisset, dixit *Omnipotens Deus*, etc. . . . . et tunc capucium et tunicam ad terram deposuit"; etc. See Maydestone's account in Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, pars. ii. pp. 370, 371. London, 1691. "*Exaudi* secundum" is doubtless Ps. lv., the *first* "*Exaudi*" being Ps. xvi.

[2] The word '*tunica*,' used in the narrative to denote the same garment that had previously been called the '*chimaera*,' could not have been used, properly, for the garment which we commonly call a chimere. Pallium, habitus, toga, or some similar word might have been used, but not a word like '*tunica*,' which was a common word in the middle ages for the cassock, as we now term it. Besides, if the Archbishop had been in the habit of wearing this 'chimaera' *over* his rochet, the sleeves would always have been visible; even though they could either be worn on the arms, or allowed to hang down loosely at the sides; and therefore, if they were always visible, the mention of them in the narrative could have had no purpose.

[3] As, for example: "Their black chimere, or sleeveless coat, put upon the fine white rochet, with other popish apparel." (*Necessity of Separation from the Church of England.* By John Canne. Ed. by Hanserd Knollys Society, London, 1849, p. 273.) Canne wrote in 1634.

has become sleeveless, having given up its sleeves to the modern "clerical coat" worn over it, instead of the proper civil dress, or street-habit, of rochet and "sleeveless coat."[1] The colour of this under-chimere or Episcopal cassock seems to have been, commonly, either dark blue (*blodius*), as in the case of Archbishop Scrope; or scarlet, as in the case of Archbishop Warham. Cranmer wore a black cassock in 1546.[2] In Archbishop Scrope's day, the outer garment of a Bishop in cold weather would have been either a sleeveless tabard, or a *cappa clausa* (a cloak closed in front, except for a single opening at the breast for both hands, and without sleeves).[3] In warm weather, the black scarf, or tippet, worn over the rochet was

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[1] The question is sometimes debated, whether the scarlet habit of the Oxford Doctor of Divinity should be worn *under* or *over* the surplice or rochet. There can be no manner of doubt that it should be worn *over* it. The under-chimere, or cassock, was often scarlet; as for example, in Holbein's portrait of Archbishop Warham, where it might easily be mistaken for the scarlet habit of a Doctor of Divinity. Archbishop Laud, who must have known that the scarlet cassock and the scarlet habit were two different articles of dress, expressed very strongly his opinion in a letter written by him as Chancellor of the University of Oxford to the Vice-Chancellor, concerning the Service at St. Mary's Church, at the beginning of term: "Two things there are, which you and the Heads must take care for: the one is, that the Vice-Chancellor, and he that helps him to execute (whosoever he be), be in surplices; but whether the Vice-Chancellor will put on his surplice, when he goes to the Communion, or put it on at the first, and so read the Service, and sit at the Sermon in it, I leave to his own judgment; but I like the latter better, *and the surplice must be under both the habit and the hood.*" (*Autobiography of Archbishop Laud*, Oxford, 1839, pp. 215, 216.) This extract will be found also in Laud's *Works*, Vol. V. Pt. I. pp. 157, 158, Libr. of Ang. Cath. Theol. The Vice-Chancellor was Dr. Baylie, President of St. John's College. The date of the letter is, Nov. 26, 1636.

[2] Probably the colour of the cassock was not determined by the academical degree, as some assert; but more information is needed upon this point. There seems to have been a great diversity of use in the colour of the cassock, in England as elsewhere, dependent upon local custom. *Vide* Claude de Vert, *Cérémon. de l'Eglise*, Tom. II. p. 358, Paris, 1709: "Au rapport d'Erasme en sa lettre à Josse Jonas, le Doyen de Londres étoit en violet et le reste des chanoines en rouge. Gabriel Pennot, en son Histoire des Chanoines Réguliers, dit qu'avant le Schism d'Henry VIII. plusieurs maisons portoient le violet en Angleterre." Pennot (or Pennottus) says that *all* the Regular Canons of the Anglican Church wore violet: "In Belgio Canonici S. Auberti Cameranensis violaceo utuntur, *& eodem colore utebantur omnes Canonici Regulares Ecclesiae Anglicanae*," etc.[a] Prof. E. C. Clark says: "The scarlet cassock is said by some, I think wrongly, to have belonged exclusively to Doctors of Divinity. There is some reason for believing that it was once worn pretty widely by Canons in England. Indeed, I should rather question whether this colour was not semi-secular . . . Both the Canonry and the Cardinalate, we must remember, indicated *eminence* rather than high ecclesiastical order."[b]

[3] Bishops, as well as the inferior clergy, wore the *cappa clausa;* and that, too, even at a Synod, as will appear from the following quotation:—"In crastino autem comparuerunt omnes Episcopi, non induti pontificalibus, sed cappis suis clausis," etc. This was at a Council held in London, at St. Paul's, 1309 A.D., in the month of November. On the opening day, they had come to the Council in copes and mitres. (*Vide* Labbé and Cossart, *Concil. General.*, ed. Coleti, Tom. XIV. col. 1387.)

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[a] *Generalis totius Sacri Ordinis Clericorum Canonicorum Historia Tripartita*, Gabriele Pennotto Autore, Rome, 1624, p. 64, col. 2.

[b] "The English Academical Costume," *Archæological Journal*, Vol. L. p. 93.

a sufficient protection without the use of the tabard or the *cappa clausa*. Hence we find no mention of either in the narrative of the death of Archbishop Scrope in the month of June. Bishop Fox, too, is represented in his portrait, evidently in his street-dress, with rochet, scarf or tippet, black cap, and walking-stick, but without an over-garment.[1] Having proved, from the story of Archbishop Scrope's death, that the tunic or cassock was formerly sometimes designated by the term "chimere," we shall now confine our attention to that part of the Episcopal habit to which the name of "chimere" is more commonly applied; namely, the long sleeveless coat worn *over* the rochet.

The black chimere has a common origin with the scarlet habit or chimere of an Oxford Doctor of Divinity. It is a form of the tabard (*tabardum* or *taberda*) or colobbe (*collobium*)[2] which was worn as a civil dress by persons of different classes, clerical and lay, both in England and on the Continent, but distinguished by the material, length, &c.[3]

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[1] Murray's *Dictionary* gives a quotation, of the date of 1500 A.D., in which the word "*jupa*" is glossed "chymere"; but "*jupa*" probably means the under-chimere, or cassock, and not what we mean now by the chimere.

[2] "This Robe (*sc.* the modern scarlet Robe of Doctors) I used once to consider a degraded ecclesiastical Cope. I now rather take it to be a dignified form of the Tabard or Gown, which was used as a substitute for the academical Cope. Its scarlet colour, like that of the Canon's Cassock, was apparently for distinction alone, and we find it worn for distinction, now by Doctors only, but originally also by Masters of Colleges and University officials. . . . On the whole, however, it appears to have gradually become the dress of ceremony for the Doctors alone, whenever the Cope was not used—for instance, while the Queen was at Cambridge in 1564—except on occasions of mourning, like the 30th of January." ("English Academical Costume," by Prof. E. C. Clark, LL.D., *Archæological Journal*, Vol. L. pp. 201, 202.)

[3] Prof. Clark says: "The Academical Tabard was evidently a dress of dignity and decorum, which, while it might be worn by the undergraduate, was *required* of the Bachelor, at least in his lectures. . . . . The Tabard is probably, as suggested above[a] the *habitus* required, with a *caputium*, by cap. 27 of Dr. Caius' Statutes (1557) for use in the Schools, and on feast days in Chapel, by all Graduates. It is, I believe, the 'sleveless cote' of Doctors, and of Bachelors in Divinity, mentioned in a Statute of Henry VIII. (1532), c. 13. It may possibly be the chlamys of Pole's "Ordinationes pro regimine Universitatis," issued in 1557. This, however, was shorter than the ordinary *toga*. But the main use in which we find the Tabard is, at any rate in its *long* form, as an alternative for the academical *capa*, if, indeed, the latter was ever, for laymen, anything but a long Tabard. I find less mention of the Tabard at Oxford than at Cambridge, though it occurs, *furratum* and *sine furrura* in the Tailors' oath as to charges for making robes, &c." ("English Academical Costume (Mediaeval)," *Archæological Journal*, Vol. L. p. 140.) " . . . All these descriptions fairly suit the Tabard, which is, I think, clearly intended by *colobium* as the name of an academical dress. See the Statutes of Queen's College, Oxford, where the *longa collobia* to be worn by the Chaplains, and by the Scholars in their walks abroad, and the *collobia* coming half way down to the shank (ad medium tibiae) for the poor boys, are almost certainly, when compared with similar regulations in other Colleges, Tabards." (*Ibid.*, p. 141.)

It seems worth while to insert here the portion of the Tailors' oath alluded to by Professor Clark. It contains the mention of an academical "chimera," but without any additional words to give the slightest

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[a] On p. 100, in Professor Clark's Paper.

The Rev. T. A. Lacey, in his brilliant Paper on "The Ecclesiastical Habit in England,"[1] supports the theory which has been the cause of considerable confusion, viz. that the chimere (Italian, *zimarra*) is an alternative form of the *cappa clausa*, with "two armholes at the side, instead of one in front"; but, in view of the facts established in the present Paper concerning the use of the tabard, it would seem that the chimere is rather to be regarded as a different garment altogether from the alternative form of that garment; unless, indeed, the *cappa clausa* itself be a dignified form of the tabard—which is not unlikely.[2] The "*pallium*"

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hint as to what kind of chimere is intended. By a study of the Statutes of New College, the writer has come to the conclusion, that it was probably a tabard worn by Scholars; for when the dress of the Fellows of New College is described[a] there is no mention of the *chimera;* but when the dress of the Warden, Fellows, *and Scholars* is described, the word *chimera* appears, as though that were the dress worn by the Scholars.[b] A *Fellow* (*Socius*) meant any full member of the Society, as distinguished from the chaplains, clerks, choristers, and probationers; but Scholars would wear the tabard until they became Bachelors; and after that, either the tabard, or the more dignified dress of Bachelors—the *cappa manicata*.[c]

"The Prices of the Academical Robes according to the oath of the tailors of the University."

"Roba sine furrura	tres denarii.
Taberdum furratum	quatuor denarii.
Taberdum sine furrura	tres denarii.
Capa furrata	sex denarii.
Capa sine furrura	quatuor denarii.
Roba furrata	quatuor denarii.
Roba furrata cum pallio	sex denarii.
Tunica cum duplici casura [cusura]	tres denarii.
Et hoc ex gratia Universitatis	
Chimera	tres denarii."

(*Muniment. Acad. Oxon.*, ed. Rev. H. Anstey, Vol. II. p. 382.)

[1] See *Transactions of the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society*, Vol. IV. Part II. p. 128.

[2] Rashdall says: "The word *cappa* was indeed used to denote merely the ordinary full-dress outer garment worn by the secular clergy out of doors, and it is difficult to say how far the early Statutes on the subject do more than insist on Masters appearing at all public functions in the full dress of the order to which they belonged. It is impossible to trace the stages by which the magisterial *cappa* acquired a more or less peculiar and distinctive aspect." (*Univ. of Europe*, by Rev. W. Hastings Rashdall, M.A., Vol. II. Pt. II. pp. 639 *sqq.*) For a further discussion of Academical tabards, as worn at Oxford, see description of Plates I. and II. in the Appendix, pp. 208–214. The *cappa clausa* has been supposed by some to be the same garment as the *pluvialis*, from which the ecclesiastical cope is derived; but Moroni, following Bonanni (as against Gavantus), shews that this supposition is erroneous: "Tuttavolta il detto Gavanto, *De rub. Missæ*, tit. 19, scrisse: '*Pluvialis, et cappa sunt idem*'; ma il Bonanni, *Gerarchia Eccl.*, pag. 432, riflette, che quantunque col medesimo nome anticamente si appellassero ambedue le vesti, nulla dimeno non furono la medesima veste, essendo il piviale (*i.e. pluvialis*) aperto nella parte anteriore, ritenendo la sola forma del cappuccio de' primi secoli. Ma la cappa sempre fu chiusa, e ad essa fu sempre congiunto il cappuccio." (*Dizionario, sub voce* Cappa, p. 81, 82.)

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[a] Statutes of New College, *Rubrica* 22. [b] *Ibid.*, *Rubrica* 23. [c] See Appendix, p. 211, notes 2 and 3.

worn by Hooper at his Consecration, and when preaching before the King, seems to have been a long tabard, without sleeves, and closed in front.[1] The clergy wore a tabard of greater length than the laity, closed in front, and, without sleeves.[2] Hence it follows, of course, that there was a *tabardum clausum*, as well as a *cappa clausa*.[3]

It may give a clearer idea of the manner in which the wearing apparel of ecclesiastics was regulated in England by law at the period immediately preceding the reformation, if a quotation be given from a Statute of Henry VIII. on the dress of the clergy, 1532 A.D.: "Be it further enacted, that after the said feaste[4] none of the clergie, under the dignitie of a bishoppe, abbotte, or priour, being a lorde of the parlyamente, weare in any parte of his or their apparayle of their bodies or on their horses any maner of stuffe, wrought or made out of this realme of England, Ireland, Wales, Caleys, Berwyke, or the marches of the same, except that it shall be lefull to all archdeacons, deanes, provostes, maysters, and wardens of cathedrall and collegyate churches, prebendaries, doctours or bachelours in divinitee, doctours of the one lawe or the other, and olso [*sic*] doctours of other sciences, which have taken that degree, or be admitted in any universitee, to weare sarcenet in the lynyng of theyr gownes, black satten, or blacke chamlet in their doublettes and *sleeveless cotes*, and blacke velvet, or blacke sarcenet, or black satten, in theyr typpetts, and rydyng hoodes or gyrdelles, and also cloth of the colours of skarlet, murey, or violet, and furres called gray, blacke boge, foynes, shankes, or menever in their gownes and *sleveles cotes*, any thinge before mencioned to the contrary notwithstandynge. And that none of the Clergie, under the degrees aforesaide, weare any maner of furres, other than black cony, budge, grey coney, shankes, calaber gray, fiche, foxe, lambe, otter, and bever," etc. (*Statutes of Henry VIII. An. XXIV. Cap. XIII. An Acte for reformation of excesse in apparayle.*) This extract has been made of considerable length, because it is not easily accessible to the ordinary reader; and it is important for the purpose of comparison with the customs and regulations of the Universities concerning the academical dress.[5]

A tabard of fine silk was worn with the rochet by Bishops in the days of the Poet Laureate, John Skelton, *circa* 1520 A.D. Skelton faults the Bishops, not for wearing tabards,

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[1] See *Epist. Tigur.*, p. 178, *Epist.* cxxiv. quoted below, p. 193, note 3. The English translation of the Parker Society calls it a "scarlet episcopal gown," 3 Zur. Lett., p. 271; but Foxe calls it "a long scarlet chymere down to the foot," *Acts and Mon.*, ed. 1563, p. 1051.

[2] At the Coronation of King Charles I., a "tabert of tenterton-white, shaped in manner of a Dalmatic" was put upon him by the Archbishop of Canterbury. See *Coronation of King Charles I.* (Henry Bradshaw Society), p. 35. See also *ibid.*, p. 66.

[3] The closed and the open tabards are both mentioned in the following quotation: "Viaggrando gli ecclesiastici a cavallo, doveano portare *tabarros clausos*; que' ch'erano deputati al corteggio de' loro signori potevano usarli *scissos*." Moroni, *Dizionario*, Tom. XCVI. p. 208, col. 2. The 4th Lateran Council, A.D. 1215, had simply ordered: "*Clausa* deferent [sc. clerici] desuper *indumenta*, nimia brevitate vel longitudine non notanda." Labbé and Cossart, *Conc.* Tome XIII. col. 954.

[4] Feast of the Purification of our Lady, 1533.

[5] The original Act will be found in full in the 2nd Vol. of Statutes of Henry VIII. Anno XXIII. published in London by Thomas Berthelet, printer to the King, A.D. 1538.

but because of the costly material used in them.[1] The word *tabard*, like the word *coat*, is a generic word, including different varieties. The "taberts of fyne silke" were probably identical with the "sleeveless cotes" of the Statute of Henry VIII. The tabards of noblemen and of heralds were of a different shape, and had sleeves.[2] The *cappa*

[1] "Ouer this, the foresayd laye
Report how the Pope may
An holy anker call
Out of the stony wall,
And hym a bysshopp make,
If he on him dare take
To kepe so hard a rule,
To ryde upon a mule
With golde all betrapped,
In purple and paule belapped;
Some hatted and some capped,
Rychely and warme bewrapped,
God wot to theyr great paynes,
In rotchettes of fyne Raynes,
Whyte as morowes mylke;
Theyr taberts of fyne silke,
Theyr styrops of myxt gold begared;
There may no cost be spared;" etc.

Poetical Works of John Skelton, ed. by Rev. Alexander Dyce, Vol. I. pp. 322, 323, "*Colyn Cloute*," lines 303–320

The editor says: "In *Colyn Cloute* Skelton appears to have commenced his attacks on Wolsey," Vol. II. note on p. 277. "The bull appointing Wolsey and Campeggio to be Legates *a latere* jointly, is dated July 27th, 1518; that appointing Wolsey to be sole Legate *a latere*, 10th June, 1519. . . . . Wolsey continued to be the patron of Skelton for at least some time after he had been invested with the dignity of papal legate," Vol. I. p. xliii. The "purple" referred to is probably the purple of the Cardinalate; or else an expression indicative of luxury, like "purple and fine linen."[a]

[2] The tabard of the herald, shaped like a dalmatic, was open at the side; the sleeves being open also, and covering the shoulders like flaps. The pursuivant of arms wore a tabard of the same shape as the herald, but after a strange manner. The sleeves hung, like flaps, on his breast and back, and the front and back of the tabard hung like enormous flaps, covering the arms—*i.e.* the tabard was worn sideways. When the pursuivant was made a herald, his elevation was indicated by turning his tabard herald-wise. See wood-cut on title-page of "The Pursuivant of Arms," by J. R. Planché. "Henry VI." says Planché (in his "Cyclopædia of Costume," *sub voce* Tabard) "is the first English Sovereign who is represented on his great seal in a tabard." He wore a tabard of the shape of a dalmatic, like that of Charles I. at his coronation. The use of the tabard by prelates and inferior clergy as an alternative of the *cappa clausa*, was expressly sanctioned by the decrees of Councils as early as the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Noteworthy instances are the following:—

(1.) Conc. Buden., A.D. 1279: "Praeterea statuimus & ordinamus, quod praelati de cetero, cum equitant, vel etiam in publico pedestres incedunt, habeant & deferant cappas rotundas,[b] sub quibus habeant & deferant camicias albas[c] sive rosetas,[d] . . . . Prohibemus autem, ne ipsi praelati de cetero deferant vel habeant mantellos, cum quibus hactenus equitare, ... permittimus autem, quod possunt habere *mantellos rotundos sive tabarda*[e] longitudinis moderatae, eosque deferre cum

[a] The editor says that it is "an expression which frequently occurs, more particularly in ballad-poetry (considered by Percy and others as equivalent to—purple robe): *paule*, i.e. pall, rich or fine cloth." *Notes to Vol. I.* p. 283.

[b] Another name for the *cappa clausa*.

[c] *i.e. white* rochets.

[d] *i.e.* rosatas, *red* rochets. *Vide* Catalani, *Caeremon. Episc. Comment.*, &c., Romae, 1744, Tom. I. p. 10 col. 2.

[e] Roquefort, after speaking of the short tabards of laics, adds: "Les ecclésiastiques portèrent aussi de ces manteaux, mais beaucoup plus long, et descendant presque jusqu' aux talons; en Italien *tabaro*."—*Glossar.*, s.v. *Tabar, tabard, tabart.*

clausa must have been a cumbersome article of apparel; and it is no matter of surprise to find the clergy availing themselves of the permission to use, as an alternative, or substitute, the clerical "sleeveless coat," tabard, or colobbe. The tabard, or sleeveless coat, was adopted both at Oxford and Cambridge, to be worn as the alternative of the *cappa clausa*. At the latter University, the pre-reformation *cappa clausa* is still retained for occasional use; but at Oxford, it has been replaced altogether by the academical sleeveless coat, or tabard,

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capuciis separatis ab eis," etc. *Concil. General.*, Labbé and Cossart, ed. Coleti, Tom. XIV. col. 641.

(2.) Conc. Raven. III., A.D. 1314: "Sacerdotes vero extra civitates et suburbia, et alii in sacris constituti, saltem *taberdos talares* portent. In ecclesia vero utantur cappis nigris,[a] vel saltem coctis [i.e. *cottis*] albis." *Ibid.*, Tom. XV. col. 127.

(3.) Conc. Raven. IV., A.D. 1317: "Praelati, sacerdotes, & alii in dignitatibus vel personatibus constituti, ac canonici cathedralium ecclesiarum in sacris ordinibus constituti, sacerdotes & rectores ecclesiarum civitatum & suburbiorum, per civitatem incedentes, decentem habitum portent, videlicet cappas, chlamydes, *vel taberdos*. Sacerdotes vero extra civitatem & suburbia, & alii in sacris ordinibus constituti, saltem *taberdos talares, seu condecentes* portent." *Ibid.*, col. 183.

(4.) See also the condemnation of tabards of excessive length by the Council of Toledo, A.D. 1324, Cap. II., "*De vestibus clericorum.*" *Ibid.*, col. 276. For the use of the word 'tabard' in England in the thirteenth century see sub-note [a] on p. 193.

These extracts show the wide-spread use of the tabard. The quotation from Skelton, given in the preceding note, proves its use by Bishops in England in the sixteenth century. It seems quite evident that the closed tabard, or *tabardum clausum*, was considered a different garment from the *cappa clausa*, and of less dignity; for, although more dignified than the tabard of laics, it could not be worn in choir as the alternative of the *cappa clausa*. Not until it had become still more dignified by academical use, as a substitute for the academical *cappa clausa*, on certain occasions, was the tabard used (only, however, in post-reformation days) as an ecclesiastical vestment, and even as a sacred pontifical vestment. In its origin, it was merely a civil dress worn by ecclesiastics, but closed in front, and made of decent length. The hood worn with the academical tabard was not the same as that worn with the academical *cappa clausa*. (See Appendix, p. 210.) The Constitutions of the Cardinal Legate Otho,[b] at a National Council held in London, A.D. 1237, expressly order that the *cappa clausa* should be worn in Church by the *beneficed* Clergy; which order was renewed in the Constitutions of the Cardinal Legate Othobon[c] in the same words, at another National Council, held in London, A.D. 1268, as follows: ". . . . . et cappis clausis utantur in sacris ordinibus constituti, *maxime in ecclesiis*, & coram praelatis suis, & conventibus clericorum, & ubique in parochiis suis," etc. The *cappa clausa* was worn, therefore, both in the choir, and also out of doors as the civil dress. The tabard was not worn by them in choir.

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[a] This quotation proves, incidentally, that if the black chimere is a tabard, it is not a *cappa nigra*. It should be remembered that the *cappa nigra*, or choral cope, was a civil dress (as well as the *cappa clausa*), and not an ecclesiastical vestment, like the processional cope. The difference in shape between the *cappa nigra* and the *cappa clausa* will appear from the following quotation: "Riguardo alle Cappe de' canonici . . . . . aggiungeremo col Macri, che anticamente la loro Cappa era come quella de' frati, tutta aperta danvati, e solamente unita a' piedi, come viene descritta da Nicolò III nelle constituzioni della basilica vaticana, di cui era stato arciprete: 'A vigilia scilicet omnium sanctorum usque ad sabbatum sanctum superpelliceas lineas deferant, cappas nigras de sagia simplices; vel si voluerint foderatas a cingulo vel circa ex parte interiori fixas inferius.' I beneficiati però portavano le Cappe tutte serrate [*i.e.* the *cappa clausa*], con una piccola apertura per cavar le mani," etc. Moroni, *Dizionario*, Vol. VII. p. 92, col. 1.

[b] See Labbé and Cossart, *Concil. General.*, ed. Coleti, Tom. XIII. col. 1406.

[c] *Ibid.*, Tom. XIV. col. 408.

which now goes by the name of the *cappa*. The colour will be discussed in a separate section.[1] It is not claimed that all the references to *tabards* in this Paper relate to chimeres; but rather, that the tabard of prelates and other ecclesiastics was a substitute for the *cappa clausa*; and that one form of the substitute is to be found in the modern Episcopal chimere, whether black or scarlet. The Episcopal chimere, or tabard, is a long cloak or mantle with arm-holes.

II.—The Colour of the Chimere.

A fruitful source of error is the inaccurate assertion made by Wheatley: "Which [*sc.* the Bishops' chimere] before and after the reformation, till Queen Elizabeth's time, was always of scarlet silk; but Bishop Hooper scrupling first at the robe itself, and then at the colour of it, as too light and gay for the Episcopal gravity, it was changed for a chimere of black satin."[2]

Now, as a matter of fact, there would seem to be in this assertion two mis-statements:—

(1.) Hooper's objection was to the Episcopal habit itself, not to its colour. He objected to the rochet and "square cap," as well as to the chimere, the Episcopal rochet being the sign of jurisdiction; and when he consented, finally, to be consecrated in the habit, he wore the rochet and the *scarlet*, not the black, chimere. There appears to be no evidence that he even requested permission to wear the *black* chimere at his consecration.[3]

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[1] For much interesting information concerning the academical dress, see *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, by Rev. Hastings Rashdall, M.A., Vol. III. pp. 639 *sqq*. Also, "English Academical Costume (Mediaeval)," by Professor E. C. Clark, LL.D., in *Archæological Journal*, Vol. L. pp. 140, 141, and pp. 201, 202. The writer of the present Paper finds a difficulty in accepting all that these learned authors have said on the subject of the colours of the academical dress.

[2] Wheatley, *Common Prayer*, edit. 1710, ii. § 4.

[3] We have contemporary evidence as to the vestments worn by Hooper at his consecration, in a letter of Richard Hilles to Henry Bullinger: "At nunc (Deo gratiae!) idem D. Hoperus liberatus est ex custodia pristinaeque conditioni restitutus . . . . Et hac quadrigesima *rubro pallio Episcopali* vestitus,[a] postquam more nostrorum episcoporum initiatus vel inauguratus fuit, coram regia majestate concionatus est." *Epist. Tigur*, ed. Parker Society, p. 178; Epist. cxxiv. See also, Epist. cclxx. pp. 380, 381, for an account of Hooper's compliance in the matter of the vestments. That Hooper's objection was to the vestments themselves and not to the colour is shown also in the following extract from Daniel Neal's *History of the Puritans*, etc.: "Hooper consenting to be robed in his habits at his consecration, and once at court; but to be dispensed with at other times. Accordingly being appointed to preach before the King, he came forth (says Mr. Fox) like a new player on the stage: His upper garment was a long scarlet chymere down to the foot, and under that a white linen rochet

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[a] *À propos* of the use of the word *pallium* by Richard Hilles to Henry Bullinger for the garment which Foxe calls a "long scarlet chimere," it is interesting to note a statement made by Moroni, that the *pallium* was called a tabard in England as early as 1295: "Nel 1226 era in uso la veste balandrana o palandrano, o gabbano, mantello colle maniche; *e pallium gli antichi romani appellarono il mantello senza maniche, poi detto tabarro già cosi chiamato nel* 1295 *tra gl' inglesi, e nel* 1314 *tra gl' italiani*, [see use of the word by Third Council of Ravenna in that year, quoted in footnote on p. 192] tunica longa." (*Dizionario*, Vol. XLVI. p. 174, col. 1.) *Cf.* also the following: "Pallium, *dice* lo stesso Muratori, era chiamato dagli antichi romani quello ch' era mantello senza maniche, *e ritiene tuttavia il nome di mantello e di tabarro*." (*Ibid.*, Vol. XLII. p. 154, col. 2.) See also the description of Plate I. in the Appendix, p. 210.

(2.) There is direct proof that the chimere was *not* always scarlet "till Queen Elizabeth's time." In 1546, the last year of Henry VIII., Archbishop Cranmer wore a *green* chimere, if we may trust the evidence of a contemporaneous portrait of him which has come down to our day well preserved.[1] This Chimere is certainly not scarlet; it is just possible, however, that it may be of black satin, reflecting from its shiny surface an olive-green light. In either case, Wheatley's assertion as to the colour of the Episcopal chimere before the time of Queen Elizabeth is disproved by this; and also by other instances to the contrary cited in the present Paper.

The assertion has been so frequently made by eminent authorities, that scarlet is the traditional use for a Doctor of Divinity, that the present writer, with great diffidence, propounds a contrary theory—at least in so far as the fifteenth century use at Oxford is concerned. The theory, which is put forth only tentatively, may be briefly stated as follows:—

1. For the Doctor of Civil Law (*juris civilis Doctor* or *Professor*) the colour was possibly violet.

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that covered all his shoulders,[a] and a four square cap upon his head; but he took it patiently for the public profit of the Church." (*Hist. of Purit.*, Vol. I. p. 47.) For the quotation from "Mr. Fox," see Foxe's *Acts and Monum.*, Vol. III. pp. 204–208; or, Edition 1563, p. 1050.[b] Strype tells the same story of Hooper's objection to the Episcopal habit, without the slightest intimation of an objection to the colour: "But by reason of certain scruples of conscience he made to the wearing of the old pontifical habits, as the chimere and rochet, and suchlike, and disliking the oath customarily taken, he was not consecrated until eight months after, and endured not a little trouble in the mean season." (*Memorials of Cranmer*, Eccles. Hist. Soc., Vol. II. p. 206.) See also, Heylin's *Hist. of Ref.*, Vol. I. p. 192, quoted on p. 204, note 1. Dr. Humphrey Hody says: "The habit of a Bishop in Henry the Eighth's time, at least in the former part of his reign, was a white linen Rochet turn'd up at the sleeves, in winter time, with sable; about his neck a black silk tippet as at this time, which in winter was lined with sable: under the Rochet a scarlet garment.[c] In the reign of Ed. VI., they wore over the Rochet a scarlet chimere, the same with a Doctor's Habit in Oxford; which in Q. Elizabeth's time was changed into a black satten one; which is used at this day. In K. Edward's time, they always wore the scarlet Chimere and Rochet, and it was accounted a peculiar favour to Bishop Hooper of Gloucester, *who scrupled to wear the Episcopal Habit, that he was dispenced with from wearing it daily.* And in the Articles preferred against Bishop Farrar of St. David's, in the fifth year of the same reign, by his Clergy, this is one, That he ordinarily went abroad in a gown and hat,[d] whereas he ought to have worn his Episcopal robes, above mention'd, and a cap." (*Hist. of Eng. Councils and Convocations*, London, 1701, p. 141.) Bishop Hooper was consecrated Mar. 8, 1550.

[1] See Appendix, p. 216. The contrast in colour between the chimere and its black velvet border is still more marked in the original portrait, painted in colours, than in our reproduction of it.

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[a] As he wore a long chimere, or *pallium*, closed in front, like the scarlet D.D. habit, *only the sleeves* of the rochet were visible; but if he had worn an ecclesiastical cope or an academical *cappa clausa*, it would not have allowed the sleeves of the rochet to be seen as far as the shoulders.

[b] In the edition, of 1563, the colour of the chimere is not even mentioned, but simply "a long Shemer." The colour *scarlet* is given in the edition of 1583, Vol. II. p. 1504.

[c] *i.e.* the under chimere, a tunic or cassock.

[d] The Protestant party in England affected the use of the Genevan black gown, and the round hat.

2. For the Doctor of Canon Law (*decretorum Doctor*) the colour was possibly scarlet (*scarletus*).

3. For the Doctor of Divinity (*sacrae theologiae Professor*) the colour was possibly green (*viridis*).[1]

Among the interesting records of Episcopal chimeres of various colours are the following :—

Richard Rawlins, Bishop of St. David's, in 1536 A.D., had a chimere of scarlet.[2] And

[1] The writer regrets that he has not sufficient *data* at hand wherewith to prove his theory: he has confined his attention to the records contained in the *Muniment. Acad. Oxon.* (Edit. Anstey); from which he has gleaned some interesting items, as follows:—

Thomas Elkyns, of Oxford, Freemason, bequeathed, by will bearing date of September 29, 1449: ". . . meam secundam *blodiam* togam" (p. 596). He was married; and therefore could not have been a Bachelor or Doctor of Canon Law or of Theology. He may have been Bachelor or Doctor of Civil Law. He leaves no bequests of dress of the colour of green or scarlet.

There are several other wills leaving garments of *blodius*, which need not be given; for there is one bequest which seems to be conclusive as to the colour worn by the Doctor of Civil Law—Richard Browne, *alias* Cordone, Archdeacon of Rochester, bequeathes, by his will bearing date of Oct. 8, 1452, to Master John Segefeld: ". . . unam longam togam de violet 'ingrayne' foderatam cum 'putys,' et caputium ad eandem foderatam cum 'menevere,' *una cum habitu pro doctore juris civilis de panno similis coloris*" (p. 647). From this it seems to be indisputable that *violet* (whether it was the same as *blodius* or not) was the colour worn by the Doctor of Civil Law. Blue is worn at the present day at Oxford by the Bachelor of Civil Law.[a]

There are several bequests of articles of dress of the colour *scarletus*, and none of them contradict the theory here propounded; but there is a lack of positive proof that scarlet was worn as the colour proper to the Doctor of Canon Law.[b]

Among those who have left bequests of *green* garments is Master Henry Caldey, who in a will bearing date of Apr. 4, 1541, bequeathes: "*Item*, toga talaris, caputium *cum habitu viridis coloris*, domino Begge" (p. 613). Probably Dominus Begge was a Doctor of Divinity. But a more convincing bequest is found in the will of Richard Browne, *alias* Cordone (Oct. 8, 1452), who bequeathes garments of scarlet and violet (as well as green), and may have been a Doctor in all three Faculties: "Item, do et lego Magistro Johanni Beke, *sacrae theologiae professori*, ... unam *togam viridem longam, cum tabardo et caputio ejusdem coloris*, foderato cum 'menevere'" (p. 647). The probability is, that Dr. John Beke, being a Doctor of Divinity, received as a legacy the habit of a Doctor of Divinity, which he was entitled to wear, viz., a green tabard, or chimere.

The writer is far from claiming that he has *proved* the theory suggested; he simply maintains, that, from the above and other like evidence, it is hardly possible that scarlet could have been the colour proper to Doctors in all the higher Faculties in the fifteenth century, or the traditional colour of the tabard of the Doctor of Divinity. The tippet of a Doctor of Divinity was either of black velvet or of scarlet cloth. See p. 205, n. 4.

[2] See *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII.* Vol. X. p. 174. The writer is indebted to Dr. Legg for this reference; and also for a reference, which he has not been able to verify,[c] concerning a violet chimere worn by West, Bishop of Ely, in 1533.

[a] The present hood of the B.C.L. at Oxford is made of a *light*-blue silk, with a border of white fur.

[b] The colour "sangwyn" (*sanguineus*), as distinguished from scarlet, is also to be met with; but its significance, as used in the academical dress, is not apparent to the writer. At Perpignan, sanguine was the distinctive colour for the Faculty of Medicine. See Fournier, II. No. 1517, quoted by Rashdall, *Univ. of Europe in the Middle Ages*, Vol. II. Part II. p. 642, note 1.

[c] *Proceedings of Soc. of Antiquaries*, 1882, Vol. VI. p. 286.

the inventory of Henry Bowet, Archbishop of York, who died Oct. 20, 1423, mentions "Chemours" of "sangwyn," "scarlet," "de panno viridi," "Mixti coloris de rubio et blodio," "de violet," and "de blodio mixto rubeo."[1] These chimeres of various colours were possibly the academical dress of the wearers, according to their several degrees. In his will Archbishop Bowet mentions only four "chemmers,"[2] viz., "*scarlet*" (the colour for a Doctor of Canon Law?), "*murrey*" (the colour for a Master of Arts?),[3] blewmelled" (*i.e. blodius mixtus*, the colour for a Doctor or Bachelor of Civil Law?), and "*de panno viridi*" (the colour for a Doctor of Divinity?). The inventory of Walter Skirlawe, Bishop of Durham (A.D. 1405-6), contains the mention of eight chimeres of various colours[4]; two of them being riding chimeres (*pro equitaturâ*), with a fur lining of minever. One of these was "*de violetta*"; and the other, "de murr'" (*i.e. murrey*).[5] From Henry VIII.'s Statute it would appear that black satten and black chamlet were sometimes worn.

Changes both in the colour of the academical dress, and in its shape, were not unknown in the Middle Ages.[6]

Whether this theory of the fifteenth century academical dress of Doctors be true or not,[7] it is evident that there has been a great change since then. Doctors in all the higher Faculties now wear scarlet in their dress; and both violet and green have disappeared. Precisely how the change came about, it is impossible to state; but possibly, the reason of

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[1] The writer desires to acknowledge his indebtedness to Mr. St. John Hope for this reference. See *Testament. Eborac.*, Pt. III. pp. 72, 73, Surtees Society.

[2] See *Testament. Eborac.*, I. p. 322, Surtees Society, Vol. 4.

[3] See the will of John Seggefyld, M.A., a Fellow of Lincoln College, *Muniment. Acad. Oxon.* Vol. II. p. 666, "unum tabardum de '*murrey*.'"

[4] See *Testament. Eborac.*, Pt. I. p. 322.

[5] In the same inventory is found the mention of a chimere curiously described as "*de violettâ nigrâ natâ*"—possibly a "*blue-black*" chimere.

[6] There is evidence of this in a Student-song in doggerel Latin, which shews that green had been exchanged for red; and also, the difference between the *pallium*, or long chimere, and the *cappa clausa*:—

"Color saepe palliis
et forma mutatur.
Color, cum pro viridi
rubrum conparatur,
Vel quod est interius
foris regiratur
Vel cum a tinctoribus
color coloratur.
* * *

"Vidi quosdam divites
famae satis clarae
Formas in multiplices
vestes variare,
Contra frigus hiemis
pallium cappare,
Veris ad introitum
cappam palliare."

Carmin. Buran., ed. J. A. Schmeller, Breslau, 1883.

[7] Anthony Wood gives a vague explanation of the use of the different colours at Oxford; but he is not *always* reliable, and there seems to be an insurmountable difficulty in the way of accepting his statements—they do not tally with the facts made known to us by the fifteenth century bequests and inventories contained in *Muniment. Acad. Oxon.*, above quoted. See Anthony A. Wood's *Hist. and Antiq. of the Univ. of Oxford*, Vol. I. p. 69.

the change may have been due to the suppression of the study of Canon Law in both Universities by Cromwell, the creature of Henry VIII., A.D. 1535.[1] A "murrey" tabard, or chimere, instead of the Master's *cappa*, was worn by the Master of Arts in the fifteenth century.[2] In that century it would have been possible for the same individual to be a Bachelor or Doctor of Canon and Civil Law, as well as a Doctor of Divinity; and consequently, a Doctor of Divinity might wear, on occasions, a violet or scarlet habit, if he had taken the degree entitling him to do so. Even after the suppression of the study of Canon Law by Henry VIII., one who had received the degree of Doctor of Canon Law might continue to wear the violet habit proper to his degree. This may have retarded the changes which have taken place. Nevertheless, it must be confessed that the variety of colours worn in the fifteenth century in the academical dress by the same person is very perplexing. The colours most in vogue for the Episcopal tabard, or chimere, appear to have been some shade of red, blue, and green; together with a more or less frequent use of the black chimere. These coloured chimeres were worn as the civil, not as the ecclesiastical, dress; but it is uncertain whether they carried with them any indication of the *academical* degrees attained by their wearer, or whether they were purely civil. They may have been worn at the mere dictate of fancy.

The foregoing discussion has been based largely upon the fashion—*i.e.* the form and colour—of the academical dress of Doctors, which was itself only a modification of the civil or canonical street-dress of ecclesiastics; because it seems to have been through this modified use that the tabard came to be, in post-reformation times, not only the substitute for the ancient choir habit of Anglican Bishops; but also, without lawful authority, for the sacred pontifical vestments as well—as we shall see in a subsequent section of this Paper. Both scarlet and black tabards, or chimeres, are now in use, according to the will of individual Bishops; for the custom is not yet fixed. In the primitive Church black was the colour of the dress worn by Bishops out of doors.[3]

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[1] See Bishop Stubbs' *Lectures on Mediaeval History*, p. 366.

[2] "The Cappa of the Oxford M.A. disappeared about the beginning of the sixteenth century, when we find the Regents granting themselves wholesale dispensations from its use." (*Universities of Europe*, Rev. H. Rashdall, M.A., Vol. III. p. 639, note 2.) The solitary instance in *Muniment. Acad. Oxon.* of the bequest of a *black* colobbe, or tabard, is contained in the will of Henry Scayfe, a Fellow of Queen's College. The will bears the date, Mar. 22, 1449: "Item, lego Magistro Johanni Trope collobium nigrum cum preculis." In the same will, the following garments are also bequeathed:—

"longam togam blodii cum caputio ejusdem";
"togam sanquineam cum caputio ejusdem";
"longam togam viridem cum caputio ejusdem";
"curtam togam viridem cum caputio ejusdem."

For mention of a *murrey* tabard bequeathed by a Master of Arts, see p. 196, note 3.

[3] See Socrates, *Ecclesiastical History*, Lib. VI. Cap. XXII. Catalani asserts that a very learned Regular Clerk, Antonio Caraccioli, has completely refuted Baronius, who had alleged that the clergy anciently wore violet. Catalani states the proof, and proceeds to shew that purple for the dress of the clergy was condemned at the Council of Narbonne, A.D. 589; but he adds, that in the following centuries, especially after A.D. 1000, there seems to have been no necessity for prescribing the use of black only; and accordingly, in later times, other colours became common. *Vide* Catalani, *Caer. Epis. Comment.*, Rome, 1744, Tom. I. pp. 11 *seq.*; also, Caraccioli, *Syn. Vet. Rel. Rit.*, etc., Paris, 1638, p. 122.

The fourth Provincial Council of Milan, A.D. 1576 (a date not long posterior to the introduction by English Bishops of the use of the black and the scarlet chimeres for ecclesiastical functions), directed that black should be used by the Bishops of the Province of Milan on Fridays and Vigils, and in Advent and Lent, except on Feast Days.[1] The Roman *Caeremoniale Episcoporum* still recognizes the custom of wearing the black *mantellettum;* but the custom itself seems to have been abandoned, except in the case of the death of the Pope, before the death has been officially announced. A fuller mention of this exception will be made further on. In the Roman Church, a case still more to the point is to be found in the use of the Italian *zimarra*, a garment corresponding to the Anglican chimere. This article of dress is commonly black; and it is worn by Cardinals, Bishops, Rectors of Colleges, beneficed Priests, and, as an academical dress, by Professors.[2]

III. The Chimere not a Mantellettum.

Within the compass of one small sub-note in Lee's *Directorium Anglicanum*, the reader is given a choice between two mistaken guesses at the origin of the chimere, which have led many

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[1] "Sexta quaque feria, tum praeterea in vigiliis, in adventu, in quadragesima, vestitum induant nigro colore iis diebus exceptis, quibus ex ritu ecclesiae nullum moestitiae signum vestibus ostendere debent; aliis autem, violacei coloris vestimenta adhibeant." (*Concil. General.*, Labbé and Cossart, ed. Coleti, Tom. XXI. col. 277, *Constit.* Pars III. Cap. I. De Episcopis.) *Cf.* also the Decrees of the Synod of Aix, in Provence, A.D. 1585: "Maxime convenire sciat si toto adventus & quadragesimae tempore omnibusque sextis feriis, ac jejuniorum diebus, nigro tantum colore utatur, sicut reliquo anni tempore violaceum episcopalis dignitatis proprium dimittere non debet." (*Ibid.*, col. 971.)

[2] The Italian word *zimarra*, like the cognate Latin word *chimæra*, and the English *chimere*, is used to designate two different articles of dress—the cassock, or under-chimere, and the over-garment which we ordinarily call the chimere; and which, as worn by Roman Bishops, has sleeves, as we shall see. Moroni describes the two different garments as follows:—(1.) "É una sottana (cassock) con di più una piccola pellegrina o bavero intorno al collo, e delle mezze maniche aperte, o sopra-maniche, sul principio del braccio, con bottoni e asole o senza." (2.) "Principalmente la zimarra è una veste talare degli ecclesiastici, domestici e anche pubblica," etc. Moroni, *Dizionario*, sub voce *zimarra*. With regard to this latter vestment, which corresponds to the modern black chimere of Anglican Prelates, Moroni says: "In casa i vescovi e gli altri prelati vestono la zimarra nera colle orlature, asole, bottoni color rubino." (*Ibid.*, *sub voce* "Vesti," Tom. XCVI. pp. 214, 215.) The academical *zimarra* is not buttoned, but fastened at the neck, like the modern Anglican D.D. habit, and the black Episcopal chimere: "Tutti i professori insegnando nella cattedra magistrale vestono di zimarra di scoto nero, le cui particularità consistono, di non avere abbotonatura, fermandola solo al collo un ancinello." (Moroni, *Dizionario*, Tom. LXXXV. p. 183, *sub voce* "Università Romana.")

The *zimarra* of modern Roman Bishops is black, with a red edging and red buttons in front. It has short, puffed, upper sleeves; and lower sleeves (doubtless belonging, originally, to the cassock, or under-chimere) extending to the wrists. It is plain at the back, not gathered into pleats, like the modern black chimere of Anglican Bishops. In length, it reaches to the feet; and it has a train behind. A short cape of the same colour, covering the shoulders, is worn with it. Among the Roman Prelates, outside of Italy, who wear the Italian black *zimarra* (called in French *simarre*) may be mentioned the Cardinal Archbishop of Baltimore and the Archbishop of Philadelphia. It is worn, of course, by Italian Bishops; and also by *monsignori* of the Roman Curia. It is a civil, not ecclesiastical, dress.

astray.[1] If the reader is not satisfied that the chimere is a "kind of cope," he may adopt the idea of "some ritualistic writers," and "call it the *mantellettum*." But to *call* a thing by the names of two remotely different objects does not make it either the one or the other. The *mantellettum* is not a "kind of cope"; and the chimere is neither a cope nor a *mantellettum*.

A most excellent Missionary Bishop, who at this present time is not exercising any Episcopal jurisdiction, is said to have been the first to act upon the idea of the "ritualistic writers" who had called the chimere a *mantellettum*. Thinking, very probably, that he had only a "kind of" *mantellettum* while the colour of his chimere was black, he exchanged it for one of purple or plum-colour, in order to bring his dress into closer conformity to the apparel proper to a Bishop of the Roman Curia. His example has been followed by a few Colonial and American Bishops; but an investigation into the significance of the act of wearing the *mantellettum* will show at once, it is hoped, that the change to purple or plum-colour was injudicious.[2] Perhaps the good Bishop thought that the *mantellettum* is a symbol of Episcopal jurisdiction; but if so, he was greatly mistaken.

The *mantellettum* (Italian, *mantelletta*) is a sleeveless garment (shorter than the Anglican chimere, but not unlike it in general appearance, except that it is not pleated at the back) worn, according to *modern* Roman use, by Cardinals, Bishops, Regular Abbots, and others to whom the use of it is granted by the Roman Pontiff. The colour is proper to the estate of the person who wears it. The *mantellettum* of Cardinals is scarlet, purple, rose-coloured, or black. A secular Bishop wears purple. Regular Prelates wear a *mantellettum* conforming in colour to the habit of their respective Orders. Where the habit is of one colour throughout (as is the case with the black habit of the Benedictines or the grey habit of the Franciscans), the *mantellettum* takes the colour of the habit—a Benedictine Bishop would assume a black *mantellettum*, and a Franciscan Bishop would assume a grey *mantellettum*. Where the habit consists of two colours, as for example, the habit of the Dominicans, Cistercians, and Carmelites, the colour of the *mantellettum* is the same as that of the outer garment; and therefore a Dominican or Cistercian Bishop would wear a black *mantellettum;* but the *mantellettum* of a Carmelite Bishop would be white.[3] A Bishop who is a Religious wears, of course, no rochet. Catalani traces the use of the *mantellettum*, as a vestment of the Roman Curia, as far back as the time of Pope Sixtus IV. A.D. 1483, who gave directions concerning its use to the Legate whom he sent to France.

The use of the *mantellettum*, apart from its colour, has a special significance. As the *rochet*, when worn uncovered by a Bishop, is a sign of Episcopal jurisdiction, so the *mantellettum* worn over the rochet denotes that the jurisdiction of the Bishop is suspended in the presence of the Pope or of a Papal Legate. By the present rule of the Roman Church, a Bishop does not use the *mantellettum* in his own diocese, except in certain cases provided

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[1] "The chimere is properly a kind of cope with apertures for the arms to pass through. A scarlet one is used in Convocation, and when the sovereign attends Parliament; on ordinary occasions a black satin one is used. Some ritualistic writers call it the *mantellettum*." *Direct. Anglican.*, 4th edition, 1879, p. 122, note 1, sub-note [a].

[2] A few Bishops, in order to be consistent, have adopted also *a purple scarf or a purple Episcopal stole* (!).

[3] See Moroni, *Dizionario, sub voce* "Mantelletta."

for in the *Caeremoniale Episcoporum*.[1] If a Legate of the Pope should be sent into a diocese the Bishop of that diocese would be bound to use the *mantellettum* as a covering of the rochet, in order to signify that the spiritual jurisdiction of the Legate, as the Pope's representative, is higher than his own. For a similar reason all Roman Catholic Cardinals, Bishops, and other Prelates, wear the *mantellettum* over the rochet in Rome, because of the presence of the Pope. But the Pope himself (although he sometimes wears a white *zimarra*, or chimere—to use the corresponding English word) never wears the *mantellettum*.[2] At the first news of the death of the Pope, the Cardinals at Rome assume the black *mantellettum*, as a sign of mourning; but as soon as the official notification of the Pope's death has been made, they lay aside the *mantellettum*, and wear a *mozetta* with the rochet; in order to signify that a sovereign authority rests upon the College of Cardinals, in which authority each Cardinal has an equal share.[3]

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[1] See *Caeremoniale Episcoporum*, Lib. I. Cap. I. and Cap. IV. Cf. *Manual. Decret. Sac. Rit. Congregat.*, ed. Martinucci, Ratisbon, 1873, p. 711: "In propria diœcesi Episcopus seu Archiepiscopus non habet usum *mantelletti*, nisi in quibusdam casibus in Caeremoniali expressis." There is a noteworthy exception to this rule in the case of the Spanish Bishops, whose practice Moroni describes, as follows: "I vescovi di Spagna usano la mantelletta in un alla mozetta, la quale mantelletta ha di particolare, che da un lato vi è una bottoniera con molti bottoni, e dall' altro le asole, e ciò in tutta l'apertura della parte anteriore; però in curia romana anch' essi depongo la mozetta, portando la sola mantelletta cogli altri abiti." (*Dizionario, sub voce* "Mantelletta.") If the truth were known, it would probably be found that this Spanish Episcopal garment is not a true *mantellettum*, any more than the English Episcopal chimere is; but that it is made to do duty as a *mantellettum* when the Spanish Bishops go to Rome.

The *Caeremoniale Episcoporum* recognizes, however, the exceptional use of the *mozetta* over the *mantellettum*: "Cum autem Episcopi, nulli regulari ordini adscripti, seu ex ordinibus militaribus assumpti, extra diœcesim fuerint, mozetta super mantellettum utantur, ubi talis viget consuetudo." (Cap. I. 4.) Cardinal Wolsey in his portraits is represented in mozetta and mantellettum; but Cardinal Pole is represented in *mozetta* and rochet, without the mantellettum. (See Lodge's *Portraits*.) For the use of the *mozetta* with the *mantellettum* by Bishops in their own dioceses, see Moroni, *sub voce* "Mozetta." The writer's thanks are due to Rev. Dr. Percival for a reference to Moroni's *Dizionario*.

[2] "Finalmente del Papa, la cui zimarra di lana o di seta è interamente bianca. (Moroni, *Dizionario, sub voce* "Zimarra.")

[3] See *Le Conclave*, by "Lucius Lector," Paris, P. Lethielleux, 1894, pp. 146–153, for a very interesting account of the Ceremonies observed at the death of Pope Pius IX. It may be well to quote here what "Lucius Lector" says of the significance of the uncovered rochet: "En quittant la chambre mortuaire, [*sc.* du Pape] le camerlange se retire un instant dans l'antichambre secrète pour deposer sa *mantelletta*, et 'decouvrir son rochet.' Devant le pape, tous les dignitaires de l'église ont le rochet ou surplis recouvert de la *mantelletta*, signe que leur pouvoir de juridiction est suspendu. Laisser voir le rochet, pendant la vacance du Siège, et porter la simple *mozette* où *pèlerine* est donc, pour les cardinaux, le signe de l'autorité en quelque sorte souveraine, à laquelle chacun participe dans une measure égale." (*Le Conclave*, p. 153.) *Cf.* the following: "Il rocchetto è un abito giurisdizionale, *insegna vescovile principalmente*, un ornamento ecclesiastico, ed è usato dal Papa, dai cardinali, dai vescovi, dai prelati, dai canonici regolari, dai canonici secolari e da altri per pontificia concessione." (Moroni, *Dizionario*, Vol. LVIII. p. 70, col. 1) Also: "*Come segno giurisdizione portano sempre il rocchetto i vescovi*, anche fuori di casa, cuoprendolo di mantelletta (non portando allora la mozetta) in presenza al Papa o al legato apostolico." (*Ibid.* p. 73, col. 2.)

Suffragan Bishops of the Province of Milan wore the *mantellettum* in the presence of their Metropolitan, as well as in the presence of a legate of the Holy See.[1]

It may seem to be a matter of slight import, that a half-dozen Colonial and American Bishops should have introduced a purple garment (meant to imitate the *mantellettum* of Roman Bishops) into the place of the black or scarlet Anglican chimere; yet it is well to point out the cruel irony of fact, by which some of the staunch maintainers of the spiritual prerogatives of the Anglican Episcopate have so stultified their belief by their act, as to signify by their adoption of a vestment of the Roman Curia that their Episcopal jurisdiction is in a state of suspension; and that, too, even in their own dioceses, and when no Legate from the Holy See is present.

IV. The Chimere not a Cope.

The idea that the chimere is a cope was embraced, and seriously defended, by the late Bishop of Manchester (Dr. Fraser), who attempted to justify his not wearing the ecclesiastical cope by the argument that he already obeyed the direction of the canon[2] by wearing a "kind of cope," commonly called a "chimere." In support of his theory of the meaning of the canon, he gave as his warrant for the supposed character of the chimere the opinion of three "ecclesiological authorities."[3]

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[1] "Si quando contigerit, vel legatum pontificium, vel cardinalem sanctae Romanae ecclesiae, vel metropolitanum hujus provinciae (sc. Mediolanen.) adventare, aut divertire in aliquam provinciae dioecesin, aut in ea diutius etiam commorari, tunc episcopus dioecesanus cum ei obviam prodit, aut congressum, colloquiumve cum eo habet, aut denique in ejus conspectu praesens, sive publice sive privatim adest, *ne rochetum detectum ferat, sed superiori veste contegat.* Eumdem honorem tribuat, deferatve apostolico suae ecclesiae visitatori, & illi item, qui in ea regione internuntius apostolicus est." (*Concil. General.*, Labbé and Cossart, ed. Coleti, Tom. XXI. col. 470.) *Cf.* also *Caeremon. Epis. Comment.*, Catalani, Rom. 1744, Tom. I. p. 1. Catalani explains that by the upper vestment (*superiori veste*) the *mantellettum* is intended.

[2] Canons of 1604, Can. XXIV.

[3] See the postscript of a letter from Dr. Fraser to Dean Cowie, published in the *Standard* newspaper, Jan. 20, 1883, p. 3, col. 6:—"For myself I claim that in wearing the Episcopal robe known as the 'chimere' I wear a cope. When I said this in my place in the York Convocation two years ago, Canon Bright, writing in the *London Guardian*, treated my statement as a *mauvaise plaisanterie.* I assure the Canon I was quite serious. The vestment worn by Bishops, which since the days of Archbishop Parker has been called a 'chimere' is in fact a 'cope'; so say the ecclesiological authorities. 'Chimere': a 'cope' with apertures for the arms (*Kalendar of the English Church*, 1880, p. 62). The chimere is properly a kind of cope with apertures for the arms to pass through. A scarlet one is used in Convocation, and when the Sovereign attends Parliament. On ordinary occasions a black satin one is used. (*Directorium Anglicanum*, p. 95, 'Chimere: a sort of cope of black satin, worn by Bishops, with the sleeves of the rochet sewn to it.') The word seems to have been first used by Archbishop Parker (Orby Shipley's *Glossary of Ecclesiastical Terms*). The canon simply requires a 'decent cope,' without prescribing either shape or size. When, therefore, I am wearing my chimere, I assert that I am complying with the law."

Now, in addition to the proof already given that the chimere is a tabard or sleeveless coat, not a cope, it may be said furthermore, in reply:—

1. If the good Bishop's interpretation of the canon proved that he was obeying the law in using a chimere when the canon ordered a "decent cope," it would have proved also more than he intended; for, if the chimere be the "kind of cope" intended by the canon, it would follow that the "Gospeller" and "Epistler," even though they were not Bishops, should likewise wear the Episcopal chimere when a Bishop was celebrating in his chimere; because the canon directs that the Principal Minister, whether he be Bishop, Dean, Canon, or Prebendary should be "assisted with the Gospeller and Epistler *agreeably*," etc., *i.e.* in copes, like the Celebrant.[1]

2. When the second Prayer Book of Edward VI. (which forbade the use of both cope and vestment) came into use on All Saints' Day, 1552, Bishop Ridley "in his rochet only, without cope or vestment, preached in the choir" of St. Paul's.[2]

No one will venture to assert that the Episcopal chimere was condemned by this second Prayer Book; consequently, the Episcopal chimere cannot be the cope which Queen Elizabeth restored by her "Advertisements"; and if not, it is not the "kind of cope" ordered in Canon XXIV. As for Bishop Ridley, the fact that he used the "rochet only" in the choir of St. Paul's would point with a greater probability to the conclusion that the Episcopal black chimere, even though used in the street, was not yet used in church by Bishops. There is no proof that it had been used in church, when the choice of "a vestment or cope" was allowed at the "ministration of holy Communion" by the rubric of the Prayer Book of 1549. And although the scarlet habit of a Doctor of Divinity is called a "cappa" in the Laudian Statutes of the University of Oxford, because it is a substitute for the *cappa clausa;* it does not at all follow that the word "*cope*" is the English equivalent.[3] The word "*cappa*" or "*capa*" is often used in mediaeval Latin, where the rendering "cope" would be very misleading.[4]

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[1] The Latin version of the canon shews clearly that copes were intended for the Assistant Ministers, as well as for the Principal Minister, and no distinction is made as to the "kind of cope":—"*Coenae in Festis solennibus administratio in ecclesiis Cathedralibus et Coenam administrantibus Capparum usus injunctus.*" (Latin Title of Canon XXIV, Cardwell's *Synodalia*, Vol. I. p. 175.) Furthermore, the meaning of the word "agreeably" is fixed, not only by the Latin title of the canon, but also by a reference in the canon itself to the "Advertisements published Anno 7 Eliz.," where it is said that "the principal minister shall use a cope with gospeller and epistoler agreeably," by which it is evidently intended that the "gospeller" and "epistoler" shall wear copes as well as the celebrant. (See Cardwell's *Document Annals*, Vol. I. p. 291.) It is certainly not the chimere which is called a cope in the "Advertisements" of Queen Elizabeth. Consequently the cope of Canon XXIV. cannot be a chimere. Full proof of this latter assertion will be given later on.

[2] See Strype's *Memorials of Cranmer*, Eccles. Hist. Society, Vol. II. p. 406, note; *cf.*, also, foot-note on p. 407.

[3] The *cappa clausa* and the Laudian "cappa," or "sleveless coat" of Henry VIII.'s Statute, are *copes* only in the sense in which any large modern cloak or great coat for out-of-doors use may be called a cope—in the sense of the improbable derivation of "cappa,"—"quia totum *capit* hominem."

[4] The French language has two words to represent the two different meanings of the Latin *cappa*, viz. the words *cape*[a] and *chape*.[b] The English word *cloak* or *cape* is often a better rendering of the Latin word than *cope;* because in English the latter word has commonly the restricted meaning of the word *chape*.

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[a] Se , *e.g.*, Le Vavasseur, *Caeremon.* I. p. 406, No. 124. [b] See, *e.g.*, Le Vavasseur, *Caeremon.* I. 52, *et passim.*

In our present Ordinal, at the Consecration of a Bishop, the rubric directs that the "Elected Bishop" when he is presented for consecration shall be "vested with his Rochet"; and he is directed to put on "the rest of the Episcopal habit," before the singing or saying of *Veni, Creator Spiritus.* This was a new rubric in 1662: no such direction had been given before. Those who drew up and sanctioned the rubric probably intended to direct the Bishop elect to wear at his consecration the civil dress of a Bishop; but it does not permit the consecrating Archbishop and the co-consecrating Bishops to wear the same dress or habit. The vestments to be worn by them are prescribed by Canon XXIV. (Canons of 1604), and by the later order of the "Ornaments Rubric" of the Prayer Book of 1662; Bishops, as well as Priests and Deacons, being "Ministers" in the sense in which that word is used in the "Ornaments Rubric." It is interesting to note, in this connexion, that the chief "Minister" at the consecration of Archbishop Parker was vested in a silk cope, being assisted, "agreeably," in copes, by two Priests, Parker's chaplains[1]; while Parker himself and two of the co-consecrators were vested in rochet without either chimere or cope; and one of the remaining co-consecrators (Coverdale) wore what seems to have been some sort of woollen gown or cassock, whose colour is not given. *After the Service of Consecration and Holy Communion was entirely finished,* the newly-consecrated Archbishop put on a black silk chimere and a "collar of sables" (*i.e.* a scarf, or tippet, lined with sable fur, like that of Archbishops Warham and Cranmer), Bishops Barlow and Scory likewise having put on their chimeres. Coverdale and Hodgkins did not wear chimeres at all.[2]

[1] Parker was consecrated on Dec. 17, 1559. In that same year, on Sept. 9th, at St. Paul's, during the performance of the royal obsequy bestowed by Queen Elizabeth upon Henry II. of France, who had died on July 10th, there was, as Heylin says, a "Communion celebrated by the Bishops, *then attired in copes upon their surplices*"[a]; whereas on the preceding day, when the "divine offices" were performed, they were "no otherwise at that time than in hoods and surplices."[a] See Heylin's *History of the Reformation*, Eccles. Hist. Society, Vol. II. p. 305. They did not wear the chimere and tippet, or scarf, on either occasion.

[2] The description, which is given in full in Bailey's *Defence of Holy Orders of Church of England* (Latin and English), may be summarized thus:—

At Mattins and Sermon.

Parker was vested in the Cambridge D.D. scarlet gown or habit (*toga Talari Coccinea*). The dress of the four consecrating Bishops is not mentioned.

At the Holy Communion and Consecration.

Parker wore a linen surplice, *i.e.*, doubtless, an "Episcopal surplice," or rochet. Barlow (Bishop Elect of Chichester) wore a silk cope as Celebrant. Parker's Chaplains, Nicholas Bullingham (Archdeacon of Lincoln), and Edmund Gest (Archdeacon of Canterbury), were vested "agreeably," as Gospeller and Epistoler, in silk copes. Scory (Bishop Elect of Hereford), and Hodgkins (Bishop Suffragan of Bedford), were both in surplices, *i.e.* in "Episcopal surplices," or rochets. Coverdale (formerly Bishop of Exeter) wore a long woollen gown or cassock (*toga lanea talari*), colour and description not being given.

After the Holy Communion and Consecration.

After the Service was entirely finished, Parker put on, over his "white Episcopal surplice," *i.e.* his rochet, a black silk chimere and a "collar of sables"; but he left the chapel to put them on. Bishops Barlow and Scory also left the chapel, and returned with Parker, vested in their "Episcopal apparel," like-wise; *i.e.* in the "Episcopal surplice," or rochet, and the chimere. Coverdale and Hodgkins were vested in their woollen gowns or cassocks (*togis talaribus*), which are not particularly described.

[a] Doubtless "Episcopal surplices," *i.e.* rochets. See the Register of Archbishop Parker's consecration.

From this contemporaneous description of the Ceremonies at Parker's Consecration, it is evident that the chimere was still regarded as a street-dress, not as an ecclesiastical vestment; for it was not put on until the services were quite finished, and the Archbishop and the Bishops were ready to leave for their homes.

V. The Proper Use of the Black Chimere.

Although no proof has ever been given that the black chimere was worn as an *ecclesiastical* vestment by any pre-reformation Anglican Bishop, or by Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, Hooper,[1] Parker, or by the Bishops generally until the time of Parker or later; still, as the Statute of Henry VIII. (Anno 24), on the dress of the clergy,[2] does expressly allow "doctours or bachelours in divinittee . . . which have taken that degree, or be admitted in any universitee, to wear sarcenet in the lyning of theyr gownes, blacke satten or blacke chamlet in their doublettes and sleeveless cotes"; and as the Prayer Book of 1662 does provide that the Bishop Elect, at a certain part of the Service of Consecration, shall put on the "rest of the Episcopal habit" (*i.e.* the scarf and chimere, whose colour is not specified); and as, moreover, for nearly three hundred years, by common consent, the black chimere has been used as an ecclesiastical vestment (and far more frequently than the scarlet chimere), the question may properly be asked, whether it would not be well that our Prelates should retain that Episcopal habit which has been so distinctive a feature in the ceremonial of the Anglican Episcopate. Eminent Prelates are bringing the scarlet chimere into more frequent requisition; and are frequently seen in cope, instead of chimere, in their Cathedral Churches, and even outside of them[3]; nor are the instances few when Bishops use the more proper Eucharistic vestments at the Altar[4]; but it is not yet too late to urge in defence of the retention and proper use of the black chimere the following considerations:—

(1.) Perhaps it may not be beyond all hope to see the rochet, the black "satten" or "chamlet" "sleeveless cote," the tippet of sables, and the square cap restored to common use, as the

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[1] There is no evidence that Hooper ever wore the *black* chimere—even as a street-dress. See Gardiner's *Student's History of England:* "For some time he hung back, refusing to wear the episcopal vestments as being a mark of Antichrist, but at last he gave way, and was consecrated in them, but he cast them off as soon as the ceremony was over" (p. 417). *Cf.* Heylin's account: "So that at last the differences were thus compromised; that is to say, that Hooper should receive his consecration, attired in his episcopal robes; *that he should be dispensed withal from wearing it* (*sic*) *at ordinary times, as his daily habit;* but that he should be bound to use it whensoever he preached before the King, in his own cathedral, or any other place of like public nature. According to which agreement, being appointed to preach before the King, he shewed himself apparelled in his Bishop's robes; namely, a long scarlet chimere, reaching down to the ground, for his upper garment (changed in Queen Elizabeth's time to one of black satten), and under that a white linen rochet, with a square cap upon his head; which Fox reproacheth by the name of a popish attire," etc. (*History of the Reformation*, Vol. I. p. 192, Eccles. Hist. Society.)

[2] Quoted above, see p. 190.

[3] As for example, at the Queen's Jubilee Service, on the steps of St. Paul's.

[4] The chasuble is not the only proper Mass vestment. All Bishops of the Russian Church, and the Metropolitans of the Greek Church use the *sakkos* (a vestment identical in shape with the Western dalmatic) instead of the *phelonion* or Eastern chasuble. "Osserva il Buonaroti, che i greci per lo più rappresentarono nelle loro pitture i vescovi vestiti della dalmatica, mentre i latini sovente gli hanno

Episcopal civil dress out of doors. The idea does not seem to be altogether impossible of realization, since we know that His Grace the Archbishop of York wore, beyond the seas, his rochet, his Convocation robes, his purple cassock, and a massive gold pectoral cross, on the occasion of his visit to Moscow, when he called to pay his respects to the Metropolitan Sergius.[1] Such a restoration would spare the eyes the unedifying sight, too often seen, alas! in the sacristy of our churches, when the Bishop comes to the church, not wearing the proper Episcopal habit.[2] If this hope could be realized, the black chimere would be restored to its proper use.

(2.) If the chimere be a form of the tabard, it is not the same as the old choir "*cappa nigra*"; yet, as the choir *cappa* was worn out of doors, as well as in choir,[3] there would seem to be no reason why the proper civil dress of Bishops should not be used also in choir. The rochet with nothing over it but the black scarf would have a somewhat bare look, even in summer-time, unless the scarf could be restored to its former dignity, as a tippet of sables.[4]

(3.) And since both Cranmer and Ridley insisted that Hooper should preach in his scarlet chimere, there would seem to be no reason why the use of the chimere in preaching, which has continued to the present time, should be discontinued, even though commonly the colour be black.

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figurati vestiti colla penula ossia pianeta antica più ampia dell' odierna. Notò poi, che la dalmatica fu più in istima della penula, per averla i Papi concessa per privilegio specialissimo anche a' vescovi, il che della pianeta non si legge." (Moroni, *Dizionario, sub voce* "Vesti," Tom. XCVI. p. 36.) And the Bishops of various heretical Oriental rites[a] use a *phelonion*, or chasuble, open in front (except for a fastening at the breast), whose appearance is distinguishable from that of a cope only by the absence of the hood; which has an atrophied existence on the modern Western cope, being commonly reduced to a piece of velvet or silk and a border of fringe in the shape of the outline of a hood.

[1] See *The Guardian*, June 2, 1897, p. 875, col. 1.

[2] The First Provincial Council of Milan, A.D. 1565, carefully safeguarded the dignity of the Bishops of that Province: "Sine talari tunica (sc. the cassock), quae ad collum adstricta sit, ac mozeta, neque e cubiculo exeat; neque quemquam, nisi ex familia, admittat; neque eum vestitum ante noctem, vel nisi dimissis omnibus, deponat." (*Concil. General.*, Labbé and Cossart, ed. Coleti, Tom. XXI. col. 32, Cap. XVII. *De Episcopi Vestitu.*)

[3] *E.g.* the cappa of Regular Canons, and of Dominican Friars.

[4] The introduction of the use of the scarlet hood of a Doctor of Divinity with the black chimere and scarf is ascribed to Dr. Samuel Wilberforce, formerly Bishop of Oxford. He probably would have urged in defence of the practice the analogous use of the hood with the scarlet D.D. habit or chimere, with which the black scarf is also worn. Such simultaneous use of hood and scarf can claim modern, but not pre-reformation, authority. According to ancient custom, a *scarlet tippet* was allowed to be worn as a part of the civil dress of a Doctor of Divinity, as will appear from the following quotation:—"Provided that it shall be lawful for every Doctor of Divinity, and for the Master of any College, to weare a scarlett tippet, or a tippet of velvet, according to the antient customs of the realme, and of the said University (*sc.* Cambridge): the which gown, tippet, and square cap, the said Doctors and Hedds shall be lykewise bound to weare when they shall resort either to the Courte or to the City of London." *Orig. Letters, Illust. of Eng. Hist.*, by Sir Henry Ellis, London, 1824, Vol. III. pp. 25, 26, Letter CCXXVI. The letter was written by the High Treasurer, Lord Burghley (Burleigh), as Chancellor, to the University of Cambridge. The date of the letter was May 7th, 1588.

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[a] See Brightman's *Eastern Liturgies*, p. 592, col. 2.

(4.) Lastly, the use of the chimere may well be continued as at present for the less solemn occasions during a Synod, or at Diocesan Conferences, and the like; for the chimere is a proper substitute for the *cappa clausa*, which was worn on such occasions by Bishops before the reformation.[1]

There is need of further legislation as to the occasions when the chimere, either black or scarlet, should be worn. It is evident that, hitherto, its use by Bishops in Churches and Cathedrals has been too general; for a street-dress, or a black riding-habit, or even the academical dress of a Doctor of Divinity, is not a suitable vestment for the offering of the Holy Sacrifice, or the administration of the Sacraments. It might be well to have certain prescribed days for the use of the scarlet chimere in Churches, after the analogy of the "scarlet days" at the Universities,[2] with the use of the black chimere on all other occasions when the cope or chasuble is not used. For the black chimere, if not a *mantellettum* or a "decent cope," is at least a decent garment, and is worthy of retention for its own proper use—firstly, as a part of the civil dress of Bishops, to be worn generally out of doors, or on special public occasions; and secondly, at certain ecclesiastical functions where its use shall have been sanctioned by competent authority. Its universal use by Bishops in Cathedrals and Churches is neither in accordance with early post-reformation custom, nor with the Ecclesiastical Canons of 1604, nor with the Ornaments Rubric in the present Book of Common Prayer.

The purpose of this Paper has been, in part, to set forth a reasonable theory, to account for the unquestionable use of various colours in the Episcopal chimeres worn before the reformation. Whether that theory be true or not, it is abundantly manifest that purple was not the colour proper to the pre-reformation English Bishops, nor even the predominant colour worn by them. They would not have known what was meant by the term "Episcopal purple." Their cassocks were more frequently scarlet, it would appear, than purple; and they certainly would never have dreamt of wearing the violet chimere at any ecclesiastical function whatsoever, unless it were an academical function as well. Let our Right Reverend Prelates, if they will, retain and use on suitable occasions their black and scarlet tabards, which have become dignified for ecclesiastical use by a custom of more than three centuries; but it is to be hoped that no attempt will be made, in England, America, or the Colonies, to restore the obsolete academical tabards, of colours other than scarlet or black, and to transform them into new-fangled Episcopal chimeres, mantellettas, or "kinds of copes," of "*blodius*," "*viridis*," "murrey," "medylley," "violet ingrayne," "*lividus*," "sadde medle," "blewmelled," or "mosterdevelys"![3]

It was the intention of the writer to have added a Supplementary Note, *On the Choir Habit of the Pre-Reformation Anglican Bishops;* in which it would have been shewn that, whatever may have been the colour of the civil or academical dress in which the Bishops appeared outside of the Cathedrals and Churches, their choir habit was not purple or violet; unless,

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[1] See p. 107, note 3.

[2] "The so-called scarlet days were first fixed by a Grace of 1577, in which only Doctors are mentioned as wearing the *toga murice tincta*." ("English Academical Costume," by Professor E. C. Clark, LL.D., *Archæological Journal*, Vol. L. p. 202.)

[3] See *Muniment. Acad. Oxon.* Vol. II. *passim*, for the various colours used in the academical dress in the fifteenth century.

perhaps, the cassock, or under-chimere, were sometimes of purple (*i.e.* a dark blue-purple, not violet); but the subject is too large to be treated satisfactorily in a short note at the end of a long Paper. Suffice it to say, for the present, that the violet dress worn by modern Roman Bishops in choir, in accordance with the custom of the modern Roman Curia, is quite contrary to pre-reformation Anglican tradition, and also to the custom of the Roman Church and Curia in the earlier years. And there is even less reason for believing that the pre-reformation Anglican Bishops wore in England the purple *mantelletta* or the purple *mozetta*, than there is for believing that they wore the pectoral cross. Only two instances have been adduced hitherto of the use of the pectoral cross in England before the Reformation—St. Cuthbert and St. Alphege.[1] Probably not a single instance could be found of a pre-reformation Bishop in England officiating or assisting at any ecclesiastical function in a purple *mantelletta*—unless, indeed, it may have been worn to cover the rochet in the presence of a Papal Legate; but even that is very doubtful.

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[1] Even the Cardinals Wolsey, Pole, and Allen are represented in their portraits without the pectoral cross. A third instance, however, is to be found in the reliques of a Bishop, discovered at Dorchester in the thirteenth century, and supposed at the time to be those of St. Birinus. The finding of these reliques, A.D. 1224, is thus described: "Quidam canonicus juratus dixit crebrò se audisse Wilhelmum canonicum dicentem, quendam ipsi in visu saepius apparuisse, jussisseque sepulcrum quoddam inquirere in ecclesia Dorcestrensi ante altare sanctae Crucis, ubi inventurus esset corpus S. Birini: factaque ab Abbate potestate, quaesito sepulcro et aperto, praesentibus Abbate et Canonicis, invenisse corpus Episcopi integrum cum duplici stola, et infula rubra è panno serico, atque *cum Cruce è metallo confecta, pectori ejus imposita*,"[a] etc. *Apud Surium*, 3 *Dec.*, *De Vitis Sanctorum*, Venice, 1581, fol. 220, a, col. 2. For evidence of the optional use of the pectoral cross in the Middle Ages, see Card. Bona, *De Rebus Liturg.*, Lib. I. Cap. XXIV. § X. Edit. Sala., p. 245.

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[a] The Canons at Dorchester apparently disbelieved the statement of the Venerable Bede, that the body of St. Birinus had been translated to Winchester. See Bede's *Eccles. Hist.*, Lib. III. Cap. VII.

APPENDIX:—

Containing four Plates, Illustrating the fore-going Paper; together with a Description of the Plates, in Corroboration of the Tabard-Theory of the Origin of the Episcopal Chimere; and also a few Observations on the black Scarf, or Tippet.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATES I AND II.

These two Plates have been prepared expressly for the *Transactions of the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society*, through the kindness of the librarian of New College, Oxford, Professor Margoliouth, in lending the original manuscript for the purpose. They are copies of two (out of a set of four) fifteenth century drawings, placed at the beginning of a manuscript belonging to the library of New College, and containing the following inscription, in a handwriting of the period: "Ex dono reverendi in Christo patris domini Thomae de Bekyntona, Bathon. et Wellensis episcopi, et labore magistri Thome Chaundlere, hujus ecclesiae Cancellarii. Oretis pro animabus utriusque." One of the four drawings (not reproduced here) represents Chandler presenting the manuscript to his patron, de Bekynton, or Beckington, the Bishop of Bath and Wells. A reproduction of all four drawings will be found in *Archaeologia*, Vol. LIII, Part I, together with a descriptive Paper entitled, "On Some Fifteenth-Century Drawings of Winchester College," by Thomas Frederick Kirby, Esq., to whom the writer of the present Paper owes a debt of gratitude for bringing the manuscript to his notice; and for the interesting description, from which extracts have been made for this Appendix.

With regard to the original drawings Mr. Kirby says: "They are from a MS. at New College, Oxford, entitled *Brevis Chronica de ortu, vita, et gestis nobilibus reverendi viri Willelmi de Wykeham*, which is generally attributed to Thomas Chandler . . . Warden of Winchester and New College, Chancellor of the University of Oxford, and of the Churches of Wells and York; Master of St. Cross Hospital, near Winchester; dean of Hereford and of the Chapel Royal; and Secretary of State under Henry VI and Edward IV. He died in 1490."

It will be well to quote Mr. Kirby's description of the two drawings which are represented in Plates I and II in this Appendix; and after that, to point out certain details observed by the present writer; which will, it is hoped, furnish strong corroborative evidence of the truth of the theory advanced in the fore-going Paper concerning the origin of the Episcopal Chimere.

Of the original drawing of Plate I, which is a bird's-eye view of New College, Mr. Kirby says: "The Society are on parade . . . ; all of them, except the sixteen choristers kneeling in the first row, appear to be tonsured."

"Plate XVIII [*sc.* in *Archaeologia*; but Plate II in this Appendix] contains a likeness of William of Wykeham seated and holding one of his colleges in each hand. On either side of

To face Plate I.

KEY TO THE GROUP OF THE SOCIETY OF NEW COLLEGE, OXFORD.

1. The Warden.
2. Doctors of Divinity.
3. Other Doctors.
4. Bachelors of Divinity.
5. Masters of Arts.
6. Bachelors of Canon Law.
7. Bachelors of Civil Law.
8. Bachelors of Arts.
9. Ten Chaplains (*minime graduati*).
10. Three Clerks (,, ,,)
11. Choristers.

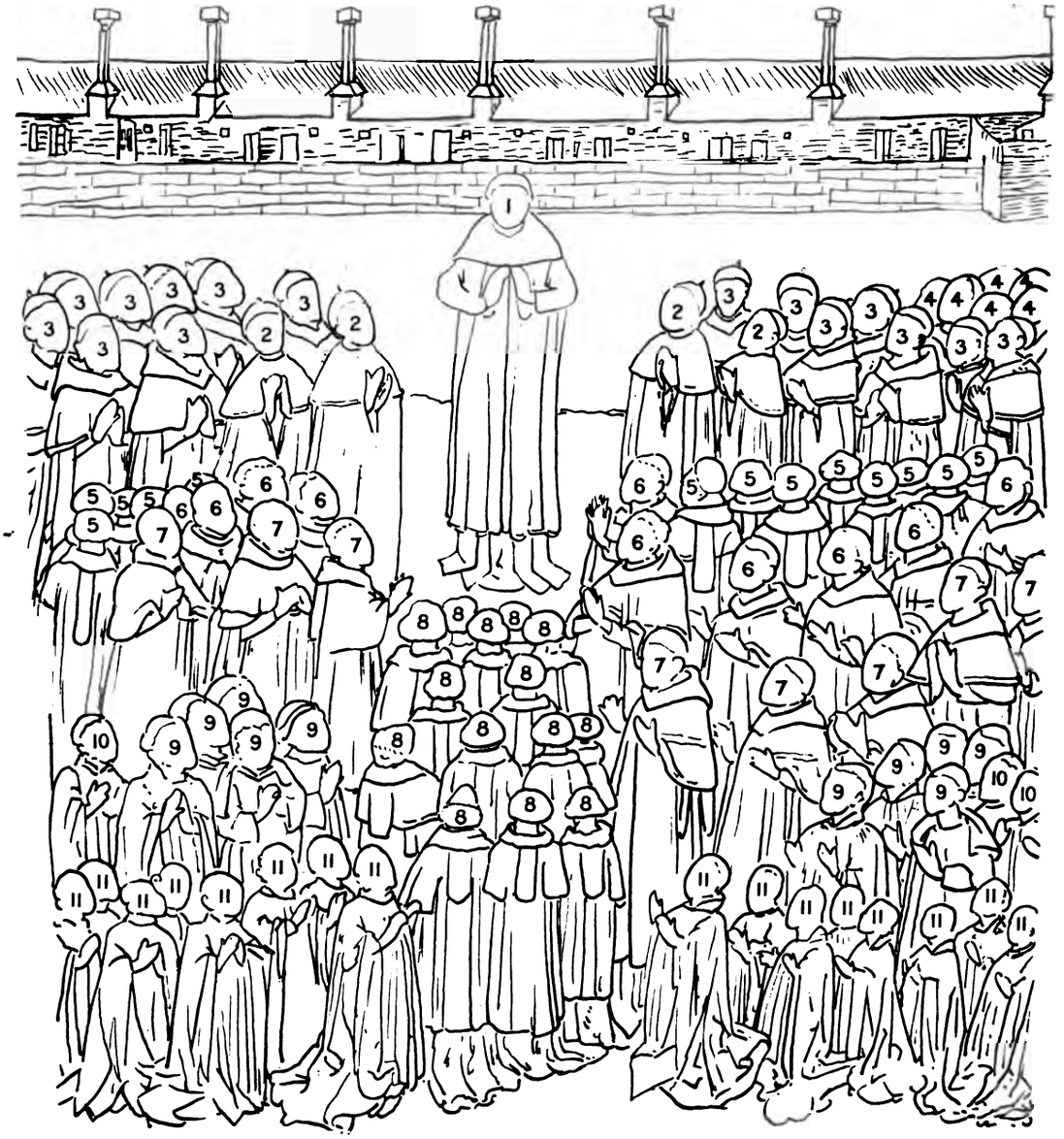

PLATE I

THE SOCIETY OF NEW COLLEGE, OXFORD (*circ.* 1464)

From the Chandler MS. in the Library of New College

PLATE II

ARCHBISHOPS, BISHOPS, AND OTHER ECCLESIASTICS IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY
DRESS OF DOCTORS

From the Chandler MS. in the Library of New College

him are grouped the principal ecclesiastics of his colleges: Archbishop Chichele, founder of All Souls; Archbishop Cranley, first Warden of Winchester College and Archbishop of Dublin; Beckington, bishop of Bath and Wells, and keeper of the Privy Seal under Henry VI; Wayneflete, first provost of Eton, bishop of Winchester, and founder of Magdalen College, Oxford; Thomas Chandler himself, not one of the least distinguished of the number; Andrew Holes or Hulse, archdeacon of Wells; John Norton, archdeacon of Berks; William Say, dean of St. Paul's; John Selot, archdeacon of Cornwall; and Richard Andrews, first Warden of All Souls, and dean of York." (*Archaeologia*, LIII, Part I, p. 231.) Add to these: Hugh Sugar, Treasurer of Wells.

"Mr. W. H. St. John Hope has pointed out to me that in Plate XVII [Plate II in this Appendix] William of Wykeham and William Wayneflete are the only two bishops who actually wear their mitres; the other three figures having the mitres not upon, but just above, their heads, which are covered with skull-caps like the figures in the fore ground. Since Cranlegh died in 1417, Chichele in 1443, and Beckington in 1465–6, while Wayneflete lived until 1486, Mr. Hope suggests that the three bishops with the mitres over their heads were all dead at the date of the drawing, which would therefore be not earlier than 1466. Wykeham, of course, died in 1404, but he is probably represented wearing his mitre as being the chief figure in the picture."[1] (*Ibid.*, p. 232.)

And now to come to details that have not as yet been pointed out, so far as the present writer is aware. The large group in Plate I is made up of precisely one hundred persons, the exact number of the Society of the College according to the Statutes of William of Wykeham.[2] Within this large group are contained various smaller groups, quite distinct from one another; and at the head of all the groups, facing them, stands the Warden, alone. Fortunately we are not left without a clue to the meaning of these separate groups. Each group can be distinguished with certainty from the directions given in William of Wykeham's Statute, concerning the order of standing in choir, and the order to be preserved in processions.[3] The groups are arranged as

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[1] A description of this MS. is given also, in Latin, in Coxe's *Catalog. Codd. MSS. Collegii Novi*, No. CCLXXXVIII.

[2] "The Society consists of a Warden and seventy poor scholars, clerks, students in theology, canon and civil law, and philosophy: twenty are appointed to the study of laws, ten of them to that of the canon, and ten to that of the civil law; the remaining fifty are to apply themselves to philosophy (or arts) and theology; two of them, however, are permitted to apply themselves to the study of medicine, and two likewise to that of astronomy; all of whom are obliged to be in priests' orders within a certain time, except in case of lawful impediment. Beside these there are ten priests, three clerks, and sixteen boys or choristers to minister in the service of the Chapel." (Dean Hook's *Eccles. Biog.*, *sub voce* Wykeham.) See also the Statutes themselves, printed by desire of Her Majesty's Commissioners for inquiring into the state of the University of Oxford, 1853.

[3] "R. 46.—*De ordine standi in choro dictae capellae.*" "Item statuimus, ordinamus et volumus, quod dicti nostri collegii Custos in dextra parte chori capellae teneat locum primum, in sinistra parte vero dicti chori primum locum occupet Vicecustos, inde autem ex utraque parte ipsius chori theologiae Magistri, deinde decretorum Doctores, deinceps Doctores legum[a] et tunc medicinae Doctores, successive vero in theologia baccalaurei, subsequenter Magistri artium, postea juris canonici et tunc juris civilis

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[a] Note that *Doctores legum* must mean here the Doctors of the Civil Law, and not of both Canon and Civil Law.

though on the opposite sides of the choir, with the Warden and one of the groups in the midst. The arrangement of the different groups may be better understood, by means of the accompanying diagram :—

The figure marked 1 represents the Warden, wearing a cassock, a tabard (*taberdum longum*, or *ad medias tibias*), a grey almuce, entirely closed in front like a hood ;[1] with two short stole-like appendages, round at the ends; and very unlike the modern black scarf of the Canons at St. Paul's, or the "collar of sables" worn by Archbishop Parker, and by Archbishops Warham and Cranmer.[2] The Warden, in common with the other Doctors in the drawing, has also the black skull-cap (*pileus*), worn by Doctors in all the higher Faculties, in the fifteenth century.

Next to the Warden are four Doctors of Divinity (*marked in the diagram with the numeral* 2), two on either side of the Warden; and all four wearing the *cappa clausa*, with its proper hood, differing in shape from the hood worn by a Doctor of Divinity when in a tabard.[3] In the Chapel of New College there is a brass to the memory of Thomas Hylle, who is represented in the dress of a Doctor of Divinity, identical in shape with the four Doctors described above.[4]

Next to the Doctors of Divinity, in two groups, are the Doctors of the other Faculties (*numbered* 3); eight on the Warden's right, and seven on his left. They appear to be dressed all alike; but doubtless the different Faculties to which they belonged were distinguished by the colour of the dress.[5] Unfortunately, the original drawing does not give the colours.

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baccalaurei, posterius baccalaurei artium, singuli, videlicet, ipsorum omnium secundum quod in gradu seniores existant, et postremo caeteri Socii dicti collegii minime graduati, juxta tempus quod habent in eodem collegio, cujuscunque fuerint facultatis, loca teneant et occupent sicut decet; *quem quidem ordinem etiam in processionibus volumus observari.*"

[1] The Statute directed: "Ordinantes, praeterea, quod in divinis officiis supradictis praefatus Custos, dum praesens fuerit in capella, utatur amicio de griseo, secundum quod canonici cathedralium ecclesiarum utuntur; quod etiam ipsum volumus observare in praesentia Episcoporum, et alibi ubicunque existat locis et temporibus opportunis." (*Rubrica* 43.)[a]

[2] See Plates III and IV.

[3] See description of Plate II.

[4] The brass bears the following inscription: "Bone memorie Magist' Thomas Hylle quond'm p'fessor sacre theologie qui in finem p'mansit socius hui' Collegii et larga beneficia contulit eidem. Obiit XXI° die Januarii Anno d'ni Mill'mo cccc° lxviij Cujus anime propicietur deus. Amen." The date of his death was not far from the date of the drawing. An excellent representation of this figure of Thomas Hylle is given in *A Series of Monumental Brasses from the 13th to the 16th centuries*, by J. G. & L. A. B. Waller, London, 1864.

[5] In the Digby MS. 233, at the Bodleian, there is (on folio 1) a contemporaneous illumination of Henry IV and his Court, in which one of the courtiers is depicted in a Doctor's round cap, and with the hood of a Doctor of Civil Law (?)—dark-blue hood, furred with white ermine; but instead of wearing the dress, or *taberdum talare*, corresponding to the colour of the hood, he is represented in a pink *(sic)* dress, with a train, probably intended for the scarlet dress of the Doctor of Canon Law (?). The figure has gloves like those of a Bishop; but there is nothing else about him to indicate Episcopal dignity.

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[a] The following direction is given concerning the use of the almuce by the Rector and Fellows of Lincoln College, in the Chapel, on festivals: "Accedat honeste Rector in almisia, si habet, sin autem superpellicio et caputio gradui suo competenti; similiter et socii, Rectore exequente officium." (*Statutes of Lincoln College, Oxford*, p. 27.)

The tabard of the Warden, "down to the shanks" (*ad medias tibias*) is long in comparison with the tabards worn by secular persons; but the tabard worn by the Doctors in the groups (*marked with the numeral* 3 *in the diagram*) would be described as a *taberdum talare*, or *ad minus talare*.[1] Another word used, as it would seem, to designate the *taberdum talare*, is the very word used by Richard Hilles in his letter to Bullinger, viz. *pallium*.[2]

Behind the Doctors on the Warden's left, are the Bachelors of Divinity (*numbered* 4), who may be readily distinguished from the group of Doctors in front of them by the absence of the *pileus*, or cap worn by Doctors only. Their dress is almost entirely hidden; so that it is possible to distinguish the hood only, which is not similar in shape to the hood worn with the *cappa clausa* by the Doctors of Divinity in the drawing. The Bachelors of Divinity, like other bachelors, seem to have worn the *capa manicata*, described below.[3] (*See note* 2.)

Next come two groups of Masters of Arts (*numbered* 5), facing the Warden. By a decree of the Congregation of Regents, A.D. 1370, Bachelors of Theology and Masters of Arts were to take precedence of Bachelors of Canon Law in processions[4]; and with this quite agrees the Statute of William of Wykeham (*circ.* A.D. 1386) concerning the order of precedence. There can be no doubt, therefore, as to the degree of those who occupy the two groups above mentioned. The tabard of a Master of Arts in the fifteenth century seems to have been of a *murrey* colour.[5] If we may judge from the figure on the extreme left of the group, the dress of

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[1] The two different lengths of the tabard at New College are mentioned in the words of one of the Statutes, " . . . capis, chimeris, et *taberdis longis et talaribus*, vel mantellis." (*R.* 23, p. 46.) In another Statute (R. 22, p. 44) occur the words, "*subtunicam, supertunicam, taberdam, talarem, vel capam et caputium.*" Possibly the comma after *taberdam* should be omitted (*talarem* being an adjective, not a substantive); and if so, here is a further corroboration of the theory that the "long scarlet chimere down to the foot," worn by Bishop Hooper at his consecration, was the Doctor's academical tabard, known at the University of Oxford as a "*taberda talaris*," or "*taberdum talare*," *i.e.* "down to the ankles." Or possibly, *talaris* is to be regarded as a substantive, and another name for *pallium*, or *taberdum talare*.

[2] "Nullus Regens in artibus, vel decretis, vel theologia, in capa manicata lectiones legat ordinarias, *sed in pallio vel capa clausa*." (*Muniment. Acad. Oxon.*, Vol. II, p. 421.) Both *pallium* and *cappa clausa* were worn by Masters in Theology (*i.e.* Doctors of Divinity): "*Item, Statutum est* quod ulterius non liceat Magistris in theologia . . . in suis *capis clausis* seu *palliis* uti pellura de minuto vario in loco publico et actibus scholasticis," etc. *Ibid.*, p. 393. The *pallium* and *capa clausa* would appear from these quotations to be two different garments. The *capa manicata* was the Bachelor's dress—probably one form of the tabard, with short sleeves. The sleeves were what we should call half-sleeves, similar to the sleeves of a dalmatic, but shorter. The Doctor wore no sleeves at all in his tabard or in his *cappa clausa*; and in the latter (the most dignified academical dress that a Doctor could wear) there was but a single opening for both hands.

[3] In New College Chapel there is a brass to the memory of Master Geoffrey Hargreve, A.D. 1447, described as a Scholar of Sacred Theology. He is represented in a *capa manicata*, with a hood; and if not a Bachelor of Divinity, he is a Bachelor of Civil or Canon Law. His hood is not that of a Bachelor or Master of Arts, and he is evidently a priest. See the illustration of this brass in Wallers' *Series of Brasses*. A similar brass is to be seen in the Chapel of All Souls' College.

[4] See *Muniment. Acad. Oxon.*, Vol. I, p. 233.

[5] See the will of John Seggefyld, a Master of Arts, *Muniment. Acad. Oxon.*, Vol. II, p. 666, quoted above, on p. 196, note 3.

the Master of Arts appears to be a tabard or colobbe down to the feet,[1] and a hood with a long liripipe.[2]

The next two groups are composed of Bachelors of Canon and of Civil Law, in their Bachelor's dress, which appears to be a *cappa manicata*, or sleeved tabard, whose length is shewn in one of the figures in the group on the Warden's left hand, and also in one of the figures on the opposite side. It is about as long as the tabard worn by the Warden, i.e. *ad medias tibias*, "*down to the shanks.*" There seems to be an intended separation in the group on the Warden's left hand, which suggests a like separation in the group on the opposite side. If this conjectural division be correct, the group on the Warden's left hand will be found to consist of six Bachelors of Canon Law (*numbered* 6) and five Bachelors of Civil Law (*numbered* 7); while in the group on the opposite side, it would appear that there are four Bachelors of Canon Law (*numbered* 6) and three Bachelors of Civil Law (*numbered* 7). The various figures in these groups are not equally well drawn.

The group in the midst is composed of Bachelors of Arts (*numbered* 8), whose dress resembles in shape that of the other Bachelors; although the colour of the *cappa manicata*, with its proper hood, was doubtless different in the several degrees.

The next two groups would present great difficulty, if it were not for the Statutes of William of Wykeham; but from one of these we learn, that, besides the Warden and the seventy Scholars and Fellows, and the sixteen choristers (*See the figures numbered* 11), there were to be in the Society thirteen ministers of the altar and chapel.[3] The priests may be distinguished by their shaven crowns; the others, occupying positions in the rear, in each group, wear a small tonsure. The three clerks and three of the priests are in surplices. These ten priests (*numbered* 9) and three clerks (*numbered* 10) are non-graduates (*minime graduati*); and, like the probationers in the Society, they are forbidden to wear hoods in choir, from Easter Even until All Saints' Day.[4]

Lastly, the figures numbered 11 represent the sixteen "poor boys," choristers, eight in each group, in surplices long and large.

The Society numbered, altogether, precisely one hundred souls, according to the Statutes,

[1] On Sept. 12th, 1452, Master Thomas Bray, a Master of Arts, bequeathed his Master's dress to two Bachelors of Arts, as follows: "*Item* lego meum regentiae habitum, capam scilicet cum caputio, domino Thomae Lee, in artibus bachilario; *Item*, lego domino Johanni Grene, in artibus similiter bachilario, collobium cum caputiis eidem correspondentibus." (*Muniment. Acad. Oxon.*, Vol. II, p. 638.) The *cappa nigra* (not *cappa clausa*) was the Master's habit as regent in the "Black Congregation"[a]; and the colobbe, or tabard, was the alternative dress, on less formal occasions. Each dress had its proper hood; and doubtless the hoods differed in shape, like the two kinds of hood worn by the Doctors of Divinity. The two Bachelors named in the will would soon be qualified to wear the Master's dress.

[2] The word liripipium is used in more senses than one. Here it means the elongated *apex* of the hood. It sometimes means a scarf, or tippet. (See p. 218, note 3.)

[3] " . . . ordinamus et volumus, quod, praeter Custodem et ultra numerum Septuaginta scholarium et Sociorum dictorum, tredecim sint altaris et capellae praedictae ministri,[b] deservientes quotidie in eadem, quorum, videlicet, decem presbyteri et tres clerici existant," etc. (*Statutes, R.* 44.)

[4] *Statutes, R.* 46.

[a] See *Muniment. Acad. Oxon.*, Vol. II, p. 481.

[b] The use of the word "ministri," in the fifteenth century, to include presbyters is worthy of note.

and according to the actual enumeration of the Society outside the enclosure. A few other figures have been added, by the maker of the drawing, inside the enclosure.

From this explanation of Plate I it is evident that the colobbe or tabard was a very usual academical dress. Plate II is almost sufficient in itself to demonstrate the truth of the theory that the post-reformation Episcopal chimere may be traced to the pre-reformation academical dress of Doctors. Whatever be the name by which it was commonly called—whether it be *pallium*, *taberdum talare* or what not—the sleeveless dress worn by the group of Doctors is undoubtedly a dignified *tabard;* or, as "Mr. Fox" would call it, "a long chimere down to the feet." The Archbishops and Bishops, and the other ecclesiastics of lower dignity, are all represented in long tabards, or chimeres, identical in shape; but doubtless the difference of their several degrees was designated by colours, which are not given in the original drawing or in this reproduction of it.[1] The hood is worn by all; but it differs in shape from that worn with the *cappa clausa.* The absence of the black scarf or "collar of sables" should be noted. The hood and black scarf were not worn together, it would appear, in pre-reformation days. Curiously enough, the rochet, though ordered by the Fourth Council of Lateran to be worn by Bishops, is not visible. It can hardly be said with certainty, however, that the Archbishops and Bishops in the group wore no rochet with the academical dress; but, at any rate, the fact that the sleeves of the rochet do not appear in this academical dress may well explain the singular mention of the sleeves of Bishop Hooper's rochet in the description given by "Mr. Fox": "His upper garment was a long scarlet chymere down to the foot, and under that a white linen rochet *that covered all his shoulders.*"[2] The "four-square cap" of priests (*pileus quadratus*) was also worn by Hooper, instead of the earlier round cap of Doctors (*pileus rotundus*). There is no mention of any black scarf, or "collar of sables" worn on that occasion. If Hooper wore the *taberdum talare* or "long scarlet chimere" of a Doctor of Canon Law, or of Divinity, "reaching down to the foot," it would also prove the correctness of Strype's assertion,[3] that Hooper objected "to the wearing of *the old pontifical habits, as the chimere and rochet,*" the former being the dress worn by Bishops who had received the degree of Doctor in one of the higher Faculties; and the latter being expressly ordered to be worn by Bishops by the Fourth Council of Lateran.[4]

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[1] It is very evident from the following extract that the tabard was used by Doctors in all the higher Faculties. It explains the two items in the Tailors' bill on p. 188, note 3, viz., the *taberdum furratum* and the *taberdum sine furrura*, the furred tabard being forbidden until one had attained to a grade of eminence in the University:—"Prohibemusque, insuper, ne quisque utatur tabardo furrurato sive penulato, nisi prius in medicina, aut jure canonico vel civili, aut sacra theologia, licentiatus fuerit, formam Doctoratus in jure canonico vel civili aut sacra theologia compleverit, aut realiter inceperit in aliquo eorundem." (*Statutes of All Souls' College, Oxford*, p. 41.)[a]

[2] See above, p. 193, note 3.

[3] *Memorials of Cranmer*, Eccles. Hist. Soc., Vol. II, p. 206.

[4] The length of the Doctor's dress was considered a matter of such vital importance at Oxford, that a Statute was passed in 1358, in the Congregation of Regents, which made it a criminal offence,

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[a] See also the following allusion to the furred tabard worn by Doctors: "The doctors clad in the furred doctor-gown (cappa, tabhardum)," etc. *Mediaeval Universities*, by James Helfenstein, in *Contemp. Review*, Vol. IV. (Jan.—April, 1867), p. 248.

The dress of the various persons in the group contained in Plate II is the Doctor's dress in the Faculties of Theology, Canon Law, and Civil Law. Those whose degrees are known to the writer will be mentioned by name, together with their respective Doctor's degrees, as follows:—

1. Archbishop Chicheley was Doctor of Civil Law.
2. Archbishop Cranley is described as "Sacrae Paginae Professor," commonly supposed to be the same as Doctor of Divinity.
3. Bishop Bekynton was Doctor of Civil Law.
4. Andrew Holes, or Hulse, Archdeacon of Wells, was Doctor of Civil Law.
5. John Norton, Archdeacon of Berkshire, was Doctor of Canon Law and Doctor of Divinity.
6. William Say, Dean of St. Paul's, was Doctor of Divinity.
7. John Selot, Archdeacon of Cornwall, was Doctor of Canon Law.
8. Richard Andrews, Dean of York, was Doctor of Civil Law.
9. Hugh Sugar, Treasurer of Wells, was Doctor of Civil Law.

These may be identified by the names given to each figure in Plate II. Little, if any, difference is discernible in the shape of the dress. The difference of the degree attained by each would doubtless be indicated by the difference of colour; which, unfortunately, is lacking in the original drawing.

The Archbishops and Bishops are not distinguishable from the other Doctors, save by the mitre; and by the cross-staff of the Archbishops, and the crosier of the Bishops; which are doubtless conventional additions. The absence of the Episcopal ring and the pectoral cross is conspicuously observable.

Another very good representation of Archbishop Chicheley in academical dress, with mitre and cross-staff, may be found in his image on the right side of the entrance to All Souls' College, Oxford. The cross-staff is held in the left hand of the Archbishop. The dress is identical with the Doctor's dress, represented in Plate II. The image of Bishop Walter de Merton, Founder of Merton College, at the right side of the entrance to Merton College, is likewise apparelled.

Description of Plates III and IV.

The portraits of Archbishops Warham and Cranmer shew the out-of-doors, or civil, dress of English Prelates of the first half of the sixteenth century, or immediately prior to the reformation. The furred black scarf, tippet, or "collar of sables," worn by Archbishop

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punishable by imprisonment, for any tailor to make the academical dress of a Master or Bedell short or scant.[a] A very different rule obtains in the Roman *Curia*, by which the *mantelletta* of Cardinals, of Bishops, and of some of the higher grades of court prelates, is required to be shorter than the *mantellone* of the *monsignori* of the lower grades.

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[a] See *Muniment. Acad. Oxon.*, I, p. 212.

PLATE III

From a Portrait in the Louvre, Paris

ARCHBISHOP WARHAM, IN SCARLET CASSOCK, ROCHET, AND TIPPET OF SABLES (A.D. 1527)

Warham has frequently been mistaken for a black chimere with a fur scarf (not unlike the "*boa*" of modern feminine apparel); but by a comparison of the portraits of Warham and Cranmer the mistake will be perceived at once. Cranmer in his portrait given in Plate IV has a chimere as well as a wide, furred, black scarf, tippet, or "collar of sables."[1] The date of Archbishop Warham's portrait is given on a scroll at the top, near the frame of the picture, "Anno Dni. MDXXVII. Etatis sue lxx." This portrait, painted by Holbein, is almost identical in appearance with another portrait of Warham, by the same artist, which hangs in the long gallery at Lambeth Palace.[2] It should be observed that the black scarf, tippet, or "collar of sables," worn by Archbishops Warham and Cranmer is much wider than the narrow, stole-shaped scarf worn by Bishop Fox, in his portrait at Corpus College, Oxford.[3]

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[1] An interesting representation of Cranmer in cassock, rochet, black scarf, or "collar of sables," and having a shaven crown, but without a chimere, is to be found on the title-page of the "Great Bible" of 1539. Cranmer and two other Bishops, all dressed alike, are represented at the right hand of Henry VIII, seated on his throne, receiving from that pious "Defender of the Faith" a volume entitled *Verbum Dei;* while Lord Cromwell is receiving a similar volume from the King's left hand. A portion of this title-page, containing Cranmer, the King, and Cromwell, is reproduced in colours in Strutt's *English Dresses*, Vol. II, Plate CXXXVIII. Cranmer's cassock is scarlet, in Strutt's reproduction. The title-page itself is not printed in colours. The black scarves are not very long, and are square at the ends—quite unlike the ends of a Canon's almuce. The original design of the title-page has been ascribed to Hans Holbein, the painter of the admirable portrait of Archbishop Warham. In Foxe's *Eccles. Hist.* containing the *Acts and Monuments* (printed by John Day, 1483) Cranmer appears to be dressed in rochet, chimere, and tippet, with a coif upon his head. He is receiving a book from the lap of Henry VIII. See Vol. II, p. 799.

[2] The writer is indebted to the courtesy of the Librarian at Lambeth Palace for bringing to his notice the following description and critical comparison of the two portraits: "One of the first portraits of importance painted in this country,[a] and a remarkable specimen of the painter's powers, is that of William Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, a half-length, on panel, nearly full face, and shewing both hands; a crucifix[b] on his right hand, an open book near his left, and a brown damask curtain in the back-ground. This is a picture as well as a portrait; all the accessories are excellent, and especially the jewelled crucifix, which is precise and accurate without being hard." (*Some Account of the Life and Works of Hans Holbein*, by R. N. Wornum, p. 217.) Wornum goes on to say, that there are two examples of the portrait, one at Lambeth Palace, and the other in the Louvre. He adds: "The two pictures are so very similar, that one may be a copy of the other, yet they have their differences. The Louvre example is much more highly coloured and is painted with a thicker impasto. . . . . That at Lambeth is said to have been presented to the Archbishop by Holbein (more likely by Sir Thomas More). It was lost during the civil wars, but was recovered again, as was supposed, by Sir William Dugdale, who restored it to Lambeth in the time of Archbishop Sancroft. 'Archbishop Parker,' says Walpole, 'entailed this, and another of Erasmus, on his successors; they were stolen in the civil war, but Juxon re-purchased the former.' The history of the Louvre portrait is not known, but it belonged to Louis XIV." (*Ibid.*, pp. 217, 218.)

[3] See the illustration of Bishop Fox's portrait, in Dr. Legg's Paper on *The Black Scarf of Modern Church Dignitaries*, in Vol. III of the *Transactions*.

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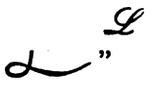
[a] *sc.* by Holbein.

[b] *i.e.* an Archiepiscopal cross-staff.

Plate IV is a reproduction of a portrait of Archbishop Cranmer by "Gerbicus Flicius," or Flichs, a German artist, little known but for this admirable portrait.[1] The Archbishop, in a half-length figure, is seated in a richly-inlaid chair, at a low table covered with a carpet. His chimere, apparently of a dark olive-green colour, with a wide border of black velvet, is open in front, but with one side overlapping the other; and at the breast is seen the rochet; above which appears the neck of a black cassock. The sleeves of the rochet are turned up with cuffs of black velvet, not with fur of sables, like the cuffs in Archbishop Warham's portrait. Over the chimere there is a black velvet furred tippet, scarf, or "collar of sables"; both the black velvet and the dark-brown fur being beautifully painted in the original portrait. A signet-ring is on the fore-finger of the *left* hand. The ring is of gold, with a very dark stone, on which is an incised coat of arms, in colours, and the initials of the Archbishop's name inverted (ƆT).[2] On the edges of the pages of an open book, held in his hands, are the words, "Epist. Paulj." The artist's name appears in the upper part of the portrait,—"*Gerbicus flicius, Germannus faciebat.*" A little scroll, lower down, contains the age of the Archbishop at the time the portrait was made,—"Anno aetat, 57, July 2°." A letter lying before him bears an inscription not easily decipherable even by a good eye, being inverted and fore-shortened, but which appears to be as follows:—"To the Most Reverend father in gode and my singular goode Lorde, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury hys grace.

Be thes



Cranmer was born on July 2, 1489.[3] The date of the portrait, therefore, would be 1546, *i.e.* within seven months prior to the date of the death of Henry VIII, Jan. 28, 1547. The portrait was formerly kept at the British Museum; but it is now among the collection of portraits in the National Portrait Gallery in London.

It is possible that Cranmer may have worn a green chimere as a Doctor of Divinity.[4] Open chimeres or "sleeveless cotes" seem to have been worn on horseback, together with

[1] All that is known of Gerbicus Flicius, or Flichs, is contained in *Archaeologia*, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 40, 41. There will be found a mention of the portrait of Cranmer, in the Combination Room of Jesus College, Oxford, which was copied, apparently, from the portrait now in the National Portrait Gallery.

[2] For an account of Cranmer's private seal, see "*Gleanings of a Few Scattered Ears, during the Period of the Reformation in England*," &c., by George C. Gorham, B.D., London, 1857, pp. 12–14.

[3] After making the above transcription, the writer found a slightly different reading in *Archaeologia*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 40, note f.

[4] Cranmer had received at Cambridge the degrees of B.A., M.A., and D.D. (*Sacrae Theologiae Professor* or *Doctor*). It does not appear that he was a Doctor of the one law or of the other. It can hardly be maintained that he wore an "Episcopal green" chimere as proper to his dignity as Archbishop; for no evidence has ever been given to shew that any such custom prevailed in England in his day, or at any time. Moreover, we have indisputable evidence that green was worn by certain *priests*, in their academical dress.[a]

[a] See the wills of Master Henry Caldey, Vicar of Cookfield, Richard Browne, *alias* Cordone, Archdeacon of Rochester, and Henry Scayfe, Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford. (*Muniment. Acad. Oxon.*, Vol. II, pp. 594, 612, 613, 647, 651); of which references, two are quoted above in this present Paper on page 195, note 1.

PLATE IV

Walker and Boutall, Photo.

ARCHBISHOP CRANMER, IN BLACK CASSOCK, ROCHET, CHIMERE, AND TIPPET OF SABLES (A.D. 1546)

"rydyng hoodes or gyrdelles"; but Cranmer, in this portrait, has adopted it, apparently, as his ordinary civil dress. Henry VIII, at a still earlier date, wore a black satin chimere, open in front.[1] Cranmer's wearing of a chimere open in front is indicative of a tendency to abandon the use of closed garments (*indumenta clausa*) as a distinguishing mark of the civil or academical dress of the Clergy. Three years later the use of closed garments for the academical dress was forbidden at Oxford by the Ordinances of the Royal Visitors, in the reign of Edward VI, A.D. 1549.[2]

It has been assumed,[3] without sufficient evidence, that the black furred scarf, or "collar of sables" was an almuce. It was not so called, apparently, while it was in use. It is called, however, a tippet. Cardinal Wolsey is said to have worn a "*tippet* of fine sables,"[4] which was doubtless the same article of apparel as Archbishop Parker's "*collar* of sables," or black furred scarf, though possibly Wolsey may have worn, as Cardinal, some other colour than black with the fur of sables. And Bishop Fisher went to his execution, June 22, 1535, in a "gown" (probably a cassock) and a furred *tippet*.[5] The Ancient Statutes of Cambridge[6] direct every graduate to wear gown and hood, or at least the tippet ("*aut ad minimum insigni circa collum sacerdotali indutus*") in going out of his college. And the Statutes of Cardinal Pole, 1557 A.D., order the tippet (*insigne sacerdotale*) to be worn, *cum chlamyde aut toga*, by Bachelors and Doctors of Divinity, when on a journey. (See *Appendix* to *Statuta Cantab.*, p. 572.) It is as unwise to assume that the "*tippet* of sables" was an almuce, as to assume the identity of the black scarf, or tippet, with the stole. Dr. Isaac Maddox, writing against the Puritan Neal, asserts the identity of the scarf with the tippet in the following words: "It plainly appears, that the Habits Queen Elizabeth enjoin'd were not so properly Popish as Protestant Habits, worn in King Edward's Time, in the last Year of his Reign. These habits were a Scholar's Gown, a square Cap, *a Tippet or Scarf* (to those who were entitled to wear one) and

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[1] "In the tenth year of Henry the Eighth, Hall speaks of the chammer, 'a new-fashion garment; which is,' says he, 'in effect, a goune, cut in the middle'[a]: however, in a wardrobe-inventory of apparel belonging to that monarch, and taken in the eighth year of his reign, this article of dress occurs frequently; and in another, it is called a *cote*, or shamewe. From the first I shall select the following articles: '*a chammer of black satin*, with three borders of black velvet, and furred with sables; a chammer of black tylsent, with a high collar, welted with cloth of silver, and lined with purple satin.'" (Joseph Strutt's *Dress and Habits of the People of England*, Vol. II, p. 359, London, 1799.)

[2] "Togas in antica (*sic*) parte consui vetamus." (Statutes of All Souls' College, Oxford, p. 87.) Simplicity in the academical dress is evidently enjoined in the following injunction; but it would be difficult to say precisely what "excesse of apparayle" was aimed at: "*Chymerios* habitus prodigiosque vestes posthac gestiet nemo." (*Ibid.*)

[3] *E.g.* by Dr. Legg, in his Paper on *The Black Scarf*, etc.

[4] See Wolsey's *Life*, by Cavendish, with Preface by H. Morley, pp. 38, 39.

[5] See *The Life and Death of that Renowned John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester*, by Thomas Baily, D.D., London, 1655, pp. 204, 207. No mention is made of the rochet; perhaps the use of it may have been denied to him, as it had been to Archbishop Scrope,[b] in order to deprive him of that sign of Episcopal jurisdiction. In the Statute of Henry VIII, "gownes" are distinguished from the "sleveles cotes," or chimeres; and Ridley's "blacke goune" (see p. 184, note 1) was probably a cassock.

[6] *Statuta Acad. Cantab.*, Cambridge, 1785, p. 255.

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[a] Hall's *Union*, in Vit. Hen. VIII, p. 65.

[b] See p. 186, note 1.

in the Church a white Surplice."[1] Robertson says: "Mr. Jebb tells us (p. 215) that the *scarf* is to this day designated in Ireland by the name of *tippet*."[2] And the Statutes of Magdalen College, Oxford, drawn up as early as 1459 A.D. (when the almuce was in constant use), make it very evident that the "Typetts" of sables were not almuces; for no one will maintain that *liripipium*, the Latin word for tippet, was an almuce.[3] The word *liripipia* is used also as the equivalent of *tippets* in the Latin Canons of 1604.[4] We have seen already that tippets were introduced at St. Paul's, probably without authority, when the almuces were "put down."[5] Moreover, in 1564 Archbishop Grindal (at that time Bishop of London) requested the London Clergy to wear the tippet out of doors, with the square cap and the gown; and deprived those few who refused compliance. This was after the fur almuces had been "put down," in 1559, for the second time in St. Paul's.[6] In January 1565, the Advertisements of Queen Elizabeth, drawn up by Archbishop Parker and other Bishops, "partly for the apparell of all persons ecclesiasticall," expressly ordered that "typpets" should be worn "abrode."[7] A few

[1] *Vindication of the Govern., Doct., and Worship of the Ch. of Eng.*, London, 1733, p. 90.

[2] *How Shall we Conform to the Liturgy of the Church of England?* p. 123, note 68. The thanks of the writer are due to the Rev. F. J. Brown for calling his attention to this book.

The Statute is as follows: "Prohibemus insuper ne quis scholarium vel Sociorum ac ministrorum praedictorum pelluris pretiosis ac sumptuosis, vulgariter dictis *Sabyllys* sive *Martyrns*, panno videlicet de *velwett* aut damasco vel de *chamlet* aut de *satyn*, in vestibus suis externis sive internis, sive in eorum fimbriis vel extremitatibus, vel in eorum liripipiis, communiter dictis *Typetts*, in Universitate vel extra, quoquo modo utatur." (Stat. of Magd. Coll., p. 70.) See also the Statutes of Brasenose College, Capit. XXI, p. 25; and Statutes of Cardinal's College (Christ Church), p. 84. In the latter occur the words, "sive in torquibus (*collars*) quas appellant liripipia, Anglice *tipetts*," etc. The word "*collar*" as used in the expression "*collar* of sables" is obviously the equivalent in English of the pre-reformation Latin word "*torques*."

[4] "Nihilominus et huic ministrorum classi loco caputiorum[a] liripipia[b] permittimus ex nigro (modo ne serico) suis superpelliciis injicienda." (Canon LVIII, *ad fin.*) The tippet is here, for the first time, permitted by canon to be worn with the surplice, and in choir. Being allowed to non-graduates as a substitute for the hood, it has been made to conform in shape to the hood (instead of preserving its proper scarf-like shape); and the hood, too, has altered its shape, since the reformation, probably to adapt itself to the requirements of the wig. The attempted restoration of the proper shape of the hood, with a cape buttoned in front, can find no authority in the pre-reformation English hoods, which had no buttons. The true shape will be found in Plates I and II. [5] Page 182, note 3.

[6] "The greatest difficulty was to correct these neglects in London, where were not a few that wore neither Surplice, Tippet, nor square Cap . . . . They were therefore prayed in a gentle manner to take on them the Cap, with the Tippet to wear about their necks, and a Gown . . . . *and to wear in the ministry of the Church the surplice only!*" (Stripe's *Life and Acts of Archbishop Grindal*, London, 1710.) The tippet was to be worn out of doors, not in Church.

[7] "Item—That all deanes of cathedrall churches, masters of colledges, all archdeacons, and other dignities in cathedrall churches, doctors, bachelors of divinitye and lawe, having any ecclesiasticall livinge, shall weare in their common apparell abrode a syde gowne with sleeves streyght at the hand without any cuttes in the same; and that also without any fallinge cape; and to weare typpets of sarcenet, as is lawfull for them by thact of parliament, 'anno xxiv. Hen. octavi.'" Advertisements of 1565, Cardwell's *Synodalia*, Vol. I, p. 294.

[a] Hoods. [b] Tippets.

years later Grindal, writing to Zanchius (or Zanchy, as Strype calls him), describes to him the *tippet* worn by the clergy of the Church of England, as though it were unknown to him ; but he does not call it an almuce, for the reason that it is not one[1] ; though the almuce was still in use on the Continent, and must have been known to Zanchius. The almuce was part of the choir habit ; but the tippet was worn by the clergy in England when they walked abroad, being enriched with fur according to the civil or academical rank of the wearer. Bishops wore the fur of sables, as we have already seen. (See p. 183, note 1.) The almuce, on the contrary, by the varying degrees of the costliness of the fur or wool, etc., indicated the *ecclesiastical* rank, dignity, or order of the wearer—*i.e.* whether religious or secular, beneficed or unbeneficed. Grindal did not attempt to restore the almuce, either furred or without fur. The almuce remains "put down." It has been re-placed by a fur-less tippet (an article of apparel intended originally for use out of doors, like the tabard, or chimere) and by the academical hood. It is a fond thing, vainly invented, to imagine either that the chimere is a cope, or that the black scarf is an almuce.[2] *We may safely conclude, therefore, that the black scarf, with or without fur of any sort, and made of velvet, silk, or cloth, is one of the forms of the* TIPPET *or* LIRIPIPIUM, *and is certainly not an almuce ; and although instances may be adduced in which the scarf, or tippet, has assumed the shape of a stole or an almuce, it is neither the one nor the other.* The resemblance in shape of the black silk scarves of the Canons of St. Paul's to the fur almuce of the Polish Canon Regular[3] in the illustration of Dr. Legg's Paper on *The Black Scarf* (Fig. 3, p. 45) is purely accidental, like the resemblance in shape between a black scarf and a black stole. They are not identical, notwithstanding

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[1] His words are : "In vestitu ministrorum communi ex praescripto requiritur vestis talaris, pileum quadratum, colloque circumducta stola quaedam ab utroque humere pendula, et ad talos fere dimissa." (*Remains of Archbishop Grindal*, Parker Soc. Edit., p. 335.) Strype's translation of these words is as follows : "Ministers were required to wear commonly a long gown, a square cap, and a *tippet* coming over their necks, and hanging down almost to their heels." (Strype's *Life and Acts of Archbishop Grindal*, p. 107.)

[2] In the Articles proposed in Convocation in the reign of Queen Mary, in 1557 A.D., the tippet seems to be the article of dress prescribed by the Latin word *epitogium*, instead of liripipium : "Nec in epitogiis quisquam praesumat uti velveto, aut sarcineto nisi fuerit, ut praemittitur, graduatus, vel beneficium assecutus ecclesiasticum," etc. (Cardwell's *Synodalia*, Vol. II, pp. 476, 477.) See also Du Cange, *sub voce* Caphardum, for other instances of *epitogium* used in the sense of *tippet*.

[3] There are two good reasons for thinking that the learned writer of *The Black Scarf*, etc., was mistaken when he described the Polish Canon Regular as wearing the *grey* almuce :—(1.) The grey almuce was worn by Secular, not by Regular, Canons. There may have been exceptions to this rule,[a] but the Polish Canon Regular does not appear to have been one of them. (2.) The hair of the almuce of the Polish Canon[b] is too long for the hair or fur of the pelts of grey squirrels, of which the outside of the grey almuce was made, the inside being furred with minever. Du Molinet, to whom Dr. Legg refers, does not say that the Polish Canons wore the *grey* almuce ; nor does Moroni, who also describes their dress. *Dizionario*, Vol. VII, p. 259, col. 2.

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[a] The Canons Regular of Austria, for example, wore a grey almuce, by Papal permission. See Moroni, *Dizionario*, Vol. VII, p. 270, col. 2.

[b] See illustration of the Polish Canon in Dr. Legg's Paper.

the resemblance. There remains to be mentioned the difference in shape of the caps of the two Archbishops, which will be perceived at once—Archbishop Warham wearing a round cap, and Archbishop Cranmer the square "priest's cap," or "four-nooked bonnet" (*pileus quadratus*), which was worn indifferently by priests and bishops,[1] and was not originally a sign of academical distinction.[2] The square cap of priests was substituted for the academical round cap in the University of Paris in the year 1520.[3]

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[1] See illustration in Foxe's *Acts and Monum.*

[2] In Warham's portrait it was necessary that the cap should be touched up, or "*faked*," in the negative, on account of the very dark background. Unfortunately this has not been well done by the photographer. In the original portrait there is an indentation on the right side of the cap, as though it had been poked in by the hand. There has been no other alteration made in any of the Plates. The cap is not the academical *pileus* worn by Doctors.

[3] "Et vero *pileus* ille sacerdotalis est habitus: etsi Parisiis initio fuerit rotundus, et denique anno MDXX. ibi mutaverit in quadratum cornutum." *Herm. Conringii de Antiquitatibus Academicis Dissertationes Septem*, Gottingae, A.D. 1739, p. 357.

NOTES ON THE MONUMENTAL BRASSES OF MIDDLESEX.

BY

MILL STEPHENSON, F.S.A.

The county of Middlesex, if the cities of London and Westminster are excluded, contains little of first-rate interest. It was the writer's intention in the first instance to treat of the county only; but an examination of the rubbings showed that the material was only scanty, so it was resolved to include the City and Westminster.

Although the present proportion of brasses in the City and in the district now known as Greater London is small, it must be remembered that this was not always the case. Many of the monastic churches of London were the favourite burying places of the nobility, and hundreds of brasses must have been destroyed at their dissolution. Empty slabs are yet to be seen in the Dutch church, once a part of the great church of the Austin Friars. The Great Fire completed the havoc; in St. Paul's alone sixteen brasses, mostly of ecclesiastics, perished. Engravings of these may be found in Dugdale. The neglect of later times allowed many more to disappear, as at Westminster Abbey, Chiswick, Fulham, etc. Nor is the present age any better, for the modern so-called restorer sweeps away everything in the shape of slabs and tombs, or relegates them into obscure corners, and with a light heart places the brasses on the walls, sometimes in their right order, but more generally in a mixed condition. Three brasses completely disappeared from Harmondsworth during the restoration in 1864, and two from Cowley. An inscription from Edmonton, mentioned by Lysons, has found its way into the British Museum. At West Drayton the shields were mixed in the most casual fashion, and an early inscription is either fastened face downwards or is lost altogether. A brass at New Brentford is framed and glazed. The finest series of brasses is of course to be found in Westminster Abbey; the two City churches of All Hallows Barking, Great Tower Street, and Great St. Helen also contain a good number, but the latter has been augmented by the addition of those from the destroyed church of St. Martin Outwich. Harrow church also possesses a good series; and several other places have from four to six, but mostly of late date. As a matter of convenience it is proposed to deal with the series under five headings, viz. Ecclesiastics, Military Figures, Civilians, Ladies, and Miscellaneous.

Ecclesiastics. Altogether there are nineteen examples, made up as follows: one archbishop, two bishops, one abbot, five priests in mass vestments, four in copes, three in academicals, and three in gowns. Six of these are half-effigies. The fine, but worn, brass of Robert de Waldeby, successively bishop of Ayre in Aquitaine, archbishop of Dublin, bishop of Chichester, and archbishop of York, 1397, now lies on a high tomb in the chapel of St. Edmund within the abbey church of Westminster. The archbishop, represented in full robes with pall and cross, stands under a single canopy, the centre shaft terminating in a

shield bearing the arms of King Richard II. A marginal inscription in verse surrounds the whole. Archbishop Waldeby was tutor to Edward the Black Prince. John de Waltham, bishop of Salisbury, Lord High Treasurer of England, and a great favourite of King Richard II., died in 1395, and was accorded the unusual favour of burial within the Confessor's Chapel at Westminster, "not," as Walsingham remarks, "without giving offence to many." His brass, much worn and mutilated, still remains on the floor of the chapel. The lower part of the figure was stolen at the last Coronation. He is represented in full episcopal robes, the centre apparel of his chasuble containing representations of the Virgin and Child alternately with crosses. The canopy, orginally triple with large side shafts with saints in niches, is now a complete wreck. It is recorded that on the south side were figures of SS. John the Evangelist, John of Beverley, John the Almoner, and John the Baptist. On the north side there is record of one figure only, probably St. Paul. On the destruction of the old church of St. James, Clerkenwell, in 1788, the brass of John Bell, bishop of Worcester, was most improperly sold. It passed into the hands of the antiquary Gough, and in time descended into the possession of the late Mr. J. G. Nichols, in whose printing office at Westminster it remained for many years. In 1884 the executors of Mr. Nichols, at the suggestion of the late Mr. Stephen Tucker, Somerset Herald, replaced the brass in the present church. Bishop Bell resigned his see in 1543 and retired to Clerkenwell, where he died in 1556. He is represented in full episcopal vestments: the mitre is unusually depressed, and the crosier rests on his left shoulder. The lower part of the figure and the inscription were lost previous to the destruction of the old church.

Brasses of abbots are somewhat scarce, although as far as costume goes they are similar to those of bishops. In the north choir aisle of the abbey church of Westminster is the fine brass to Abbot John Estney, who died in 1498. The vestments are exceptionally rich, and the mitre is studded with precious stones. A fine triple canopy remains, but the border inscription is lost. An empty slab now in the North Transept held a similar brass to another abbot of Westminster, and tells a tale of shameful neglect. It was to the memory of Edmund Kirton, 1466, and once contained his effigy under a triple canopy, the centre finial terminating in a large inscribed rose. The brass is figured complete in Dart's *Westmonasterium*, 1742. In 1786, when Gough published his *Sepulchral Monuments*, the triple canopy alone remained. Now, save for a defaced shield, not a fragment of brass is to be seen.

Of the five figures in mass vestments, the four earliest are half-effigies. The first and earliest figure in the county is that of Robert Levee or Lence, rector of Hayes, *c.* 1370. It has been turned out of its original stone and relaid in a neat white marble slab. The other half-effigies are those of Richard de Thorp, rector of Stanwell, 1408; John Monemouthe, rector of Harlington, *c.* 1430; and Simon Hert, rector of Great Greenford, 1452. The whole length figure is that of Thomas Symonds, also a rector of Great Greenford, *c.* 1515.

Of priests in copes, the earliest is that of Simon Marcheford, a canon of Salisbury and Windsor, 1442, at Harrow. It is a small headless figure, and lacks the usual badge of a canon of Windsor, the cross of St. George embroidered on the cope. In the same church is the fine but mutilated brass to John Byrkhede, 1468, with the following Saints on the orphreys of his cope: on the right SS. John Baptist, Anne, Laurence, Nicholas, and Bridget; on the left the Blessed Virgin Mary, Peter, John the Evangelist, Richard, and Paula. There are the remains of a fine single canopy above the figure; in 1799 this was nearly perfect

as was also the marginal inscription. At the upper corner of the latter is a shield of arms bearing the insignia of the archbishopric of Canterbury impaling the arms of Thomas Arundel, archbishop from 1394 to 1414. Gough records that the arms of Archbishop Chicheley, 1414–43, also appeared on the brass. From the archives of All Souls College, Oxford, it appears that Byrkhede was an executor of Henry Chicheley, the founder, which accounts for these arms. Byrkhede's will was proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury in 1468: therein he is described as "clerk," of Harrow, Middlesex; Hawkhurst, Kent; and Wigan, Lancashire. The figure of William Lichefeld, LL.D., 1517, vicar of Willesdenand canon residentiary of St. Paul's, shows him in cope and wearing his doctor's cap. Dr. Christopher Urswick at Hackney appears in a similar dress. He was a well-known man in his time: the inscription states that he was almoner to Henry VII., dean of York and of Windsor, archdeacon of Richmond, and that he refused the bishopric of Norwich. In his will he is styled archdeacon of Norfolk, Oxford, and Wiltshire, chancellor of Exeter, and prebendary of Lincoln and of St. Paul's. In conjunction with Sir Reginald Bray he superintended the completion of St. George's Chapel and has a chantry there. In 1505 he resigned his office as dean of Windsor, and retired to his living of Hackney, where he died in 1521–2 at the age of 74.

Of priests in academicals there are but three examples, a half-effigy at Harrow, *c.* 1460, probably representing a bachelor or master of arts, or possibly a bachelor of laws, as the figure of Nicholas Wotton, rector of St. Martin Outwich, 1482, has a similar hood, and his inscription states that he was a bachelor of laws. This brass is now preserved in the church of Great St. Helen, as is also the figure of a doctor of divinity, both removed from the destroyed church of St. Martin Outwich. The doctor of divinity is represented in a cassock, a long gown with a slit in front for the passage of the arms, a large fur-lined hood, and a cap. It is usually attributed to John Breux, rector, 1459, but the style of engraving seems to point to a date nearly fifty years later.

The post reformation priests are three in number. Dr. William Bill, 1561, dean of Westminster, provost of Eton, master of Trinity College, Cambridge, and chief almoner to Queen Elizabeth, is represented in a gown with a doctor's hood: his brass lies on a high tomb in the chapel of St. Benedict in Westminster Abbey. The small kneeling figure of Isaiah Bures, master of arts of Balliol College, Oxford, and vicar of Northolt, 1610, wears a preaching gown, a robe very similar to the gown worn by the ordinary civilian of this period. The last of the series, a curious little brass, represents Hugh Johnson, vicar of Hackney, 1618, standing in a very Jacobean-looking pulpit.

Legal. The small figure of John Newdegate, serjeant-at-law, 1528, at Harefield, is the only representative of this profession. It shows him in his serjeant's robes but without the cape, and holding in his hand a small scroll.

Military. Of the thirty-two examples, fourteen are single figures, and the remainder are, or were, accompanied by their ladies. It is not proposed to describe the whole series, but only to take typical examples. The "camail" period is illustrated by two figures from Harrow. The first, Edmund Flambard, *c.* 1370, the earliest remaining figure in the county, is a neat little effigy with the thigh pieces ornamented with studs of metal. The lion at his feet is very characteristic of this period. The second, John Flambard, *c.* 1390, is a much larger figure, but belongs to a common type. The best example of the earliest form of

complete plate armour is the figure of Sir John Harpedon, 1437, in the north choir aisle of Westminster Abbey. He was the fifth and last husband of Lady Joan Cobham, whose fine brass, together with those of two of her former husbands, still remains in Cobham church. The gradual addition of various extra defences and the changes in their shape are well illustrated by the figures of Henry Rowdell, 1452, at Northolt, who wears a livery collar, probably the SS. collar, and the two nearly identical figures, at Isleworth to an unknown man, *c.* 1450, and at Hayes to Walter Grene, 1456. The particular type illustrated by the Isleworth and Hayes figures is common in the neighbourhood of London, and there can be little doubt that all came from the same workshop, so closely do they resemble one another. The period of the Wars of the Roses is not well represented in the series. The figure of Sir Humphrey Bourchier, cup-bearer to Elizabeth, queen of Edward IV., slain at the battle of Barnet on Easter day 1471, is unfortunately lost, but the inscription, badges and shields still remain. The slab lies on a high tomb in the chapel of St. Edmund, Westminster Abbey. In the same church in the chapel of St. John the Baptist is the mutilated figure of Sir Thomas Vaughan, private treasurer to Edward IV.: he died in 1483. About the year 1500 the mail skirt again made its appearance: between that year and 1520 the figures bear a general resemblance to one another. Examples occur in Westminster Abbey to Sir Humphrey Stanley, one of the body-guard to Henry VII., 1505; at Hillingdon to John le Strange, lord Strange of Knokyn, who died in 1477, but the brass was laid down by his only child Joan in 1509. Lord Strange married Jacquetta, a sister of Elizabeth Woodville, queen of Edward IV. In Great St. Helen's are two examples · John Lenenthorpe, 1510, and Robert Rochester, 1514. After this period armour is of a very mixed character, as may be seen on the figures from Hillingdon to Henry Stanley, 1528; Hackney to John Lymsey, 1545; All Hallows Barking, to William Thynne, 1546; and William Armar, 1560, and at Northolt, to John Gifforde, 1560. The introduction of trunk hose caused further changes, which may be seen on the figures of Thomas Higate, 1576, at Hayes, and, on the last of the series, Sir Arthur Gorges, 1637, in Chelsea old church.

Civilians. These number about fifty-two, and are mostly accompanied by their ladies; but the series is rather an uninteresting one, and, as in the case of the military figures, will be illustrated by types only. The earliest and finest brass is that of John Bacon and wife Joan, 1437, in the church of All Hallows Barking. He was a citizen and wool merchant, so is represented standing on a wool-pack; his tunic has deep, full sleeves, and his legs are clothed in tight hose. His wife wears the veil head-dress, and a high-waisted gown with sleeves to match her husband's. The inscription is in raised black letter, and above the figures is a very pretty device consisting of a heart inscribed "mercy" and encircled by two scrolls. In his will John Bacon desires to be buried either at East Neston, Northants, where his parents lie, or in the church of All Saints Barking, near the Tower of London; and amongst other bequests he provides for the rebuilding of East Neston church. Of the same type, but of much coarser workmanship, are the figures of William Markeby and wife Alice, 1439, in the church of St. Bartholomew-the-Less. The period from 1460 to 1500 may be illustrated by the finely-engraved brass of John Croke, citizen, skinner and alderman, 1477, at All Hallows Barking. He is represented in his alderman's mantle, kneeling at a desk, and behind him are the smaller figures of his sons. His wife Margaret is represented as a

widow with her daughter behind her. The shield bearing the arms of Croke still retains a good portion of the composition used to represent the azure field. In the same church the figure of John Rusche, 1498, affords a late instance of the practice of placing animals at the feet, in this case a small dog of uncertain breed, but no doubt a favourite. The figure of Bartholomew Willesden, comptroller of the great roll of the pipe, 1492, at Willesden, has his hat on his right shoulder, the long flowing scarf hanging in front. Of the thirteen examples between 1500 and 1530, the small brass of Christopher Rawson, mercer and a merchant of the Staple of Calais, 1518, is selected on account of the interesting details supplied by his will. The brass is now in the south aisle of All Hallows Barking, and represents the worthy mercer standing between his two wives; there is an inscription plate below their feet, and small scrolls proceeding from their mouths. By his will, dated September 30, 1518, a few days before his death, and proved on the 18 January following, he directs his body to be buried "in the chapell of our blessed Lady set on the south-side of the parish churche of Allhalowen Berkyng in the Towre of London wher I am parrishen, that is to wit in the wey ledynge oute of the quere. And I will that a marble stone shal be ordeyned by myn executors and laide upon my grave, with the ymages of me and my two wyfes and children, and with an ymage of the Holy Trinitie, and this scripture 'Libera nos. Salva nos. Sanctifica nos. O beata Trinitas,' for which I bequeth xls." His directions as to the brass, unless indeed it has been relaid, were not entirely carried out, as there is no representation of the Trinity nor any children. His executors may have foreseen the coming storm and omitted the Trinity; certainly some kind hand obliterated the prayer clauses in the inscription and saved the memorial from utter destruction. The remaining period from 1530 to 1630 may be illustrated by the following examples: from St. Andrew Undershaft to Nicholas Leveson, mercer, merchant of the staple and sheriff, 1539, in mantle; from Isleworth, a civilian, name unknown, *c.* 1590; Thomas Berri, who "xii penie loaves to xii poore foulkes geve everie sabathe day for aye," 1586, now preserved in the church of St. Martin, Ludgate Hill, having been removed from the destroyed church of St. Mary Magdalen, Old Fish Street, where it had survived through two fires; John Lyon, the well known founder of Harrow school, 1592, in Harrow church; Thomas Cole, 1597, in St. Margaret's, Westminster, now defaced by no fewer than sixty nails studded over its surface; William Cuttinge, 1599, a benefactor to Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, and to St. Katherine's Hospital, where his brass is still preserved, and, lastly, John Burrough and wife, 1616, at Tottenham.

Ladies. All the fashions from the fourteenth to the middle of the seventeenth century are represented; but as in the majority of cases the ladies accompany their husbands, it is impossible to show or describe them all in a limited space. There are examples of ladies of rank, as the Duchesses of Gloucester and of Northumberland, of ladies in heraldic mantles, of the wives of country gentlemen, and of the wives of citizens. Some are represented as widows: one is in a shroud, and another in a four-post bedstead. There are sixteen single figures of ladies, of which the earliest and finest is the well-known brass to Eleanor de Bohun, 1399, in Westminster Abbey. This brass lies on a high tomb in the chapel of St. Edmund, and represents the lady habited as a widow, her head resting on two embroidered cushions, and standing under a fine triple canopy with the side shafts enriched with armorial bearings. A chamfer inscription in French runs round the edge of the slab. Lady Eleanor, a daughter and co-heiress of Humphrey de Bohun, the eleventh and last of the name, Earl of Hereford,

BRASS OF ELEANOR DE BOHUN, WIFE OF THOMAS OF WOODSTOCK, DUKE OF GLOUCESTER, 1399, IN THE ABBEY CHURCH OF WESTMINSTER.

SWAN BADGE OF DE BOHUN FAMILY IN THE CENTRAL CANOPY.

ARMS OF DE BOHUN.

Essex, and Northampton, and Constable of England, married Thomas of Woodstock, seventh son of Edward III. who in her right became Earl of Essex and Constable of England.

LETTERING ON INSCRIPTION. DE BOHUN BRASS.

Shortly after his marriage he was created Duke of Gloucester, and in 1397 was murdered at Calais by order of Richard II. His widow retired to the abbey of Barking, and is said to have assumed the religious habit.

ORNAMENTATION ON INSCRIPTION. DE BOHUN BRASS.

The brass at Enfield to Joice, Lady Tiptoft, who died in 1446, was apparently not laid down until about 1470. This lady is represented in a mantle emblazoned with her personal arms of Charlton and Holland. On her head she wears a coronet, and round her neck a rich jewelled necklace. There is a fine triple canopy with shields on the side shafts, and a marginal inscription enclosing the whole. A later stone canopy has been built over the tomb, and portions of the masonry superimposed upon parts of the inscription. Lady Joice was the younger daughter and co-heiress of Edward Charlton, fourth baron Charlton of Powys, by Eleanor, daughter of Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent. She was born in 1404, and married Sir John Tiptoft, who in 1426 was created a baron. She died in 1446, having survived her husband three years. Probably her son John, Lord Tiptoft, who was beheaded in 1470, erected this tomb to his mother's memory. In the church of Great St. Helen is the figure of a lady, *c.* 1535, in a mantle charged with a lion rampant vulned on the shoulder in three places. The inscription is lost, and the figure has been relaid in a new stone. In the old parish church of Chelsea is the brass to Lady Jane Guildford, 1555, widow of John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, attainted and executed for his share in setting up his son's wife, Lady Jane Grey, as queen. The Duchess is repre-

HEAD OF LADY TIPTOFT.

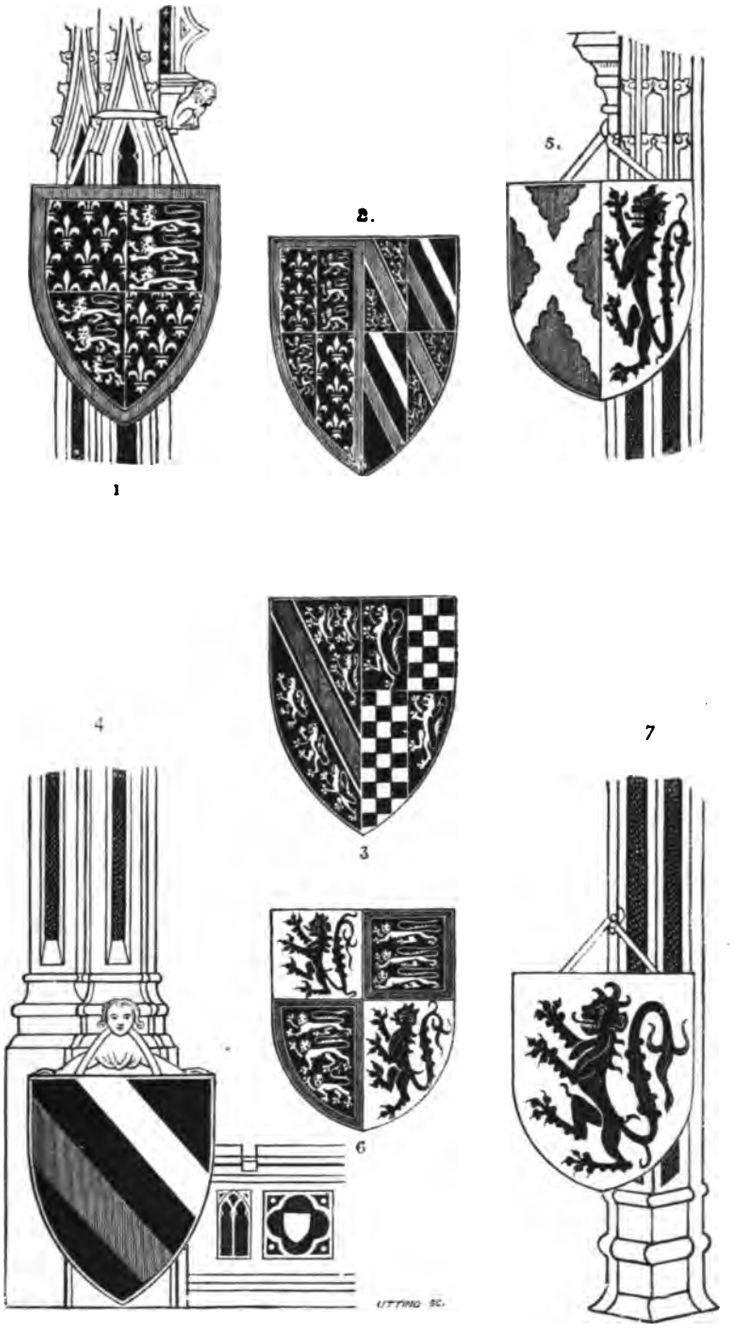
LETTERING ON INSCRIPTION. ENFIELD.

sented kneeling, with her five daughters behind her, and her mantle is charged with the Guildford arms. There was no figure of her husband, and the Guildford arms alone appear

BRASS OF JOICE LADY TIPTOFT, 1446, FROM ENFIELD MIDDLESEX. BRASS ENGRAVED C. 1470.

CENTRE PEDIMENT OF CANOPY.

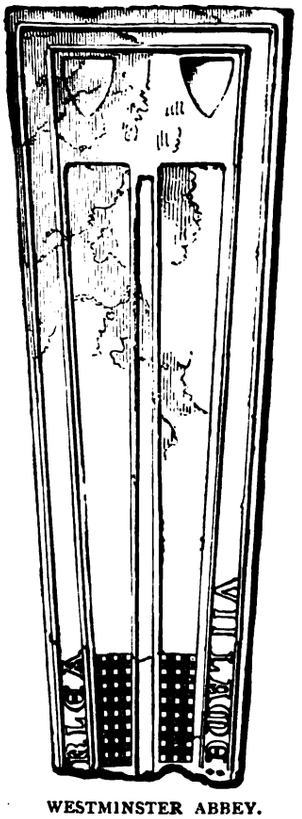
SYMBOL OF ST. MATTHEW.



SHIELDS OF ARMS. NOS. 1, 2, 3, 4 FROM THE BRASS TO ELEANOR DE BOHUN, WESTMINSTER ABBEY. NOS. 5, 6, 7 FROM THE BRASS TO LADY JOICE TIPTOFT, AT ENFIELD.

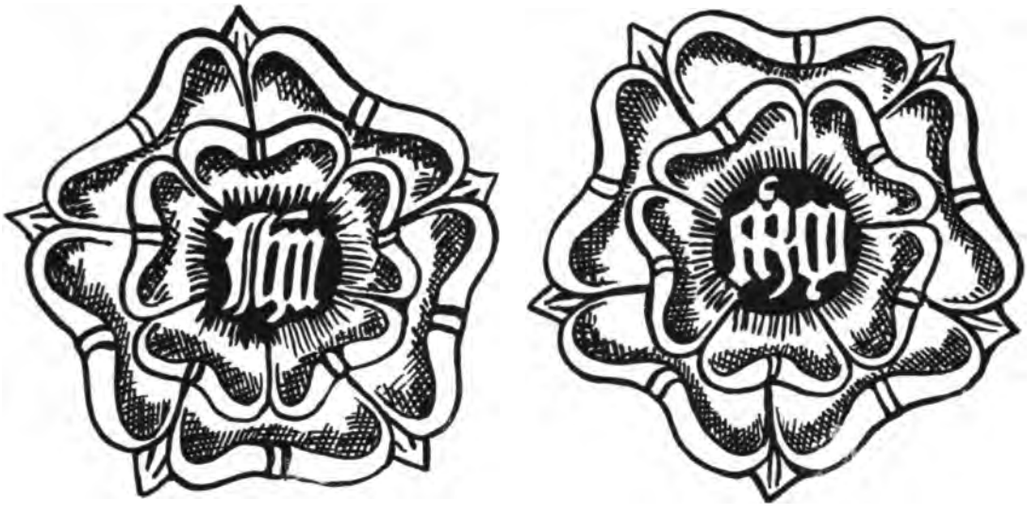
on the monument. The figures of the sons are unfortunately lost, but the scroll with their names still exists. Guildford Dudley was the husband of the ill-fated Lady Jane Grey, and Robert was the well-known Earl of Leicester of Elizabeth's reign. At Heston is the curious memorial to Constance, the wife of Mordicai Bownell, vicar of the parish. She died in childbirth in 1581, and is represented in an old-fashioned four-post bedstead with the dead infant on the coverlet. At the side is a ministering angel, and above a figure of our Lord in glory. The inscription is now lost, as is also the kneeling figure of her husband and his children.

Miscellaneous. In Westminster Abbey, concealed under the lowermost step of the chantry erected to the memory of Henry V., and to this its preservation is due, is a portion of a curious and unique memorial. The original consisted of a coffin-shaped slab about 4 feet in length, now nearly effaced ; but under the step is preserved about 10 inches, showing that the field or centre portion of the stone was originally filled with rich glass mosaic in gold, crimson, and white. In the centre is a portion of the stem of a brass cross, and the marginal fillet still retains a few of the Lombardic letters, each singly inlaid, between narrow borders of brass. This has been conjectured to be a monument to some member of the De Valence family, possibly to John, eldest son of William de Valence (half-brother, by his mother Isabel d'Angouleme, to Henry III.), Earl of Pembroke, by his wife Joan de Montchesney. The date may be *c.* 1270, and if so it is the earliest brass known ; but it is difficult to assign an exact date. In the church of All Hallows Barking is a pretty little brass to William Tonge, 1389. It consists of a shield surrounded by an inscription in French. He was member for the City in 1388, and his will was proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury on 2 September, 1389, and also in the Hustings Court. He desires his body to be buried in the church of All Hallows, and bequeaths ten marks to the use of the church. In the same church, upon a tomb of which all has perished save this fragment, is a representation of the Resurrection, date about 1500. Representations of the Trinity, the Annunciation, the Resurrection, etc., are not uncommon on brasses, but, with the exception of a figure of Our Lady of Pity on a Flemish brass in this same church, all have disappeared, a proof of the thoroughness with which the reforming party carried out its work of destruction, at all events in London and its immediate vicinity. It may also be noted that in many cases the clauses in the inscriptions containing the prayers for the souls of the deceased have been cut out, most probably by friends to prevent the entire destruction of the monuments. At Littleton are two roses inscribed "Ihũ—m'cy," date about 1460, no doubt portions of some larger memorial, but now relaid. Figures of children alone occur at Edgware, to Anthony "the first borne" son of John and Elizabeth Childe, who died in 1599, aged three weeks, and is represented in swaddling clothes. The little figure of Anne Bedingfeld, 1580, at Pinner, is similarly clothed. The inscription states that she was buried by her grandmother



WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

Margery, widow of John Draper, citizen and "bere" brewer. At Hornsey the small figure of John Skevington, *c.* 1530, is represented in a shroud. Other figures of children are at



INSCRIBED ROSES FROM LITTLETON. (*Half size.*)

Hadley, 1442, and in the church of Holy Trinity Minories, the latter almost effaced. Of nuns there are two examples: one, a fragment only, was found on the site of the Priory at Kilburn, and is now preserved in the church of St. Mary. It represents the head of a prioress, and may be dated about 1380. The other is a small figure at Isleworth to Margaret Dely, 1561, "a Syster professed yn Syon," of which nunnery she was treasurer. The dress of the nun was the ordinary mourning habit, but in this case the mantle or cloak is omitted. French inscriptions occur at South Mimms to Henry Frowyk, 1386, and in London at All Hallows Barking to William Tonge, 1389; Great St. Helen to Robert Cotesbrok, 1393, and on the De Bohun brass in Westminster Abbey. Two Flemish brasses remain: one, a fine quadrangular plate still containing traces of colour, lies in its original stone on the floor of the nave of All Hallows Barking. It is to the memory of Andrew Evyngar, citizen and salter, his wife Ellyn, and their one son and six daughters. Above the figures is a representation of Our Lady of Pity. No date is given on the brass, but the general style points to about 1535. A somewhat similar plate exists in the church of St. Mary Quay, Ipswich. The second Flemish brass, now fastened to a pillar in the nave of Fulham church, is said by Lysons to have been found in digging the foundation of a column when the church was repaired in 1770. It is a large diamond-shaped plate, the upper part containing the shrouded bust of Margaret Hornebolt, her head resting on a cushion; in the centre is the inscription

HEAD OF A NUN, C. 1380. FROM THE SITE OF KILBURN PRIORY.

represented as a scroll held by angels, and below is a shield of arms between a monogram. Margaret was the daughter of Derick Svanders or Des Vanders, who married the widow of Jan van Heerweghe. She herself became the wife of the celebrated painter Gerard Horenbault or Hornebolt, a native of Ghent, who came into England in 1528 and was appointed painter to Henry VIII. She died in 1529, leaving one daughter, Susanna, an artist of some repute, and married to John Parker, "archarius regis" or cofferer to the King. The brass was no doubt designed by her husband, as their joint initials appear between the shield.

PALIMPSEST BRASS. HARROW.

Of "palimpsest," or re-used brasses, there are examples at Cranford, Harlington, Harrow, Isleworth (2), London, All Hallows Barking, Northolt, and Pinner. At Cranford the inscription to Nicholas Bownell, 1581, shows on the reverse the portions of some Latin verses of the fifteenth century. At Harlington two of the shields show respectively part of an English inscription and a portion of some children. At Harrow the inscription to Dorothy Frankyshe, 1574, is cut out of a large Flemish brass, and shows portions of an inscription with small figures wearing hoods and holding books. On the back of the verses accompanying this inscription is the head of a lady resting on a cushion, and a small figure of St. Paul, also Flemish. At Isleworth the inscription to William Chase, 1544, is cut out of part of a Flemish brass, and has on the reverse the figure of a saint under a canopy. In the same church the inscription to Frances Denton, *c.* 1570, has on the reverse some scroll-work from a Flemish brass of the sixteenth century. Both these examples are now fastened down. The brass of William Thynne, 1546, and wife Anne, a daughter of William Bonde, in the church of All Hallows Barking, is almost entirely made up of earlier pieces: on the reverse of the male effigy is part of a lady in mantle with cord, tassels, and rich girdle, *c.* 1530; on the reverse of the female effigy is a priest holding a chalice, *c.* 1510; and on the reverses of parts of the marginal inscription are portions of another inscription in English. This brass was restored and relaid by Messrs. Waller in 1861. At Northolt a portion of the brass to John Gifforde, 1560, is palimpsest; on the reverse of the daughters are eight sons; and at Pinner the small figure with its inscription to Anne Bedingfeld, 1580, is cut out of an earlier Flemish inscription.

Merchants' marks occur on four brasses only, at All Hallows Barking on the Flemish brass to Andrew Evyngar, *c.* 1535; at St. Olave's, on the brass to John Orgone, 1584, where the mark is placed on a bale of wool; at St. Martin's, on the brass to Thomas Berri, 1586; and at Hillingdon, a diamond-shaped plate enclosed by a pretty running pattern resembling lace work on the brass to Drew Saunders, 1579.

The arms of the City of London may be found at Finchley, 1610; those of the Merchant Adventurers at All Hallows Barking *c.* 1535, and at Hillingdon *c.* 1570; of the Merchants of the Staple at St. Olave's, 1516. The City Companies are represented by the Grocers at Finchley, 1610; the Mercers at St. Olave's, 1516, and at Hillingdon, *c.* 1570; the Salters at All Hallows Barking *c.* 1535; the Brewers in the same church, 1591; the Haberdashers at South Mimms, and the Merchant Taylors at Great St. Helens, 1500, on a brass removed from the destroyed church of St. Martin Outwich. This shield shows on the chief the Holy Lamb set within a sun as granted by Thomas Holme, Clarencieux, in 1480. A second grant, made to the company in 1586 by Robert Cooke, Clarencieux, substituted a golden lion for the Holy Lamb. At South Mimms is a shield, a short time ago loose in the church, with arms of the East-Land Company. This company was incorporated *temp.* Elizabeth, and bore the following arms: *Or, on the sea in base a ship with three masts in full sail, all proper, pennants and ensigns arg. charged with a cross gu., on a chief of the last a lion passant guardant of the first.*

As in all the "home" counties, there are numerous examples of monuments to royal servants. In brass, either with figures or as inscriptions only, the following may be noticed: At Brentford, Richard Redmayne, 1528, "chief mason of the King's works"; West Drayton, John Burnell, 1551, "officer of the seller" to Henry VIII.; Enfield, William Smith, 1592, served Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth; Isleworth, William Chase, 1544, serjeant of the hall and woodyard to Henry VIII.; Kingsbury, Thomas Scudamore, 1626, servant to Elizabeth and James I.; London, All Hallows Barking, William Thynne, 1546, a master of the household to Henry VIII.; and William Armar, servant for fifty-one years to Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth, and governor of the pages of honour; London, Great St. Helen, John Lenenthorpe, 1510, "hostiarius" or usher of the chamber to Henry VII.; and Robert Rochester, 1514, serjeant of the pantry to Henry VIII.; Twickenham, Richard Burton, 1443, chief cook to the King, a man of importance, for he places the royal arms above his inscription. A brass to a king-of-arms existed in the church of Great St. Helen in the early part of the present century. It is now lost, but the stone remains, and drawings of the brass are in existence. It represented Thomas Benolte, Clarencieux, 1533, in tabard and crown, accompanied by his two wives.

The Society is indebted to the London and Middlesex Archæological Society for the loan of the blocks illustrating the brasses at Enfield, Kilburn, and Westminster Abbey, and to the Royal Archæological Institute for that at Littleton.

ADDENDUM TO "LITURGICAL NOTES ON THE SHERBORNE MISSAL."

BY

J. WICKHAM LEGG, F.S.A.

In my paper on the Sherborne Missal[1] I omitted to print a sequence contained in that manuscript in honour of St. Catherine of Alexandria, which hymn I do not find as yet in type. The first lines of this sequence are given on p. 5 of this volume in the above-mentioned paper. Mr. Thomas Bosworth, the Librarian at Alnwick Castle, has been good enough to copy out the sequence and to send me this transcript, in which he has broken up the hymn into its stanzas, a process which I did not dare to attempt in the other sequences printed in the paper; but which is a great improvement in the editing. I am glad of this opportunity of expressing my thanks to Mr. Bosworth for his kindness to me on this and other occasions.

Laus resultet Katerine
Cui cesserunt flagra mine
Victrix ergo sine fine
Gloriari meruit
Regis prolis[2] et regine
Literati[2] discipline
Curam dedit set diuine
Totum cor implicuit
Temptat modo blandimentis
Modo minis et tormentis
Cor in christum confidentis
Mutare maxencius
Nullis cedit uirgo plagis
Nullo mutat metu stragis
Set quo seuit ille magis
Pugnat illa forcius
Euidenter et expresse
Docet quia sic necesse
Deum et non deos esse
Uirginis argucia
Argumentis renitentes
Set reniti non ualentes
Flammis perdit sapientes
Tiranni demencia

Porfirium et reginam
Claritatem qui diuinam
Stupent circa katerinam
Coronat martirium
Tonat dei uox in rota
Machina que perit tota
Uirgo simplex et deuota
Seruatur ad gladium
Uirginali ceso flore
Lac emanans pro cruore
Suo probat ex candore
Candorem uirgineum
In sepulcrum montis sina
Manu fertur katerina
Non humana set diuina
Tumba sudat oleum
Patet locus equitati
Non impune sinunt pati
Set extingunt instigati
Demones maxencium
Deus ergo per beatum
Katerine patronatum
Nos ipsius ad optatum
Perducat consorcium. Amen.

[1] *Transactions of the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society*, Vol. IV. p. 1.

[2] Thus in MS.

ON SOME MASSES OF ST. ETHELBERT, K. M., IN A MANUSCRIPT MISSAL OF HEREFORD USE.

BY

REV. E. S. DEWICK, M.A., F.S.A.

At a meeting of the Society held on December 12, 1894, I had the pleasure of exhibiting a manuscript missal of Hereford Use, written in the fourteenth century. The text of this missal differs in many details from that of the printed edition of 1502[1]; and also from that of the manuscript missal of the same Use belonging to University College, Oxford. In the fifteenth century a correcting hand went through the Sanctorale, and many of the epistles, grails and gospels were erased, and in their place new ones were substituted which generally agree with those in the printed edition of 1502. My present object, however, is not to describe the manuscript, but to call attention to some masses of St. Ethelbert, which, I believe, have not previously appeared in print.

Before giving the masses, a few words may be said concerning St. Ethelbert. He was a King of the East Angles and was murdered by Offa, king of Mercia, in 792. Of the real history of this murder we know little, but Ethelbert was regarded as a martyr, and his remains were first buried at Marden, but afterwards removed to a place then called Fernley, but now known as Hereford.[2] When bishop Æthelstan built a new minster at Hereford, he dedicated it in honour of St. Ethelbert, but the exact place where his remains lay was not known, and they were consequently not enshrined.

The masses of St. Ethelbert in the manuscript missal are as follows:—

(1) The mass on St. Ethelbert's Day, May 20. This is the same as the mass in the printed edition except that in accordance with the custom of the MS. no sequence is given.[3] The masses for the octave which are found in the printed edition are not in the MS.

(2) A votive mass to be said on Tuesdays in honour of St. Ethelbert. This is nearly the same as the *Missa de sancto Ethelberto* in the printed edition of 1502[4] in which

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[1] This has been reprinted by Dr. Henderson, *Missale ad usum percelebris Ecclesiæ Herfordensis*, Leeds, 1874.

[2] The sequence in the Hereford Missal (Henderson, p. 260) thus refers to this translation:

Corpus tandem est delatum
In Fernleia tumulatum
Ubi sanctus floret signis
Omnium stupore dignus.

[3] The only mass which has a sequence in this MS. is that of Corpus Christi.

[4] Henderson, p. 402.

the collect, secret and postcommon are all adapted with change of name from the memorial of St. Agapitus (Aug. 18) in the Hereford Missal,[1] which has the same forms as the Roman Missal and the Gregorian Sacramentary.[2] In the manuscript missal, however, only the collect, *Letetur ecclesia tua* is taken from the mass of St. Agapitus, whilst the secret, *Exorabilis domine*, and the postcommon, *Pectoribus insere*, are taken from the mass of the annual festival of St. Ethelbert.

(3) Another form of the votive mass has been added by a scribe on a fly leaf at the end of the MS., apparently in the sixteenth century. It differs from the one just mentioned and also from that of the printed edition in the secret, *Pro beati Ethelberti regis*, and postcommon, *Presta quesumus domine deus noster*, both of which are taken with change of name from the memorial of St. Agapitus in the Sarum Missal.[3]

(4) The most interesting mass, however, is one which was inserted with other new masses on some leaves added at the end of the MS. in the course of the fifteenth century. It was to be said in the hope of discovering the relics of St. Ethelbert, which were believed to be at Hereford, but their exact site was unknown. It is hardly likely that a mass of this kind would be in general use in the diocese, or that it would be said anywhere else but in the cathedral church of Hereford. It may, therefore, be regarded as highly probable that the MS. containing this mass was formerly in use in the cathedral church.

The mass is as follows:

De Sancto Ethelberto.

Oracio.

Omnipotens et misericors deus qui tuis fidelibus tibi supplicantibus infundis affectum ac pie peticionis salutarem prestas[4] effectum: vota nostra et preces quas pro reuelacione corporis glorississimi martiris tui Ethelberti offerimus benignus exaudi: ut sicut corpus prothomartiris tui stephani reuelasti . sic sacratissimas huius martiris Ethelberti occultatas reliquias quas optamus manifestare digneris. Per.

Secreta.

Propiciare domine supplicacionibus nostris et has oblaciones tuas nunc uirtute consecrandas quas pro reuelandis manifestandis que corporis beatissimi martiris tui ethelberti sacratis[5] reliquiis offerimus clementer assume et concede. ut quod uti gerimus et optamus tua[6] clemencia assequi mereamur. Per.

Communio.

Amen dico uobis quicquid orantes petitis credite et accipietis et fiet uobis.

Postcommunio.

Suscipe quesumus clementissime pater nostre oblacionis deuocionem et per uirtutem huius sacramenti corporis et sanguinis filii tui domini nostri ihesu christi quod indigni sumpsimus. fac nos dignos sacratissimi martiris tui Ethelberti reparare ac oculis corporeis contueri[7] reliquias quo sic leti tibi cum sancto symeone decantemus nunc dimittis nos in pace quia uiderunt oculi mei salutare tuum domine. Qui uiuis.

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[1] Henderson, p. 311. [2] Muratori (L. A.), *Liturgia Romana Vetus*, Venetiis, 1748. II. p. 115.

[3] The MS. has another instance of the influence of the Sarum Missal in the mass of St. Leonard (November 6). Here a correcting hand of the sixteenth century has erased the original collect and secret proper to Hereford, and has written in their place the Sarum forms. The postcommon was not altered.

[4] presta, MS. [5] sacratus, MS. [6] te, MS. [7] contuere, MS.

THE SHRINE OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR.

BY

EDWARD BELL, M.A., F.S.A.

There is probably no collection of sepulchral monuments in the world which, in its combination of historical interest with architectural excellence, can vie with that which is crowded within the circumscribed area of the eastern arm of Westminster Abbey. Defaced and degraded by time and sacrilegious hands they now exhibit little of their former splendour, but they have for the most part been spared the further degradation of modern restoration, and it is possible by careful study of what is left to realize in some degree the magnificence that once has been.[1]

Foremost among them must be placed the mutilated remains of the once glorious shrine of Edward the Confessor, to whose honour the church itself arose, and has survived as a somewhat less perishable monument. Of this shrine we can only be thankful that we have so much still left, that it has partially escaped the fate of the similar monuments of St. Cuthbert, St. Edmund, and St. Thomas of Canterbury, and that in its gray Purbeck columns and trefoiled niches we can still trace some indication of the Italian mosaic work, brilliant with gilding and colour, with which its base was once covered.[2] Some conception of the work may be derived from the neighbouring tomb of its royal founder, Henry III, in which a part of the mosaic work, chiefly on the northern or outer side, where it was out of reach of mischievous hands, still remains in its ancient brightness.

The shrine, like others of its class, is supposed to have originally consisted of four distinct parts—firstly, the base, which still remains; secondly, an upper portion called the feretory, made of wood, but overlaid with golden or gilt plates and goldsmith's work ornamented with numerous precious stones, in or under which the saint's body was deposited; thirdly, an altar dedicated to the saint at the west end of the substructure; and fourthly, a cover above the feretory, which took one of two forms; it might be a fixed canopy of wood or stone, such as we see above the tombs of some of the kings, in which case it was sometimes called a *co-opertorium;* or it might be an ornamental wooden case, which completely covered up the feretory, and which could be raised after the manner of a font-cover by means of a counterpoise attached by ropes and pulleys to the vaulting overhead. This kind of cover is sometimes called a *co-operculum.* One of the two was indispensable, and, though there is no

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[1] In the following remarks I have been largely indebted to what has been written on the subject by Sir G. Gilbert Scott and Mr. W. Burges in *Gleanings from Westminster Abbey.*

[2] The remains of the base of the shrine of St. Alban, which, however, is a much later work, are the most important amongst the other examples left in England.

positive evidence, I am inclined to think, for reasons given below, that the latter existed at Westminster, as it did at Durham and Canterbury.

The base on each of its longer sides has three trefoiled niches, in which it was the custom to leave sick people during the night, in the hope that they would be miraculously cured. Almost the whole surface of the base has been encrusted with mosaic work of coloured and gilt glass and stones, that in the interior of the niches being especially elaborate, and originally no doubt of great beauty. The slender twisted shafts at the edges of the niches are also very effective. Each aperture is surrounded by a rectangular framing of mosaic work, the pattern of which differs on the two sides, that on the north being a

THE SHRINE OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR AS IT NOW EXISTS.
(From a photograph by S. B. Bolas & Co.)

guilloche or figure of eight, whilst on the south it is a looped design exactly like that on Henry III's tomb. Each pattern is returned on the east end of the tomb, where the two join with a curiously unsymmetrical appearance. Above the arcades and immediately below the entablature of the base were diamond-shaped panels of porphyry and serpentine, set in intricate mosaic work, almost Oriental in style. The whole work has a Byzantine character modified by Gothic forms.

At the east end were two rather slender twisted columns, standing free of the body of the work, and extending from the low step which surrounded the shrine to the entablature.

These were broken away; but one of them was found and restored by Sir Gilbert Scott, and now stands at the south-east angle.

The west end was constructed in a different manner. There we find a thick vertical slab of stone, which formed a reredos for the altar which formerly stood there. It is of the full width of the architrave, and consequently projects a few inches beyond the arcaded portions of the sides. It is covered with mosaic work both in front and on the projecting spaces of the back, but the edges are left without ornament, and were probably covered in some way, as is indicated by a hole which exists in one of the edges. Such altars usually had veils or curtains at the sides, and it is probable that in this case they were supported by a metal flange or stanchion affixed to each side of the retabulum.

The stone is at present supported by two twisted columns larger in diameter than those at the east end, but they are not in their original position. Their bases are now below the ground-level,[1] and Sir Gilbert Scott says that he caused the ground to be excavated, and found that their total length was equal to that of the thinner columns at the east end, from which he concludes that they were formerly the standards for the images of Edward the Confessor and St. John the Evangelist, which Edward II caused to be made of gold. Round the entablature of the basement on the south, east, and north sides ran the following inscription in letters of blue glass:

"ANNO MILENO DOMINI CUM SEPTUAGENO
ET BIS CENTENO CUM COMPLETO QUASI DENO
HOC OPUS EST FACTUM QUOD PETRUS DUXIT IN ACTUM
ROMANUS CIVIS HOMO CAUSAM NOSCERE SI VIS
REX FUIT HENRICUS SANCTI PRÆSENTIS AMICUS."

from which it appears that the work was wrought shortly before the year 1270 by Peter, a Roman citizen, at the instance of King Henry. It was actually completed in 1269.

There is little existing evidence as to the details of the rest of the shrine. In the University Library of Cambridge is an illuminated MS. Life of Edward the Confessor which was written by a monk of Westminster for Queen Eleanor about the middle of the 13th century, and which contains several representations of the Saint's tomb. Under the circumstances we might have expected them to throw considerable light upon the question; but as they do not agree, except in a most general way, with any features that are left, and are not even consistent with each other, and as the MS. was probably written before the completion of the work, it is possible that they were not intended for actual delineations, and we cannot take them as conclusive evidence for any details.[2] Copies of two are given by Mr. Burges in *Gleanings from Westminster Abbey.*

But there is a little documentary evidence which throws some sidelight upon the nature of the work, for in 1267, shortly before its completion, we find that Henry III's necessities obliged him to pawn many valuables belonging to himself and the Abbey which are specified

[1] The parts now shown are what were formerly below the surface, which explains the fact that they retain more of the mosaic inlay than the rest of the monument. It was to show this that they were reversed by Sir G. Scott.

[2] The figures of St. John and King Edward, which are roughly copied in my sketch (p. 240), have, however, the appearance of being something more than mere conventional suggestions.

in a Patent Roll still extant. In this document the following jewels are mentioned as appertaining to the feretrum of St. Edward :—

Six gold kings set with precious stones varying in value from	£48 to £103 each
1 St. Edmund similarly enriched, valued at	86
1 St. Peter holding in his hands a church and the keys, and trampling upon Nero	100
1 image of the B.V. and Child	200
A "majesty," with an emerald on the breast	200
Five golden angels, together valued at	30
A golden chain and cameos	228

The value of the whole comes to £1,234 11*s.*, and if we transmute this into modern currency we must put it at £20,000 at least. If we infer, as we must from the numbers of kings and angels, that the series was not yet complete, and take into account the sums that had been expended upon the construction of the base, it is difficult to realize the enormous amount that the whole shrine must have cost.

I have attempted to give my idea of the component parts of the shrine as it was when first completed, omitting many accessories such as curtains, lights, &c., which would be necessary adjuncts to it. Many additional offerings were made by various kings. One of the first (by Henry III) was a golden cup containing the heart of his nephew Henry, son of Richard, Earl of Cornwall, who was murdered in Italy by Simon de Montford's sons. This incident relating to the heart is referred to by Dante, who so far corroborates Matthew of Westminster. Edward I caused three marble columns to be made and placed round the shrine, and gave other offerings, as did many of his successors. Even Henry VII in his will ordered that a kneeling image of himself covered with gold plates and enamelled should be made and set up in the "mydds of the Creste of the Shryne of St. Edward King," but we may regard it as very doubtful if this bequest was carried out.

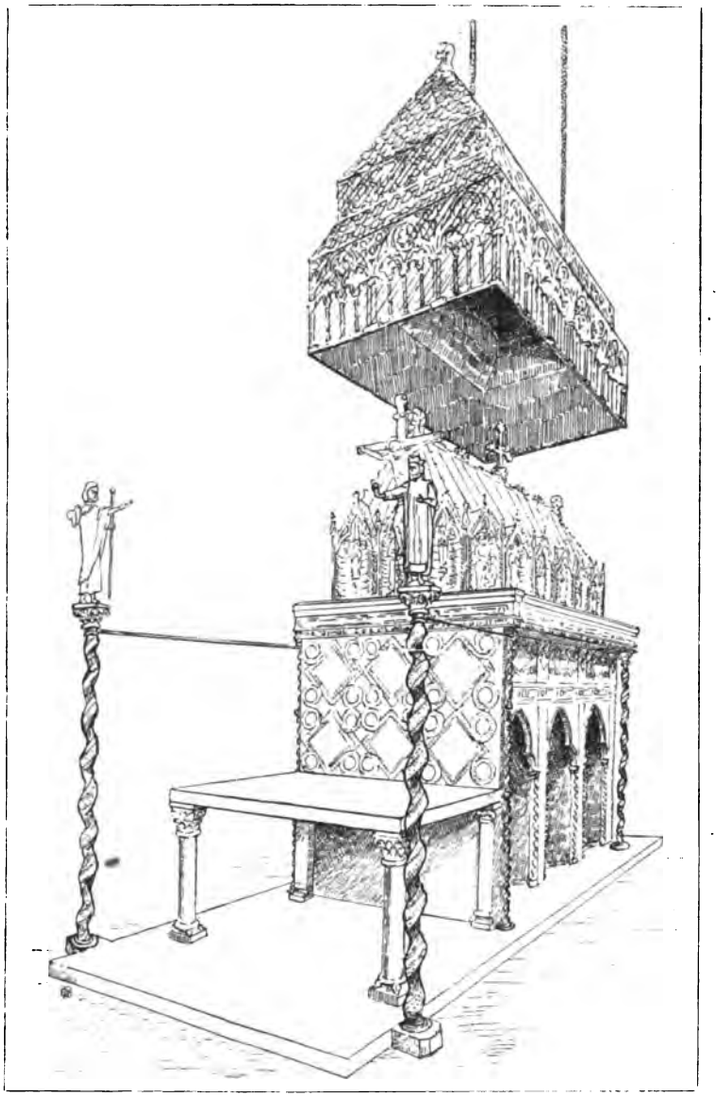
At the Dissolution all this splendour disappeared: the shrine was despoiled of all its gold and jewels, and the body of the saint was deposited in some place of concealment. Some think that the structure was wholly taken to pieces. If so, some portions of it were put together much more carefully than others. The upper part and the ends show obvious signs of hurried and faulty reconstruction.

Sir Gilbert Scott and Mr. Burges both consider the present cornice to be Feckenham's work; the original termination was probably destroyed in hastily taking out the body. The inscription on the architrave, which had lost its inlaid blue lettering, was plastered over by him, and another inscription painted over it. At the east end this plaster has come away, and the words "*Duxit in actum Romanus civis*" can still be deciphered, though they do not seem to be in their right order. If the plaster were removed it would probably enable us to ascertain the correct form of the west end, where I think the entablature must have projected laterally over the edges of the retabulum.

This west end must have been reconstructed more than once; for when Sir Gilbert Scott removed a brick wall which blocked it up, he found the slab of the retabulum three inches above its proper height, so that it covered the inscription.

The wooden covering is entirely in the Renaissance style of work. Mr. Burges, in the

absence of any information as to the original form of the feretory, considers it only reasonable to suppose that Feckenham followed the old form, which "must have been fresh in the recollection of very many persons." It seems more likely from its size and shape that it is a reminiscence of the co-operculum or removable wooden covering of the feretory, rather than



CONJECTURAL RESTORATION OF THE SHRINE OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR.

of the feretory itself. It is more than probable that the shrine at Westminster, like that at Canterbury, had a co-operculum, which would entirely cover the extraordinary treasures of its upper portion, rather than a co-opertorium, or fixed canopy, which would allow them always to be visible; and that the Abbot would naturally choose to replace the more ordinary covering than to give a cheap imitation of the vanished wealth. Whichever it was,

it was not so unadorned as it now appears, for there are remains of gilt and painted decoration corresponding to the mosaic work of the base.

There is no doubt, I believe, that the shrine still contains the remains of King Edward. In Machyn's Diary, under 20 Mar. 1557, the taking up of the body from the place in which it was buried temporarily and its restoration to the shrine is noted. There it remained through the Commonwealth, for after the coronation of James II it is related that the coffin was observed to be broken, as it was supposed, by the fall of a beam in removing the scaffolding. The coffin was examined by a Mr. Taylour[1] with two friends, who having fetched a ladder, put his hand into the hole, and turning the bones "drew out from underneath the shoulder-bones a crucifix richly adorned and enamelled, and a gold chain of four and twenty inches long." There was also in the coffin some linen and gold-coloured silk. The head of the king was examined, and found to be "very sound and firm, with the upper and nether jaws whole and full of teeth, with a list of gold above an inch broad in the nature of a coronet surrounding the temples." The cross and chain were presented to the king, who thereupon ordered the coffin to be enclosed in a new one "of an extraordinary strength and goodness, each plank being two inches thick, and joined together with large iron wedges." This coffin can still be seen through the opening at the top of the shrine.

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[1] See a tract of 34 pages entitled, "A true and perfect Narrative of the strange and unexpected Finding the Crucifix and Gold-Chain of that pious Prince, St. Edward the King and Confessor, which was found after 620 years interment and presented to His Most Sacred Majesty, King James the Second. By Charles Taylour, Gent." London, 1688. It appears that Henry Keepe, who is generally described as the finder, was only consulted afterwards by Taylour.

THE WORK OF THE BENEDICTINES OF SOLESMES IN THE PLAINSONG REVIVAL.

BY

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In considering the Work of the Benedictines of Solesmes in the Plainsong Revival the chief thing is to form some definite idea as to what they had to revive, and the difficulties with which they had to contend. Plainsong is a system of music perfectly distinct from modern measured music in harmony. It is essentially recitative music, founded on the structure of a prose sentence, and developed from two original forms—the Psalm Tone and the Antiphon. The Psalm Tone was in its turn a development of simple monotone by breaking off into a little cadence first at the end and afterwards at the middle of each verse. The Antiphons, on the other hand, were recitative melodies, for the time-value of the notes only depended on the length of the syllables, but they did not originate in monotoning, but were little airs based on the rhythm of the prose text. These became very ornate later on, as did also the psalmodic plainsong, so that it is only by a study of the structure that we can decide whether a certain melody should be classed as psalmodic or as antiphonal plainsong. For all practical purposes we are obliged to go to monastic churches for the type of worship in early times. On the one hand we know very little of what was done in ordinary parish churches, and on the other we may assume that the services of the religious houses would be first modelled on those in common use and afterwards serve as an ideal to be aimed at. We must also remember that the music at monastic services was governed by different conditions from those that ordinarily prevailed in parish churches. We may be sure that somewhat similar influences have always affected these, though the fact of all church officers having been in minor orders may have mitigated the objectionable surroundings of parochial church music. But the Director of the Singers was probably not proof against the seductions of a good teaching connection, and the choirmen were not unmindful of the effect their sweet voices in a Gradual might produce on Cecilia or Chloe. And the congregations in the fifth and sixth centuries did not consist only of Christian martyrs. In mediæval times they certainly approximated to our own people, for the ballad tells us how—

> Little Musgrave stood at the church door
> While the priest was at the Mass ;
> But he took more thought of the fair ladyes
> Than he did of our Lady's Grace.

No! It is to the monastic services that we must look both for the ideal of public worship and for an explanation of the growth of plainsong. Let us consider monastic conditions so far as they concern the music.

The monks represented the general population. They were not trained musicians like our Minor Canons and Vicars Choral, but just the men in the street. They were not therefore the counterpart of even our parish choirs, but rather represented our congregations. On the other hand, they came regularly to church, day in day out; were animated by distinct Christian fervour; and looked upon all secular music much as English people regarded it on Sundays thirty or forty years ago. Music in regular time represented to them at least dance music and love songs, if not the more dreadful strains of the Heathen Temple. They would consequently have nothing to do with it, and developed their own style—plainsong—from the primitive recitation of their offices. The main body of it was very simple; and though, after a time, the more florid music was confined to picked singers, the flexible voices of the southern races enabled all to join in the portions that were not reserved for the cantors. Plainsong is from its origin essentially congregational, and if the simpler music cannot be caught up by a congregation, after of course due experience of it, we may be sure that it is improperly rendered.

We may divide the history of plainsong into three periods: Creation,—until the year 600, when St. Gregory collected and edited most of the chant. Vigour,—until A.D. 1200, when harmonised music began to be successfully practised. And Decay,—until this century, when the revival set in.

The origin of the Psalm Tones may or may not be Hebraic. I am as much disposed to think it Silurian. They are so simple (the evidently earlier ones I mean) that they might have been composed yesterday in a Kindergarten, or at the beginning of time. But what is certain about them is that they are pure recitative, *i.e.* that the text of the psalm-verses governs the rhythm of the melody and the time-values of the single notes. This being the essential principle of the short chants from which all psalmodic plainsong was derived, we must naturally expect to find it animating the more elaborate forms, such as Tracts and Graduals, where single syllables carry a considerable number of notes. If therefore we find that this principle is violated in the execution of the elaborate melodies, we may have a shrewd suspicion that the rendering has been corrupted, and must endeavour to find some method of execution that will satisfy the requirements of the origin of plainsong. This is what has been done by the Benedictines of Solesmes, and though of course they do not claim to have said the last word on the restoration of the Chant, they do claim, and I think rightly, to have established the general principles on which students must work in the future.

The right and wrong methods are distinctly shown in even a simple syllabic Antiphon sung in the two styles. The psalm tones being mainly recitative on one note could not go very far wrong, though in their development as Anglican Chants they have, possibly through the use of vocal harmonies, sunk very low. The Antiphons, however, being recitations to a melody, were more capable of corruption, even when syllabic. In most churches in France, for instance, you would hear the Antiphon *Confitebor* sung with every one of its sixteen notes as a minim, thus taking at least fifteen seconds. As the Solesmes Fathers sing it, the duration of the notes varies according to the accentuation of the words, and the antiphon takes eight seconds.

Let us now see how it was possible for the chant to become so corrupt in its rendering.

Students who had access to great public libraries were of course acquainted with the earliest MSS. containing musical notation, but this notation was a mere puzzle until it was

solved on the revival of plainsong in France and Belgium in the forties. Dom Guéranger, who was a former Abbot of Solesmes, was an active promoter of this revival, and consequently his monks have become the present leaders of the movement in France. Students then learned that the earliest notation in neums was composed of the acute and grave accents of the grammarians, and consequently signified only that the voice was to ascend or descend, but gave no pitch to the notes. It was in fact only a *memoria technica* to assist the singers in remembering a melody which they had learned by ear. It was then shown that in the eleventh century these signs were put on to a stave, and formed the ordinary square notation, giving the pitch of every note. And then it was proved that down to the end of the fifteenth century all the MSS. of different countries practically gave the same version of the chant. We may therefore safely conclude that in the MSS. we have the melodies almost exactly as they were sung in the ninth century, and probably as they were edited by St. Gregory some two centuries earlier.

This was therefore the first work done by the Solesmes Fathers, viz. to prove that the actual melodies in mediæval MSS. are the original Chant.

But it may be asked, How could there be any necessity for proving what might almost be assumed? Surely the printed books in use would in successive editions be merely transcripts of the MSS. Nothing of the sort. Some French Dioceses were fairly conservative; Lyons, for instance, preserved its books free from corruption late into the eighteenth century, but most were bitten with the mania for modernizing the chant. The ball was started in the sixteenth century by Pope Pius IV, and it is not difficult to see the reason why.

Plainsong had been the creation of the monks for their own use. As long as they practised it only themselves it remained pure, but in time they let in the professional musician, and corruptions followed. We need not think of the dangers surrounding even modern choirs;—we have only now to consider the history of the tenth century. At that time the purveyors of music at fashionable churches found that the old plainsong was not sufficiently up-to-date to please the class of people that corresponds to our Sunday morning churchgoer, and accordingly adopted the system of *farcing*, that is stuffing, the service with tropes. Between every sentence of the *Gloria in excelsis*, for instance, they inserted another which they considered was suitable to the day. The English Mass contains the last remains of this custom. First comes the *Kyrie eleison*—"Lord have mercy upon us"—and then the trope "and incline our hearts to keep this law." The craze for these tropes, which were inserted all through the service, reached such a pitch in the tenth century that bands of singers—unfrocked monks many of them—wandered about singing masses on festivals at churches where the choirs were not sufficiently modern. Naturally, these special choirmen were not to be depended on for the words they inserted, and the result was that these were often ribald and actually indecent. The custom was therefore put down, but it had been the thin end of the wedge for the introduction into public worship of other than the authorised music. It had probably not injured the rendering of plainsong, for these tropes were in the same style as the rest of the music, but it paved the way for the next innovation. At the beginning of the eleventh century we find the first traces of harmonized music. Only a few examples remain, and we cannot read them, because the notation was still the neumatic. By the beginning of the thirteenth century, however, harmonized music had made great strides; and a really fine example that still pleases a modern audience survives in the six men's canon "Summer is a-coming in." It was the only piece that was enthusiastically applauded at a performance I once heard of a

modern Opera where it was introduced, and of course the bulk of the audience did not know that it had been composed nearly 700 years ago. In the twelfth century even we have evidence that measured music in harmony had been introduced into the churches, for it was already recognised as an abuse. The harmonies that were first used with the plainsong were probably so simple that they did not much affect the recitative character of this music, but the introduction of measured music must have had a very bad effect, because it led to a confusion of the two styles. As the skill of the harmonists increased, there must have been a continual temptation to treat the notes of the plainsong as if they had a fixed, instead of an indefinite, time-value. We find that this was done, and a *Benedictus* of the fourteenth century exists in which the notes have all become semibreves. A facsimile of the original forms Plate 40 in *Early English Harmony* (Quaritch). The plainsong is in the bass, and may be seen in its proper notation in Sanctus III of *The Ordinary of the Mass* (Vincent). The right and the wrong renderings of this melody are palpably as different as they can be.

We cannot tell how far at first the application of harmony to plainsong corrupted the rendering when it was sung in unison, but there can be little doubt that it did ultimately destroy the art, and reduced the plainsong to long strings of semibreves, so that the service was altogether intolerable. We have the evidence in Cranmer's wish for a syllabic plainsong, and in the instructions given by Gregory XIII to Palestrina in 1579 to edit the service books by abbreviating the chant. He began on the Gradual, but scarcely completed the *Temporale*, and gave up the work in despair. The work was afterwards completed and printed, but withdrawn. Another edition on the same lines was afterwards printed in 1614 at the Medicean Press under the auspices of Paul V. It has been reprinted at Ratisbon of late years under a licence from the Pope to the printers, who have tried to make out that it is the authorised Roman edition. Fortunately it is not so, or we should have to say, So much the worse for Rome, for it is the greatest parody of plainsong that was ever issued. Let me explain. The elaborate music of the Gradual may be considered to consist of *fiorituri* on certain prominent notes. It is, as a matter of fact, impossible to separate the notes of ornament from their fundamentals without destroying the melody; but let that pass—we will suppose that it can be done. An abbreviation would consist in the omission of these ornaments; and if the same melody occurred two or three times to different words, it would be simplified always in the same way, so that the resultant melodies would be uniform. You will find in the MSS. that the melody to the Gradual *Justus ut palma* occurs fifteen times to different words, and save for slight variants, made according to the laws of plainsong, is always the same. In the Ratisbon Gradual it is always altered in a different way, and very materially, so that we have fifteen new melodies, not one of which would be recognised by St. Gregory. The Solesmes Fathers have shown this very thoroughly in their publication, *Paléographie Musicale*, and effectually pricked the bladder of the authenticity of the Ratisbon edition of the chant. But this is the edition that was first issued from Rome in 1614. It was the first serious blow at the true version of the music, and it was brought about by the corrupted rendering of the chant due to the introduction of vocal harmony.

We have seen the same cause working in our own Church, and within living memory too, I believe. The Anglican Chant was originally plainsong in harmony, and was no doubt at first correctly rendered in free rhythm without any fixed time, although the exigencies of the printing press required the use of modern notation. But the use of harmony must have crippled the freedom of the rhythm to some extent, though I have little doubt that

the traditional method of chanting survived, for Fétis, the Belgian musician, complains in 1831 that the chanting at St. Paul's and Westminster is very bad, because the choir do not keep to the time in which the chants are written, but sing them according to the length of the syllables. I suppose the grumblings of so great a man were listened to, and the choirs were told to sing in time; I have heard that the choir at Rochester were thus specially instructed by a new organist. The next step has been to begin the fixed measure at the end of the reciting note, and in many places the whole of the reciting note is put into time. The effect is soothing and soporific, but it is not fair treatment for even an Anglican Chant

If plainsong in its simplest form could be so corrupted among us, we can understand how it fared on the Continent during the birth of modernism in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Modern music had lost the crudities of the Middle Ages, and plainsong had been robbed of all its life and vigour. The clever people who are always on the alert to bring things that they do not understand down to their own level, which they take to be the comprehension of the age, accordingly set to work to modernize plainsong. Nivers, the organist of Louis XIV, in 1683, was a great hand at this. He slashed the melodies about, put in accidentals where he fancied the tonality required them, and generally re-wrote the chant to his great satisfaction. Millet and Bourgoing in the same century were also great reformers in their own estimation, and they even got their mutilated versions accepted by many Dioceses in France.

In the eighteenth century French organists amused themselves by writing masses which they called plainsong, many of them, too, in harmony. As they gave a fixed time to every note, they might just as well have printed them in modern notation; but square notes were ecclesiastical, so square notes they used. Many examples will be found in a volume first published by La Feillée in 1745 with Sequences, Hymn tunes, &c. He also gives vocal harmonies to the Tones, turning them into distinct Anglican Chants by putting them into time, with the Tone in a middle part. French organists were also great in composing new Tones for the psalms; but as they were quite ignorant of the theory of the Tones, they are no better specimens of plainsong than the worst Anglican Chants,—very often not so good. Unfortunately many of our revivalists have accepted this debased plainsong as authentic.

The state of degradation to which plainsong had been reduced was bound to lead to a revival. This began in 1811 with a pamphlet published by A. E. Charon, a distinguished musician, and the movement was aided by the adoption of the Roman Use in France, and the disuse of the local service-books. But students were not satisfied with the music that came from Rome, for it was not the music of the MSS., and the publication in 1848 of what is known as the Mechlin Edition of the Gradual and Antiphoner brought matters to a head.

One would have thought that the simplest course for the Editors to take would have been to transcribe some ancient Belgian manuscript; but no, they must go out of their way to copy the Gradual of Paul V. printed in 1614, the result of the abbreviations of Palestrina's successor, Giovanelli, and for the Antiphoner they took the Lichtenstein Edition, printed at Venice in 1580. A heated controversy immediately sprang up about these books, for every one who had been studying the manuscripts of course rushed into the fray with the very plain argument that the version was not an atom like the plainsong which had existed all over Europe until the sixteenth century. The consequence was, that in 1851 an edition was issued by the Reims-Cambrai Commission, in which the Editors, taking for their original an early twelfth century

MS. recently discovered at Montpellier, tried to reproduce the original chant. They were, however, also infected with the idea of correcting what they considered the mistakes of mediæval singers, so that though the actual notes are fairly correct, there are so many alterations in the grouping, and so many omissions of phrases, that the edition cannot be implicitly trusted. Other editions, such as those of Dijon, Digne, and Rennes, were reprints of the corrupt seventeenth century versions before referred to, and were taken into use in different French Dioceses. At Rouen and Besançon, as the Abbé Bonhomme says, "they set the words of the liturgy to a chant which is of recent introduction into the diocese."

But French ecclesiastics went on working at the subject, and controversy raged as hotly there over the music as here over vestments. Lambillotte, Nisard, and Raillard published facsimiles of MSS. and their interpretations of the neums. In 1878 the Ratisbon edition of the Gradual, alluded to before, appeared under the quasi-endorsement of Rome, and the excitement intensified. Students said, "This is a parody of plainsong"; the other party replied, "This is authorised by the Pope, therefore it *is* plainsong." As events have since shown, Rome had not committed herself. The Ratisbon edition is recommended but not ordered, and the Solesmes Method is used in the French Seminary at Rome, with the special approval of the Pope.

The time was now ripe for someone to shake the glass and crystallize the floating opinions of students of plainsong. The Benedictines of Solesmes had traditionally been specially interested in the controversy, and in 1880 Dom Pothier published *Les Mélodies Grégoriennes*. In that book he boldly went to the root of the matter, gathering together all the results of the antiquarian studies which had accumulated during the previous half century, and put the study of plainsong on the secure basis of an appeal to the most ancient documents, both as regards notation and rendering. Ever since the corruption of plainsong which followed on the development of measured music, emendators of the current versions had tried to find some connection between plainsong and modern music. Firstly, they put it into fixed time; and then, when the result proved too utterly dreary, they abbreviated and amended the chant on the theory that the composers had not known what they were about. Dom Pothier threw this all aside, and enquired simply, What was the origin of plainsong? On a satisfactory answer to this enquiry depended the correct rendering of the melodies, and an explanation of what seemed defects to the modernizers. The answer was, that plainsong was originally simple recitative to a prose text; that a prose text has a rhythm of its own, quite distinct from the measured rhythm of poetry or modern music; and that the rendering of plainsong must therefore follow this prose rhythm, and not be subjected to the laws of an alien art. This had been, of course, indistinctly perceived before, but the influence of modern measured music had been too strong to allow of its being properly followed up. We all know an instance of this influence in Tallis' Responses, where the plainsong is in the tenor. If the plainsong alone happens to be used in a church it goes fairly well, though the subtle reminiscences of measured music, often aided by modern notation, generally make it drag. But if the full harmonies are used, every syllable of the reciting note of the plainsong has a fixed time given to it, and the result is simply absurd and inartistic. It is like a man doing a five mile walk in the step of a minuet.

Les Mélodies Grégoriennes seemed at once to supply what was wanted. It put into concrete shape the ideas which had been in the air, and solved difficulties which individual

students had found in every previous method. Whatever improvements on the Method might be made, it was felt that here at least was a solid foundation to work on, and nineteen years of controversy have not shaken that foundation.

But though in an *octavo* volume Dom Pothier might give the results of his studies, just as has been done in English in *The Elements of Plainsong*, students naturally required proofs. The Benedictines of Solesmes therefore undertook to publish such a series of ancient manuscripts as would supply evidence that their teaching was correct. In 1889 they accordingly began to issue facsimiles of the principal MSS. in a series which they style *Paléographie Musicale*. Their first publication was a ninth or tenth century Gradual from St. Gall in Switzerland, the earliest known to exist. This is written in what is called the neumatic notation, which by itself is illegible, for the signs are only a *memoria technica* for the music which had been learned by ear, but it can be translated by collating it with such a work as the facsimile of a thirteenth century Sarum Gradual published by the Plainsong and Mediæval Music Society. The two MSS. together give the chant as perfectly as any notation can express recitative music. The square notes, it is known, have no time-value whatever; there is no such thing as longs and shorts in this notation, so that by itself it could not be music. But the neumatic notation, although it does not express the pitch of the notes, shows very plainly not only the longs and shorts in elaborate plainsong melodies, but a great number of musical ornaments—trills, shakes, and turns—that were no doubt easy enough for the first Italian singers, but have to be omitted by northern choirs. The Solesmes Fathers have, however, used one of these ornaments to prove how observant the notators were of the effect of different combinations of letters on the singing of recitative. If be sung two notes to an open syllable like *Ho* in *Holy*, it will be found that a different effect is produced from that by singing the same notes to the first syllable in *Sanctus*. With the open syllable the two notes are both clearly produced, but in *Sanctus* the mouth closes for the purpose of sounding the consonants *nct*, and the second note accordingly almost disappears. Now this little difference is indicated in the neumatic and also in the earliest square notation, and proves two things: Firstly, that the composers and transcribers of the music were sufficiently skilled artists to provide for this trifling detail. Secondly, that the music could not have been in measured time; for if it had been necessary to sing those two notes always in time, it would have been quite possible, as in modern measured music, to have held the open vowel for the time required, and let the consonants take care of themselves. The music was, however, recitative, and the natural pronunciation of such a word as *Sanctus* required a different rendering from such a word as *Holy*. I happen to have compared an English with a Latin word, but settings of the same melody to different Latin texts equally show that the notation is altered to correspond with the syllable.

On completing the early Gradual the Benedictines next published over 200 facsimiles of the same melody from as many MSS. of different countries and centuries. This was to prove that the chant was practically uniform in all Western Christendom until the corruptions of the sixteenth century set in. Incidentally this publication showed that the Ratisbon Edition of the Chant, which the publishers were trying to force on all our Roman brethren, was a mere tissue of absurdities, and was no more like the song of St. Gregory than "God Save the Queen" is like the "Marseillaise."

The next publication issued from Solesmes was another early Gradual in neums, but with the addition of some extra marks of expression termed Romanian Letters. In the text

accompanying this volume, the Fathers went deeply into the structure of plainsong, showing that the whole system of its phrases depended on what was called the *Cursus*. This is the law of prose rhythm affecting the close of every Latin sentence. Those of us who were brought up on King Edward VI's Latin Grammar will remember these rules at the end of the volume. I am afraid I took less interest in them years ago than I do now. They are treated of in a Tract just published by Vincent, *Recent Research in Plainsong*.

The volume of the *Paléographie* now in course of issue is a facsimile of a unique Ambrosian Choir Book at the British Museum. The material it contains has not yet been sufficiently examined; but so far it proves that certain melodies exist in one form in the Ambrosian, and in another in the Gregorian Plainsong. This at least puts back the origin of the chant until a time when these melodies were in their original shape. A study of the two different ways in which they have been developed must certainly prove of great value to us.

Besides these works of antiquarian research, the Fathers have also issued an Edition of the Service Books, the Gradual, the Antiphoner, &c., which give the Chant in the form in which it is found in the MSS. Here and there we find slightly different versions from those in the Sarum MSS., and in these cases I believe our English Books, as often as not, give the correct reading; but the Solesmes Edition for all practical purposes gives the chant as it was sung, certainly in the ninth century, and probably in the seventh, after it had been edited by St. Gregory.

The Fathers print these works and others on many abstruse subjects at their own printing press, supervising the workmen that they employ, and managing everything in a thoroughly businesslike manner. They were turned out of their Abbey for some time by the French Laws, and were compelled to live in cottages in the village and hold their services in the Parish Church, but they have now been allowed to live in their own house again, and hold their services in their Abbey Church. This is a fine building on the banks of the Sarthe, and the forty or fifty monks seated in the Choir sing the service well. Of course, only the *Schola Cantorum* sings the elaborate chants, but the whole body of monks sings the ordinary music. I always think they are so much more fortunate than our own poor Cathedral clergy, who are compelled to attend services without once opening their lips. No wonder that rules of attendance have to be made for them! Listening to Psalms sung by other people must be very dreary work.

The services at the Abbey now form the model for France, and every day the Solesmes system of rendering plainsong is spreading through the country and is being taught in the Seminaries. Visitors from all parts come to hear the singing, and correct the ideas that they have formed from a study of the theoretical works the monks have published, for as the music is entirely vocal, and independent of the notation, it is only by actual practice and experience that a correct tradition can be again created. At Solesmes even they find that slight improvements can be continually introduced, and it is most interesting to discuss with Dom Mocquereau the various little differences in method and phrasing which present themselves. He and I, for instance, are not quite at one as to the *tempo* at which the melodies should be taken, for he would take them rather slower than I like. The last time I was there I complained that the Introit and Gradual had dragged a little. He replied, smiling, that the choir had been rather slow, and he thought of hurrying them up, but remembered that I was in church, so let them go on. The next day the *tempo* was, however, a little quicker—just

the pace I like myself. The French visitors to the Abbey are of course all accustomed to the old *lento* style, and accordingly, as he says, complain that his choir sing too quickly. I am, however, convinced from some special specimens that the *Schola* sang for us, that the rhythm and melody are lost if the *tempo* is not sufficiently quick. The whole effect of the long *fiorituri* depends on the phrasing, and if the chant is too slow the phrasing disappears.

There is a great reaction now in France among the devout-minded against the Masses in modern music which have been the fashion; and though a Service in what is not the vulgar tongue affords some justification for the use of music that one only listens to, there is little doubt that plainsong, now that the revival shows that it is really effective and artistic music, will come again into general use. The use of Latin also does not seem so strange to the French as it would to us, for the likeness between French and Latin apparently enables even the peasantry to sing the Creed and *Gloria in excelsis* with understanding. The elaborate music of Introits or Graduals is, for popular purposes, independent of the words and purely subjective, so that it occupies much the same position as our anthems. The Benedictines have, of course, a great advantage over us in forming a traditional rendering, for though the monks are moved from one Abbey to another, there is continuity in the teaching. With us, in our parish churches, a priest or an organist may be moved, and there is an end of everything, as with St. Barnabas, Pimlico, but there is some hope of our being able to form a tradition in our Sisterhood Chapels. Our monasteries have still to be revived; but at the church of the Cowley Fathers a true tradition is being formed, though as the Fathers in residence change oftener than the Monks at Solesmes, they have to depend on boys, who unfortunately grow older and go away. I am, however, glad to know that Cowley serves in some degree for us as Solesmes does for France. All priests who go there are enchanted with the singing, and say how different it is from what they have generally heard called Gregorian music. We may therefore look to them to carry on amongst us the work of the Benedictines of Solesmes in the revival of plainsong.

LINCOLN'S INN CHAPEL.[1]

BY

W. PALEY BAILDON, F.S.A.

It is not known when or under what circumstances Lincoln's Inn became an Inn of Court. All that can be said is that it was some time before 1420, but how much before is very uncertain. When the records of the Inn commence, in 1422, we find "the Honourable Society" (as it is always styled) in possession of practically the whole of the present site, with the exception of the greater part of what is now known as New Square. The buildings at that date included a Gate-House, a Chapel, a Hall, and various sets of chambers inhabited by the members of the Inn and its officers. All these have long since disappeared.

Lincoln's Inn, as is well known, was, prior to its occupation by a legal society, one of the town residences of the Bishops of Chichester.[2] The title to this property can be traced with some certainty.

In the year 1227 Henry III granted to Ralph Neville, then Bishop of Chichester and also Lord Chancellor, a piece of land in Chancery Lane, then known as New Street. In this grant it is described as follows :—

"That place with the garden and appurtenances which were John Herlizun's, which lands he had forfeited, in that street which is called New Street, opposite the lands of the said Bishop in the same street, which place with the garden and appurtenances is our escheat by reason of the liberty of the city of London, according to which all lands forfeited become our escheat, of whomsoever they are held."[3]

Here Bishop Neville built a house which is described as sumptuous, and here he died in 1244, as Mathew of Westminster tells us, in his noble palace which he had built from the foundations not far from the New Temple. The building of the old Chapel therefore—for Neville would certainly have a chapel in his palace—is fixed between 1227 and 1244, and was probably nearer the earlier than the later of those two dates.

Fortunately for the historian, a few fragments of carved stone, which almost certainly formed a part of Bishop Neville's Chapel, were found some years ago when digging foundations in Old Square. These have been set up under the present Chapel, and consist of a nearly complete arch, with capitals and bases, and portions of pillars. The architecture is

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[1] The references, when nothing appears to the contrary, are to the printed volumes of the "Black Books."

[2] In 1635, the then Bishop of Chichester, Richard Montague, stated that his predecessors "had formerlye more houses in London then all the Bishopps of England, one of which was alsoe swallowed in the buildinge of Somersett House, as this (Lincoln's Inn) was by the lawyers" (ii, 337).

[3] *Charter Roll*, 2 Hen. III, pt. 2, m. 7, no. 19.

of early English character, the mouldings of the arch being enriched with quatrefoils of the so-called "dog-tooth" style. It agrees perfectly with the date of Neville's building, say about 1230.

The remains, as now set up, show a semicircular arch, but there is little doubt that this is a mistake, and that the arch should be pointed.

Bishop Neville's successor, Richard de la Wich, afterwards canonised and known as St. Richard, is said to have occupied the house n Chancery Lane up to the time of his death in 1253.

From St. Richard's death in 1253 to the year 1422 (the date of the commencement of the Black Books) nothing is known of Lincoln's Inn or its Chapel.

When the Records of the Inn, known as the "Black Books," begin in 1422, we find frequent mention of the old Chapel.

In 1444–5, 4*d.* was paid for cutting new vanes (i, p. 16).

In 1508–9, a new desk was provided and four old ones repaired (i, p. 154). In the same year, 6*s.* 8*d.* was paid for "playsteryng and whytyng" the Chapel, 12*d.* for "half a hundreth pavyng tyle," 2*d.* "for the caryage of the same," and 2*s.* 2*d.* "to a pavour and his servant for ij dayez labour pavyng the Chapell," and 8*s.* "for glasyng the wyndowe over the Chapell doore w^t^ barrez of ieren" (i, p. 156). In the same account a tiler is paid 16*d.* "for ij dayes labour about the Chapell," and mention is made of the "Chapell Steyre" (i, 158). At first sight we might infer from this that the old Chapel, like the present one, was built over an under-croft, but other items seem to negative the suggestion.

In 1549–50, another 50 paving tiles were laid down, at a cost of 20*d.* for the tiles, and 16*d.* for labour (i, 295). In 1551–2 a key was bought for the "quere dore," costing 12*d.* This is no doubt the same as the "priest's door," for which, in 1565–6, 28 feet of planking, costing 1*s.* 8*d.*, and iron-work and a pair of "gemous" (gemels, hinges), costing 2*s.*, appear in the Treasurer's account (i, 351). I believe that the fragments before referred to, and now under the Chapel, are the remains of this door. It may be identical with the north door for which a wooden step was provided in 1570–1 (i, 379), but this is not clear; the priest's door was generally on the south side.

Various other items, for tiling, glazing the windows, and repairing the lead gutters, also occur, but they are not of sufficient interest to quote here.

In 1568 an order was made that Mr. Hungate might build over the Chapel, but it was subsequently cancelled (i, 363). On June 19th, 1623, an order was made that Mr. William Noy (afterwards Attorney-General) should attend the Archbishop "for the obteyninge of a faculty or dispensacion for the demolishinge of the old Chappell, and in the meane season none to worke there, but the doore to be locked up" (ii, 244). On October 14th of the same year, the faculty having presumably been obtained, a Committee was appointed "to consider of the demolishing of the ould Chappell" (ii, 245); and on November 11th it was ordered that the pulling down should be "proceeded one with all convenient expedicion" (ii, 247).

Now, inasmuch as the new (that is, the present) Chapel had been consecrated in the previous May, it is clear that the old Chapel stood somewhere else. Where the exact site was is not absolutely clear, but there is no doubt that it stood somewhere to the south of the present building. So far as can be ascertained, the bulk of the materials was used up in other buildings, but in the Treasurer's accounts for 1623–4 an item occurs of £3 10*s.* received for the stones of the old Chapel, lately pulled down (ii, 253).

So much for the structure. Let us now consider the interior. There was a stone altar (i, 378), which I shall refer to later on. There were images of the Virgin and St. Richard of Chichester, to one or both of which the Chapel was dedicated. In 1466 we read of the Chapel of St. Richard (i, 41), while in 1499 it is referred to as the Chapel of our Lady (i, 116). I cannot suggest any explanation, as there is no mention of a second altar. The furnishing of candles to be burnt before the image of the Virgin was sometimes ordered as a punishment. Thus, in 1512, one of the Butlers was ordered to find "a taper of wex, weyng ij poundes, and to be sett upp befor our Lady in the Chapell" (i, 167). This was "for kepyng of women in his chamber, contrarie to the good and laudable rulis of this House." And in 1518 the parson, or chaplain, was ordered to provide a 1 lb. taper before the same image, as a penalty for playing at cards and dice (i, 188). There was also apparently an image of St. John. In 1512, "John Brokett is amercied for castyng down of Pety John in the Chapell att the messetyme, xij*d.*" (i, 166). Mr. Brokett may have been an early and zealous reformer, but this is only a surmise. In this connection I may mention that a light, called St. John's Light, was burnt in the Hall in 1546, probably on the eve of St. John the Baptist; three members of the Inn took down the light in the night time, "and did hang in the stede thereof a horse hede, in dyspite of the Sainte, as yt cowde not by commen presumpcion be otherwyse entended" (i, 273). For this outrage two of the delinquents were expelled the Society and committed to the Fleet, while the third was put of commons.

Prior to the Reformation we have numerous references to the vestments and other things incidental to the Chapel Services. Thus in 1457–8, 29*s.* were paid for a chalice, a corporal, and a white cloth for the chalice (i, 33). In 1483–4, John Grene left 6*s.* 8*d.* for a vestment (i, 80). In 1508–9, 4*d.* was paid for "a cloth for the Chalez," 12*d.* for "a yerd of lynen cloth for a Corporas," 7*s.* 6*d.* "for xij elles of lynen cloth for ij albez and on amys," 8*s.* 4*d.* "for vj elles of lynen cloth for ij auter clothis," 4*d.* "for an elle of blewe bokeram for a stoole [stole] and a fanell," and 18*d.* "for the sowyng of a Corporas, ij albez, ij auter clothez and of the old vestment" (i, 156). The surplices are frequently referred to. The books mentioned are breviaries bought in 1472 (i, 52), a gradual, given by Bathe junior, an Irish student, as a fee for his admission in 1456–7 (i, 28). Two tapers, called "standers," were burnt in the Chapel by ancient custom (i, 134); wax for the Chapel is frequently mentioned; torches occur in 1475–6 (i, 61) and 1481 (i, 73); while in 1513–4 a payment is made to the *ciraferaferus*, who may have been an acolyte (i, 175). Every student on his admission paid 1*s.*, called "chapel silver," which was devoted towards paying for the lights in the Chapel (i, 241).

The Reformation made itself felt at Lincoln's Inn. In the accounts for 1547–8, the Chaplain is paid the modest sum of 15*s.* for a Bible (probably that of 1546), a Book of Homilies (published in 1547), and a desk for the Chapel (i, 288). In 1550–1, 7*s.* was paid for a "Communyon Tabyll" (i, 298), though, as we shall see presently, the old stone altar was not then taken down. In 1551–2, a prayer-book was purchased at a cost of 4*s.* (i, 303). This is probably the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI, published in 1552.

With the accession of Mary the altered state of things was soon apparent.

The first intimation is:—

"A letter to Sr William Drewry, knyght," (i, 308).

'After our due commendacions; whereas Sr Robert Drury, knyght, (yor good father, whose soule Jesu pardon), of his godly disposycion dyd gyve iij *li.* yerely towardes the

fyndyng of a prest sayeing masses and other dyvyne services in o^r^ chappell at Lyncolne's Inne, and to praye for his soule and all Crystien soules; which said stypend of iij *li.* you of yor goodnes have payd ever syns yor sayd father's deathe, untyll that o^r^ late prest, being in the sayd servyce, departed from o^r^ said Howse; Syns whose departure we have provyded another priest, which all redy from the begynnyng of this Lent hathe supplyed the sayd office. Wherof we have thowght yt good to advertyse you, desyryng not only the contentacion therof but also to know yor pleasure whether you wyll pay the said stipend unto the said preist for such tyme as he shalbe in the said servyce; for the which he shall not onely be bownden to pray for yor said father and for you, and to do that aperteyne to his dewty, but also we shall have just cause to thanke you for the same.

"And thus we byd you hartelye fare well. At Lyncolne's Inne, the xxiij^th^ day of February, 1553[-4]."

This salary for a priest had been given by Sir Robert in 1517 (i, 182), and continued by Sir William (i, 251).

In the year 1554 we read:—

"In this Ester terme, anno primo Marie Regine, Mr William Rastell, one of the Benchers of this Howse of Lyncolne's Inne, gave towarde the furnysshyng of the alter in the Chappell in the Howse, a great image or pycture in a Table of the takyng downe of Cryste fro the Crosse, and too curtens of greane and yellow sarcenett for to hang at the endes of the same alter, and also a clothe of greane and yellow sarcenett, lyned w^t^ canvas, to hang befor the sayd alter; whiche thynges the sayd Mr Rastall gave to have the prayers herunder wrytten for the sowles herunder specyfyed.

"Wherefore, at the request of the sayd Mr Rastell, hit is at this present Councell graunted and agreed by the hole consent of all the Masters of the Benche of Lincolne's Inne present at this Councell, that at all tymes hereafter, every prest that shall serve in this Chappell shall in every of his masses that he shall saye at the sayd alter, saye in the begynnyng of the masse, before the Epystell, and in the ende of the masse, a Collett for the sowles of Wenefred Rastell, wyff to the sayd William, and of all their parentes, kynsfolkes and fryndes; and also shall, in every of the sayd masses, remember the same sowles in the *memento pro mortuis.*

"Also the sayd Mr Rastell dyd then at his costes for his sayd wivys [wife's] soule, gylde the v knoppys of the canape for the Sacrament, which cost him iiij*s.*" (i, 308, 309).

In the margin is written the following terse expression of disapproval:—

"*Hic ordo propter stolidam abhominacionem* [*et*] *superstitionem aboleter ad Consilium tentum 16° die Novembris, anno regni Domine Regine Elizabeth'*, 23°."

In the Treasurer's accounts for the year 1553–4 are the following items:—20*s.* for two books, called in English "ij great portuasses" [breviaries], and a missal; 7*s.* for a canopy for the pyx; 4*s.* 8*d.* for the iron for the pyx [*pro ferro le pixe*][1]; 14*d.* for a cloth [*mappa*] for the pyx; 4*s.* 4*d.* for a vessel, *anglice*, a pyx; 2*d.* for the cord about it; 3*d.* for the lead weight for the same;[2] 1*d.* for the "halywater sprynkell"; 4*s.* for the "hollywater stocke"; 8*d.* for canvas to wrap up the vestments in; 14*d.* for "sattayn of brygges" to mend the vestments; 16*d.* to a tailor for mending the same; 3*d.* for laces for the vestments (i, 310, 311).

[1] The iron bracket from which the canopy containing the pyx was suspended.

[2] The cord and weight were used in raising and lowering the canopy from the iron bracket mentioned above.

In the accounts for the following year, 1554–5, we find these payments:—25*s.* 4*d.* for an image of St. Richard, and for painting the images of Blessed Mary and St. Richard, and for two tabernacles for the same; 27*s.* for two torches, one link, and tapers in the Chapel (i, 313). While the Pensioner in the same year paid 7½*d.* for ¾ yd. of "locarum" for an "amis," and 1*d.* for mending it; 2*d.* for a "girdell and tapes"; 12*d.* for mending the "po^{r}tes" [? portasse, breviary]; 4*d.* "to the suffregan's servaunt for bringing the vestm^{t} and albe to be halloed"; 4*d.* "for th'apparelling of ij albes"; 1*d.* "for taking down the dexe [? desk] in the Chappell"; 5*d.* for mending a "sureplis"; 12*d.* for 1¾ yds. of "locarum"; 6*d.* for mending an alb, and 2*d.* for apparelling the same; 8*d.* for "foting" the tabernacle (i, 314).

We learn from these items that the image of the Virgin had not been destroyed, though perhaps it had been removed, during Edward VI's reign; and that the desk erected in 1547–8 was taken away.

In 1557 another "haliwater sprynckeller and a belrope cont' viij fadome" were purchased at a cost of 9*d.* (i, 322).

Early in the reign of Elizabeth we find the change of opinion showing itself. On June 4th, 1559, it was ordered that "Mr. Tresorer shall forthwth provide suche bokes as shalbe requysite to serve for the Chaplayn of this House to say suche service in the chappell as of late is appointed by the Statute in that behalf made and provided" (i, 326). This Statute, of course, is the Act of Uniformity of 1 Elizabeth, chapter 2, and accordingly the Treasurer enters the sum of 15*s.* paid for a Bible, a Book of Communion (probably the first Prayer Book of Elizabeth), and other books for the Chapel (i, 327).

In the same year the Pensioner paid 2*s.* 6*d.* "for mending the pavement and carrieng awaie the rubbishe after the alter taken downe in the Chapple" (i, 327). The stone slab forming the top of the altar must have been left lying about for more than ten years; for in 1570–1, the Pensioner received 5*s.* for a certain great stone, called "anne alter stone," which was in the Chapel (i, 378), and in the same year the floor of the chancel where the altar had stood was repaved (i, 379).

In 1572–3, the Pensioner bought two Books of Homilies for 4*s.* (the second book, published in 1572), and a Book of Prayers for 2*d.* (i, 387). In 1571–2, a new silver-gilt chalice, called "a Communion Cupp," was bought for £7 15*s.* 9*d.* (i, 383), and the old one was sold for 53*s.* 4*d.* (i, 379).

Another Prayer Book was bought in 1574–5, for 6*s.* 8*d.* (i, 397); another in 1578–9, for 5*s.* 6*d.* (i, 413); two books of prayers in 1579–80 cost 8*d.* (i, 418); a Book of Common Prayer in 1582–4 cost 6*s.* 8*d.* (i, 435).

In 1635, the beautifully-bound Prayer Book with the silver mounts, which may be seen in the Library, was purchased for £8 11*s.* The binding of black morocco is adorned with eight large silver corner-plates, engraved with half-length figures of SS. Bartholomew, James, Mathias, and Thomas, on the front, and SS. Philip, Jacobus Minor, Andrew, and Peter, on the back. In the centre of each cover is a large oval plate, engraved with the arms of the Lacys, Earls of Lincoln (which were the arms then used by the Inn), and an Earl's coronet. The clasps have small, full-length figures of the four Evangelists, with their emblems. Apparently there is no hall-mark (ii, 330).

A good many small items for repairs to the old Chapel, which was in a bad state of repair, occur in the accounts towards the end of the 16th century. In May, 1608, a Committee was appointed to consider the question of rebuilding (ii, 111), and in November of the same

year "yt is ordered that the comytees for the newe buildinge of the Chapell shall take care for the gatheringe of monie and other things necessarie thereto" (ii, 114).

The matter was under consideration for a year, and at length, on November 2nd, 1609, it was resolved and ordered that "a fayre large Chappell, wth three double chambers under the same, shalbe buylded in a place more convenient, that now standinge being ruynous, and not sufficient for the nomber of this House" (ii, 125). It will thus be seen that the idea of putting the Chapel on the first floor was part of the original scheme, and not apparently a suggestion of the architect. The proposal to have chambers under the Chapel was afterwards abandoned, but there is nothing to show who is responsible for the alteration.

Subscription lists were at once opened, the Benchers "not doubtinge w^th^all of yor forwardnes in the contribucion towardes the Chappell, as a worke to be furthered by the benevolence of the well disposed" (ii, 126).

On November 14th, 1609, a Committee was appointed to "make choise out of everie cuntrie to collect the benevolence for the Chappell" (ii, 126), that is, to collect the subscriptions of the country members of the Inn.

The money came in very slowly, and for nine years nothing was done. In May, 1618, a more vigorous attempt was made. We are told that "the Chappell to be built shalbe a faire Chappell, answerable to the rest of the structure of the Howse, and that the same wilbe costly and chargeable to the value of £2,000" (ii, 202). "Touchinge straingers," it is ordered "that everie one shall doe his best endevor to gett theire free and voluntary contribution, and especially of those that resort to the Chappell" (ii, 203). Rolls were opened "wherein the benevolence of everie one of this Howse, wch shalbe given to the buildinge of the Chappell, shalbe enrolled, and that the rolles shalbe written into a book of parchment wch shall contynue for ever" (ii, 202).

These voluntary subscriptions not proving sufficient, on October 14th, 1619, it was ordered "that a generall taxe shalbee upon all such as neither have contributed nor signified theire willingnes to contribute in some reasonable manner" (ii, 213). On November 4th following the levy was settled as follows: each Bencher and Associate to the Bench was to pay £20; each Barrister of seven years' standing, 20 nobles (£6 13*s.* 4*d.*); each junior Barrister, £5; and each gentleman under the Bar, 40*s.* "It beinge further lefte to eache one of the saide places and degrees to enlarge hymself in way of free benevolence towards the saide goode worcke as he shalbe moved and inclined by his hart and affection, ability also concurringe, which to all is not alike." These sums were to be paid by four equal instalments in that and the three succeeding terms (ii, 214). If any one attained to a higher degree before the Chapel was finished he was to pay the difference (ii, 221). The levy was closed as regards newly admitted members by an Order of October 26th, 1624 (ii, 252), but barristers called as late as June 22nd, 1626, had to make up their subscriptions (ii, 263). Considerable sums were given by outsiders, including £140 from Sir Henry Hobart, C.J.C.P., a former member of the Inn, towards the east window (ii, 142, 232), and a large sum was also borrowed on the personal security of the Benchers.

The question of the site was under discussion for a long time. In June, 1610, it was decided to build it "in the Court where the old Chappell now standeth" (ii, 134), which seems to imply a rebuilding on the old site. In October, 1618, it was determined to place it in the East Court; the Judges who had formerly belonged to the Inn were to be made acquainted with the resolution, and to be given "satisfaccion touchinge the placinge of it

there" (ii, 206). In the following month a new site was settled on, and a Committee was directed to consider how four gentlemen of the Inn and one of the butlers, "whose chambers are entended to be pulled downe before the new Chappell can be set up, shalbe provided for, and by what tyme, that the proceedinges of the Chappell may not by any meanes be hindered or delayed" (ii, 209). On June 4th, 1619, "it was agreed and resolved that the old buildinges on the north side of the old Chapple should bee demolished and pulled downe shortly after the ende of this present terme." The materials of these were to be used as far as possible in the new work. "And it was further agreed that as well the old Chapple itselfe as the cast [set] of studies near to the saide oulde buildinges . . . should also be demolished and pulled downe before the erection of the newe Chapple" (ii, 211). We have already seen that the old Chapel was not pulled down until after the consecration of the new one. This quotation also tells us that the old Chapel stood to the south of the present edifice.

The question whether the new Chapel was designed by Inigo Jones or not is one of great interest. It has been argued that inasmuch as the design is totally unlike any other work that we know to be Jones', and as there is no positive evidence that Jones was the architect, therefore we are not justified in assuming it to be his. Indeed some critics have gone so far as to doubt if the Chapel was rebuilt at all at this time, and to suggest that nothing more was done than to repair the old building (*Gent's Mag.*, 1812, pt. 1, p. 639). The structure was unquestionably a new one, from foundation to rafters, and I think there can be little doubt that it was designed by Inigo Jones.

In the first place I may point out that this was not the first business that Jones had undertaken for the Inn. On February 15th, 1613, the two Societies of Lincoln's Inn and the Middle Temple gave a joint masque at Whitehall, on the occasion of the marriage of Princess Elizabeth to the Elector Palatine Frederic. The masque was, in part, at any rate, designed by Jones, for which he was paid £110 (ii, 154, 156, 157). In 1618 or 1619 Jones was engaged in laying out Lincoln's Inn Fields, as is well known. So that it is clear that he must have been personally acquainted with some of the Benchers of the Inn, and probably with many of them.

Accordingly, on January 27th, 1618, the following order was made:—"The consideracion of a fitt modull for the Chappell is commended to Mr. Indicho Jones; and Mr. Brooke, one of the Masters of the Bench, is requested to move him concerninge the same; and consideracion is to be had of the recompence that shall be given to the said Mr. Indicho Jones for his paynes therein" (ii, 199). On Nov. 12th following we read, "the modull of the Chappell agreed upon by the Committees of the Chappell is approved by the Masters of the Bench, and the platforme of the same modull is appointed to be drawne by Clarcke, who hath undertaken the buildinge of the same Chappell" (ii, 209). Although Jones' name is not mentioned in this last order, I think that there can be little doubt that the "modull" here referred to was the one prepared by Jones in accordance with the previous order. The builder or contractor was the John Clarke who was to draw the "platforme of the modull," while the Surveyor, or, as we should call him now-a-days, the Clerk of the Works, was Thomas Baldwyn, who at that time held the office of Comptroller of the Office of Works under Inigo Jones, who had the higher post of Surveyor (ii, 449). Unfortunately the accounts of the Chapel Committee have not been preserved, so that we have no record of the fees paid to Jones for his "modull"; but I think on the facts above set out there is sufficient evidence for the statement that he and he alone was the architect of the new Chapel.

It is usually stated in the books that the Chapel was five years in building (Spilsbury, &c.) but, as is not infrequently the case, the books are wrong. The consecration took place on May 22nd, 1623; the laying of the foundation stone is, strange to say, not mentioned in the Black Books. In a bible presented to the Society in 1622 by Dr. John Donne, Dean of St. Paul's, and a former Preacher to Lincoln's Inn, there is an inscription, said to be in his own hand, in which he records that he himself laid the first stones, which we may take to be the foundation stone. The Dean's words are unmistakable. "Novi Sacelli primis saxis sua manu positis et ultimis fere paratis, ad Decanatum Ecclesiæ Cathedra: S: Pauli, London: a Rege (cui benedicat Dominus) migrare jussus est" (ii, 445). Now on June 4th, 1619, when the order was made that the old Chapel should be demolished before the new one was begun, it is clear that the new building had not been commenced. In the spring of that year, 1619, Dr. Donne had accompanied Viscount Doncaster in his embassy to Germany and Bohemia, and he preached a valedictory sermon in the old Chapel on April 18th (ii, 212). On October 14th following he was still with Lord Doncaster in the Low Countries (ii, 212). The date of the laying of the foundation stone cannot, therefore, be placed earlier than the end of 1619 or the beginning of 1620; thus giving a period of three years and a half for the completion of the building.

On May 6th, 1623, "it is ordered that the Chappell shall be consecrated upon Ascention Day next, and the exceedings and charge throughout all the Hall to be as bountifull as hath beene accustomed upon Alhallow Day" (ii, 241). There is no account of the consecration in the Black Books, but we get some information from outside sources. The Bishop of London, Dr. George Mountaine, officiated, and Dr. Donne, the Dean, preached the sermon, taking for his text "And it was at Jerusalem, the feast of the Dedication, and it was winter." John x, 22. John Chamberlain, writing to Dudley Carleton, says that there was a great concourse of noblemen and gentlemen, whereof two or three were endangered, and taken up for dead for the time, with the extreme press and thronging; the Dean of St. Paul's made an excellent sermon, they say, about dedications (*Court and Times of James I*, ii, 402). There was formerly a stone under the Chapel with this inscription:—

"Georgius London. Episcopus consecravit in Festo Ascensionis Domini, anno 1623."

Although the greater part of the accounts for the building of the Chapel have not been preserved, there are a few documents of interest connected therewith. Thomas Baldwyn's estimate for the brick and stone work comes to £2,231 6*s*. 8*d*., and from it we learn that the eight buttresses were finished off with pinnacles and that the gables had crosses (ii, 449). The joiner's estimate has some noteworthy items. The doors of the "meedle pewes" with their carved heads, cost 10*s*. per yard, and came to £19; the same for the side pews, at the same rate, came to £28 6*s*. 6*d*. There was formerly a small low screen raised on the end of the easternmost pew, which was not removed until some time after 1850 (Spilsbury, *Lincoln's Inn and its Library*). This was carved on both sides, and charged for at the rate 20*s*. the yard, amounting to £14 10*s*.

The carved panels in the Benchers' pews cost 3*s*. 4*d*. the pew; the Chapel door and the Communion Table cost £7 10*s*. (ii, 450).

Hugh Price, the joiner, sends in his bill, including the above items, and amounting to £220. At the foot he writes: "For the dores and carved heades, because I gave you an estimacion of them at 10*s*. the yard, I sett down no mor in mesure; but they stand me in 12*s*. the yard at the lest, by reason of the varietie of the carving; which comes to £9 8*s*. more than I have

sett down for them in my reconing. The which I defer to your Worshipps' consideracions" (ii, 450).

The mason's bill, over which there was a dispute, was fixed by certain arbitrators at £2,853 7*s.* 6*d.*

There was a curious dispute also with a joiner named John Browne, who claimed to have been engaged to do some of the work. He mentions in his petition to the Privy Council in the matter that he had been recommended by Lord Hobart on account of the work done by him at the Charterhouse (ii, 446).

The windows are filled with stained glass, the subjects being Patriarchs, Prophets, and Apostles.[1] It is commonly said that these were executed by the brothers Abraham and Bernard van Linge, two Flemish workers in stained glass, who are known to have executed windows for University, Balliol, and Wadham Colleges at Oxford. I believe that there is no authority for the statement, which rests, so far as I can trace it, on a suggestion of Vertue's, printed by Walpole in his *Anecdotes of Painting*.

The records of the Inn throw no light on the question, for all the windows were presented, as the inscriptions on them show; so that they do not come into the Treasurer's accounts. I believe that the sole basis for Vertue's guess is the fact that the name "Bernard" occurs in one or two places. Of course this may stand for Bernard van Linge. But it is worthy of note that several other lights have the initials R. B., which certainly does not stand for van Linge, and to my mind strongly suggests an unknown R. Bernard as the artist. In the 4th light of the middle window of the south side is a monogram in which the letters R.B. are again conspicuous. Most of the windows on the south side are dated 1623; the middle window on the north, 1624; and the westernmost window on the same side, 1626.

The westernmost window on the south side has a curious and highly interesting view of the new Chapel itself and the old Hall. The buildings are drawn with wonderful accuracy, but the landscape in the background must surely be imaginary.

The east window has a fine series of the arms of those Benchers who have filled the office of Treasurer, beginning with Luke Astry in 1680, and continuing down to the present time. Above these are the arms of the Inn, put up in 1703. The arms of William III, of the same date, have been removed from the east to the west window, where are also a number of shields, some of which were probably removed from the old Chapel.

The regulations about the pews are worth recording.

"Att this Counsell (May 13th, 1623) itt is concluded and ordered concerning seates in the new Chappell, as followeth:—

"That the middle rowe and double particion of seates ther, from the Quire downeward, shall be disposed as followeth:—

"The two first double seates next the Quire to be set apart and allotted to such Noblemen, Judges, Serjeants-at-Law, and other persons of eminent quality, as shall att any tyme resort and repaire to the Chappell.

"The six next double seates there to be for the M^rs^ of the Bench and the Associates, and they to place themselves by three and three in every of them, accordinge to their antiquity.

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[1] Full details of the windows, with the arms and inscriptions, will be found in Spilsbury, *op. cit.*

"The single seate there on the south side to be accounted the first and principall of those seates; and that on the north side, equall with it, to be the next principall seate; and soe throughout the said other double seates there.

"The Associates of the Bench to be last placed, except they be such persons of ranke and quality as Noblemen's sonnes and Knightes; and they to take their places as they doe att the Bench table.

"The two lowest of those double seates are likewise allotted for strangers of good fashion and quality, or, in case of necessity, for such of the Howse as shall not be able to gett to their owne seates.

"The tenn seates on the south side of the Chappell from the Quire downward are allotted and appointed for the M^rs^ of the Barr; and they to take their places in their antiquities from the highest seat downwardes, by fower or five in a seate, as they shall thinke meet.

"The seates on the north side of the Chappell, with the seates in the Quire, (except only the Preacher's seate and the Chapleyn's seate,) are allotted and appointed for the gentlemen and Fellowes of this Society under the Barr; and none of them, or any other person, in time of divine service and sermon, or at any time before or after, shall sitt, leane, or rest with their handes or armes or any other parte of their bodies upon or against the Communion Table, or lay their hattes or bookes upon the same.

"The lower part of the Chappell from the seates downward, with the seat about the same, is appointed for the clarkes and ordinary servants of the Masters of the Bench and of the Barr, and of the servants of the Howse.

"And this disposition of seates aforesaid to be firmely holden and observed, without any confused intrusion one upon another" (ii, 242).

The Worshipful Masters of the Bench were not very complimentary to the fair sex; for in 1636 they made an Order that the Porter should take "special care in this time of contagion and infeccion not to permitt woemen or children to come into the Chapell" (ii, 339). Two years later (1638) the Porter, Under-Butlers and Pannierman are enjoined to enforce the former Order excluding women, children, and persons of mean quality (ii, 346). This was not polite, to put it mildly; I can only say by way of extenuation, if, indeed, it amounts to that, that this Order is a shade less rude than one made in 1596, by the then Lord Keeper, Sir John Puckering (also a member of Lincoln's Inn), to the effect that a certain room adjoining the Court of Star Chamber at Westminster was to be reserved for men of good account in the country and for gentlemen "towardes the lawe," and was not to be plagued with "base fellowes" and women, or other suitors, as it had been (*Les Reportes del Cases in Camera Stellata*, 1593–1609, p. 39).

The Chapel was enlarged and a new staircase made in 1882–3. A new roof was put on at the same time.

It is somewhat remarkable to find that the old Chapel was used for various secular functions connected with the Society. The first mention of the Chapel in the Black Books is in 1428, when we learn that the accounts of the Inn were audited there, and the balance found owing thereon was duly paid over (i, 3). Similar entries occur in 1437 and 1443 (i, 8, 13), after which the custom seems to have dropped. General meetings of the whole Society or Fellowship, as well as Councils of the Benchers or governing body, were held in the Chapel. Thus, in 1466, such a general meeting was held, all being summoned who were

of the Society, as well at the Bench as at the Bar, called "utter barresters," to consider the question of keeping vacations (i, 41). I may mention incidentally that this is the earliest known instance of the use of the term "Utter Barrister."

On Ascension Day, 1475, John Bradshaw, a Bencher, was publicly accused "affore the Felechype [Fellowship] . . . in the Chappelle," of having played "at the cardes at the porter house of the Rolles in the Chancelare Lane, w^{t} diverses of my Felechype at diverses seasonez." He confessed that the charge was true, and put himself "mekely in the grace and correcion of the sayd Felychype for the same," promising not to repeat the offence on pain of expulsion (i, 57). In the same year one Richard Griffith was solemnly expelled by "the Reulars and Feliship in the Chapelle," for having stolen a "stondyng cup of silver covered" out of a study in the Inn (i, 58).

Prior to the building of a special room as a Council Chamber, which is first mentioned in the Treasurer's accounts for 1538–9 (i, 154), the Chapel seems to have been generally used for meetings of the Council, and such routine business as admissions to the Society, admissions to Chambers, and fines for breaches of discipline, was transacted there (i, 91, 99, 101, 110, 112, 116, 117, 131). The last of such meetings is recorded on May 16th, 1508 (i, 148).

In addition to these, part of the legal education of the Inn took place in the Chapel. Some of the moots, or legal exercises performed by the students and younger Barristers, were known as Chapel Moots, and were held in the Chapel; but how they differed from the other moots, which were held in the Hall, I cannot say. When the new Chapel was built, it was ordered that no moots should be held in it, and all moots were thenceforth to be held in the Hall (ii, 242).

Lastly, a few words about the clerical staff of the Chapel. The earliest note of a Chaplain is in 1441, when John, the Chaplain, accounts for 6*s.* 8*d.*, received by him for the sale of divers *tabula*, probably pictures (i, 10). This office was sometimes called the Priest and sometimes the Rector, but generally simply the Chaplain. His salary in 1482 was 53*s.* 4*d.*, the same as that of the Manciple (i, 78); he also had free lodgings and diet, and a gown every second year. In 1558, the salary was increased to £5 (i, 323). In 1517, as already stated, Sir Robert Drury gave the salary of a second Chaplain to celebrate within the Inn for ever (i, 182); this was confirmed in 1554 by his son, Sir William Drury, and we then learn that the salary so given was £3 (i, 308). The second Chaplain was afterwards discontinued, and in his place a Preacher or Divinity Reader was appointed; this was in 1581 or 1582. This arrangement has been continued ever since. Many distinguished men have filled the office of Preacher: amongst them space will only permit of my mentioning Donne, afterwards Dean of St. Paul's; Usher, Archbishop of Armagh; Tillotson, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury; Herring, afterwards Archbishop of York, and subsequently of Canterbury; Heber, afterwards Bishop of Calcutta; Lonsdale, afterwards Bishop of Lichfield; and Thomson, Archbishop of York.

As a final word let me point out a curious, but not unnatural, mistake made by a recent writer on the Inns of Court. Among the yearly offices filled in turn by the Benchers of the Inn is that of Dean of the Chapel, whose duties are to look after the Chapel generally, its services, repairs, and what not. The writer in question mentions him as part of the clerical staff.

LOW SIDE WINDOWS IN CHURCHES.

BY

PHILIP M. JOHNSTON.

The subject upon which I have been invited to address you this evening is one which, for some reason or other, has been lately very much overlooked—perhaps I should rather say, cautiously let alone—by antiquaries and ecclesiologists. Low side window literature has languished of late years.

The men of the older generation who took in hand the solution of this knotty point in the forties, have gone to their rest, or laid down their weapons, and still this Sphinx of Archæology stares us in the face, as much an unsolved problem as ever, at least as far as any general concensus of opinion is concerned.

The most serious attempt to grapple with the question is, so far as I am aware, the copiously illustrated treatise which appeared in *The Archæological Journal* of 1847 from the weighty pen of the late John Henry Parker, produced, as it would seem, by correspondences that had been intermittently carried on for some years previously in the *Gentleman's Magazine* and the *Ecclesiologist*. But except for the fact that a mass of solid material is presented for consideration, and the then-current theories are impartially stated, one is not much advanced by reading this paper, for the learned author does not pretend to any opinion of his own, and only states, in order to demolish, the theories of others.

Nevertheless, for solidity, this treatise represents the high-water mark of the low side window controversy, and the subsequent silence of the archæological world upon the subject has only been broken by such chance reference to the existence of these puzzling features as may be found in the Collections and Proceedings of our County Archæological Societies and other periodical literature of an antiquarian character. With two notable exceptions: an article in the *Reliquary* by my esteemed friend, Mr. J. Lewis André, and a correspondence in the pages of *The Antiquary*, initiated in 1890 by the then Editor, Dr. Cox.

To the former of these I may have occasion to refer in the course of this paper: as to the latter, it was practically a re-presentation of the old facts and theories in the light of a few fresh examples, and left the settlement of the main question—the originating purpose of low side windows—pretty much where it found it.

My own humble attempts at a reopening of this *vexata quæstio* were due to the occurrence of these peculiar openings in one or two Sussex churches in which I had for many years felt a special interest, and by meeting with a remarkable example in restoring a Surrey church some five years ago. The interest evinced by the late Archbishop Benson in this example led me to take up in earnest the study of a feature that had hitherto only inspired a vague curiosity; and I have had the question in hand ever since. Whether I am any nearer to a sound and satisfactory solution remains to be seen.

It is, however, just possible that there is some reader who doesn't even know what a low side window is. Well, a low side window reminds one of the riddle that used to be asked in one's childhood: "When is a door not a door? Answer—When it's a-jar." For similarly one might ask, "When is a window most certainly not a window?" and the best and most truthful reply I could make would be, "When it's an opening"—a low side opening.

Without fear of contradiction from any learned authority, who may be ever so cock-sure of his own pet theory, I assert that these openings were never intended primarily to be what they are now commonly called,—"windows."

The term "low side window" is a cumbrous one, and not strictly accurate, but it has the negative merits of long prescriptive use, and of "letting sleeping dogs lie." If you breathe the words "leper window," you have one set of men at you; if you murmur "lychnoscope," you are withered up by another; and if you dare to hint at "outward confessionals"—well, then you are on a par with those benighted souls who still go on calling cross-legged effigies crusaders. That is my apology for the use of such a clumsy term; and so to business.

"The peculiar 'low side window,'" says Mr. Bloxam, "common in some districts, especially in churches erected in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries . . . is generally found in the south wall of the chancel, near the south-west angle, but sometimes on the opposite side, and occasionally even in one of the aisles, at no great distance from the ground, and frequently immediately beneath a large window. These low side windows, or the lower portions of them, we commonly find closed up with masonry; and, on examination, they appear not to have been glazed, but externally covered with an iron grating, with a wooden shutter, opening inwardly, the hinges of which are frequently left imbedded in the masonry, though the wooden shutters seldom remain." (*Principles of Gothic Ecclesiastical Architecture*, 11th Ed., London, 1882, vol. II, p. 127.)

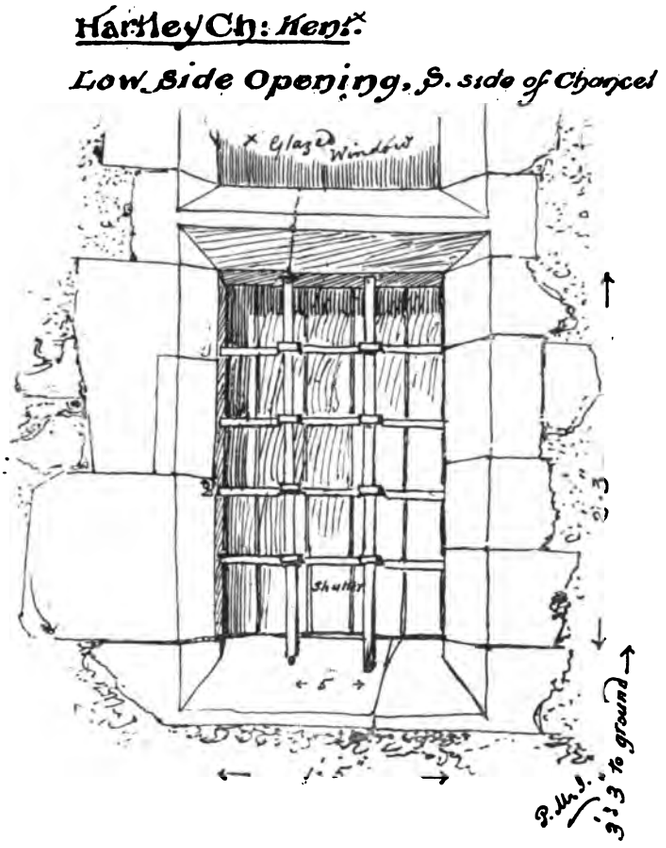
To this description it is necessary to add—that in not a few cases the low side window is the westernmost of a row of lancets in the same wall, and differing from them only in being either set altogether lower down, or else, in its being lengthened downwards to bring the sill nearer the ground; also, that in very many churches there are two low side windows, one on either side of the chancel; and that a great number exist in which there is no trace of a rebate for a shutter, but only the common groove for glazing.

Examples of low side windows outside the chancel are somewhat rare. There are well known instances, occurring in the west wall of a north or south aisle (usually the former), such as in the churches of Stanford-le-Hope, Essex; Dartford, Kent; St. Mary's, Guildford (north); and Buxted, Sussex (south). In Milton Church, Kent, are two low side windows in the eastern part of the north and south walls of the nave aisles. In the cill of one is a piscina; and they no doubt lighted little chantry chapels enclosed by screens. Compton Church, Surrey; Tarring Neville, Sussex; and Buriton, Hants, furnish instances of these openings occurring in the eastern part of the south wall of a nave aisle, and that in addition to a typical low side window in each case, except, perhaps, that first named, in the usual place—the south-west corner of the chancel. Of course all windows that are low down cannot be claimed as "low side windows"; *e.g.* many an old church has lean-to aisles having low walls, in which necessarily the windows of the main walls are set low down.

It is not always as easy as it might appear to say what technically is or is not a low side window. About typical examples, displaying all or most of the peculiar characteristics, there can be no doubt, but there is a large class which have little, at first sight, to distinguish

them from ordinary windows. However, if we begin with the former, we soon discover that the latter have affinities with them which show that they are of the same archæological family. Indeed, some learned authorities, such as Mr. Micklethwaite and the Rev. J. F. Hodgson, would have us believe that a class of openings which they call "high side windows" also served the same purpose, as to which more anon.

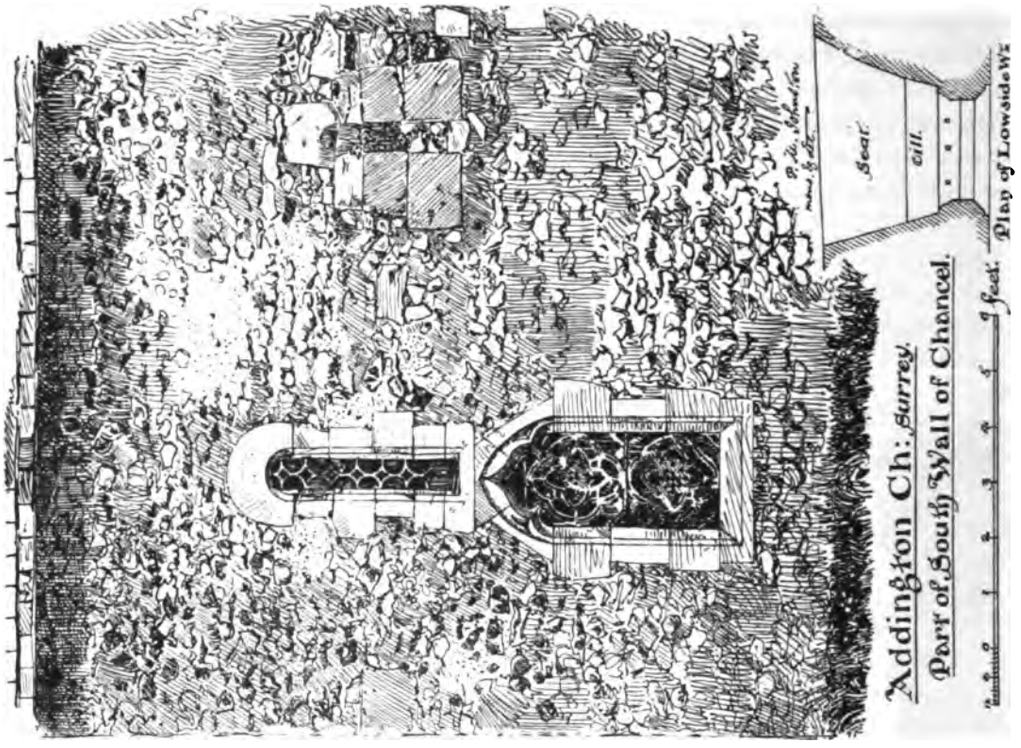
Let us now glance at a few examples of low side windows, typical and otherwise—noting as we go along their peculiarities. [Lantern slides or drawings of the following examples were exhibited when the lecture was delivered.]

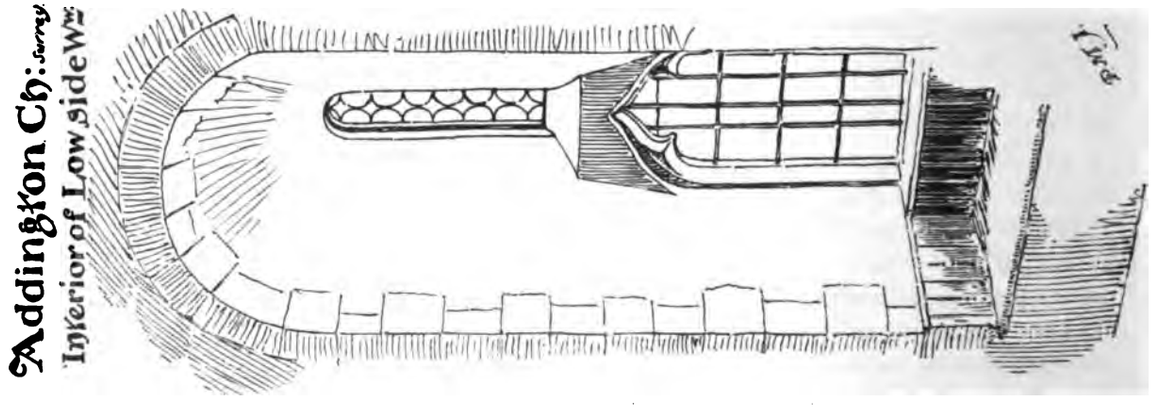


HARTLEY, Kent. Norman church consisting of nave and chancel. Two, if not three, low side windows here. Shutter in one (externally a trefoil-headed, transomed lancet), as well as grating, date 1260. This has been a Norman window, lengthened; original wood lintel and jambs internally.

ADDINGTON, Surrey. In Norman chancel, south wall, and beneath a Norman window, internally forming one opening. Low side window Decorated c. 1340. Seat in cill.

DODDINGTON, Kent. On north side. Late example c. 1460. Churchyard on south, only narrow slip on north. Remarkable features: Aumbry, niche and desk. Shutter hooks and (?) wood transome once existing, before window was re-glazed and lower half unblocked.


Addington Ch: Surrey.
Part of South Wall of Chancel.
Seat.
Sill.
Plan of Low side Wx
feet.

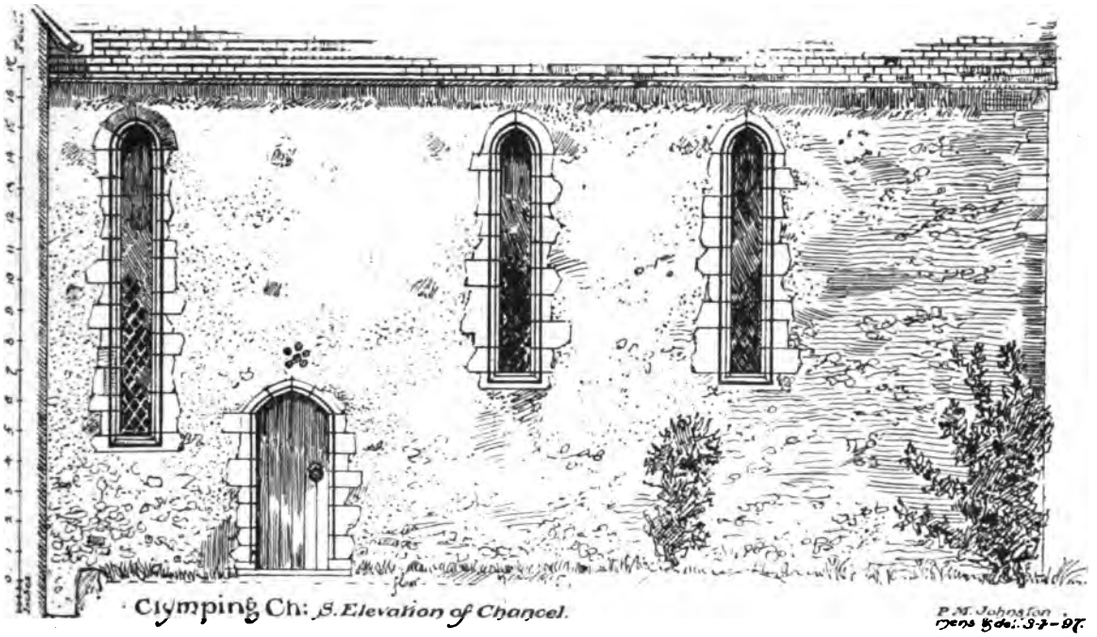

Addington Ch: Surrey.
Interior of Low side Wx

WARLINGHAM, Surrey. Small Early English building, belonging to Priory of Bermondsey. Chancel c. 1240. Nave slightly later, and low side window later again, c. 1260. Cill niche, and step up to same.

UPPER WALTHAM, Sussex. Small apsidal Norman church. Two low side windows, very complete and typical examples; Early English insertions; rebated for shutters. Iron grilles. Flat cills. Pilgrims' signs (?) on that of south window.

WESTHAMPNET, Sussex. Saxon chancel. Low side window a plain lancet, c. 1250, rebated externally. These windows with external rebates probably had an oak frame therein to hold glazing, and in "low side windows" this was divided into two by a wooden transome, and the lower part fitted with a shutter. Flat cill, with more pilgrims' (?) marks.

RUSTINGTON, Sussex. Large 12th and 13th century church. Low side window inserted slightly later in 13th century. Traces of grille. Flat cill. Double rebates. Dial marking on jamb of priests' door adjacent.



CLAPHAM, Sussex (two) and CLYMPING, Sussex (two). Early English churches. Excellent examples of the lancet style. Low side window duplicated in both, westernmost of three lancets in north and south walls, differing only from others in being lengthened downwards.

FITTLEWORTH and LANCING, Sussex, are other instances of this type.

APPLEDRAM, Sussex (two). Like Rustington, a later Early English insertion in an early 13th century wall. Squint pierces western jamb, communicating with east end of nave aisle. Similar combinations of squint and low side window occur at ISFIELD, Sussex; HOLYBOURNE, Hants; DOWNTON, Wilts; COURTEENHALL and FAWSLEY, Northants, etc.

COOMBES, Sussex. An early Norman church. Two low side windows, one in south wall of nave, and the other separated from it by chancel arch. The first is a plain oblong,

with grille and rebate for shutter. The second a curious circular opening immediately below cill of large Perpendicular window. Internally one window, cill lowered to form seat.

Note the ancient plastering outside, over blocking, dating from the period of the Reformation. The plasterer, by way of protest against his job, has scored crosses in the wet plaster. Dials on jamb of priests' door adjoining. (See illustration.)

BOTOLPHS, Sussex. Two low side windows. One an elegant early Decorated window on south, with cill-niche and double rebates. The northern one plainer, and differing in some particulars. Dial on jamb stone outside south window.

BROADWATER, Sussex. Circular opening that has not been glazed in west wall of porch. Never intended to give light; close to outer arch. Of the same date as the example at Coombes.

EDBURTON, Sussex. Two. Late 13th century church, with broad lancets. Low side windows curiously diminutive lancets by contrast with ordinary windows. That on north has a dial on its western jamb.

POYNINGS, Sussex. Large two-light Perpendicular window, adjoining central tower of same date. The remaining three windows of the chancel are similar in all respects, but the cills are at a higher level.

ALFRISTON, Sussex. Two. Transitional Decorated, on either side of the chancel, close to coeval tower; therefore very improbably for Sanctus-bell ringing.

ARLINGTON, Sussex. Pretty little Decorated example. Chancel of same date rebuilt after a fire.

WARBLETON, Sussex. Early English chancel. Early Decorated low side window inserted so as to cut off the lower part of a lancet. There must have been some extraordinary reason for such an improvisation, found in many other cases also. Practically a transomed example. (See illustration.)

ARDINGLY, Sussex. Beautiful Early Decorated transomed opening. (See illustration.)

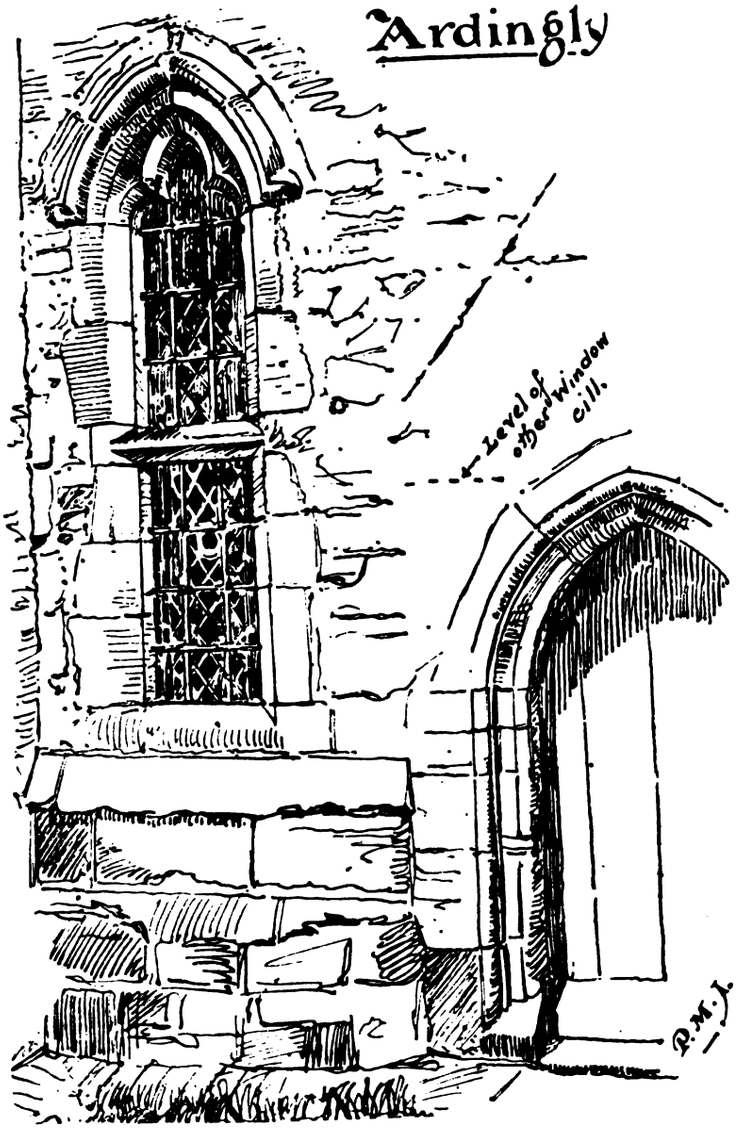
ISFIELD. In same locality, very similar, and not much later in date.

WILMINGTON, Sussex. Another beautiful Early Decorated example, on north side. Very low internal cill, as though for seat.

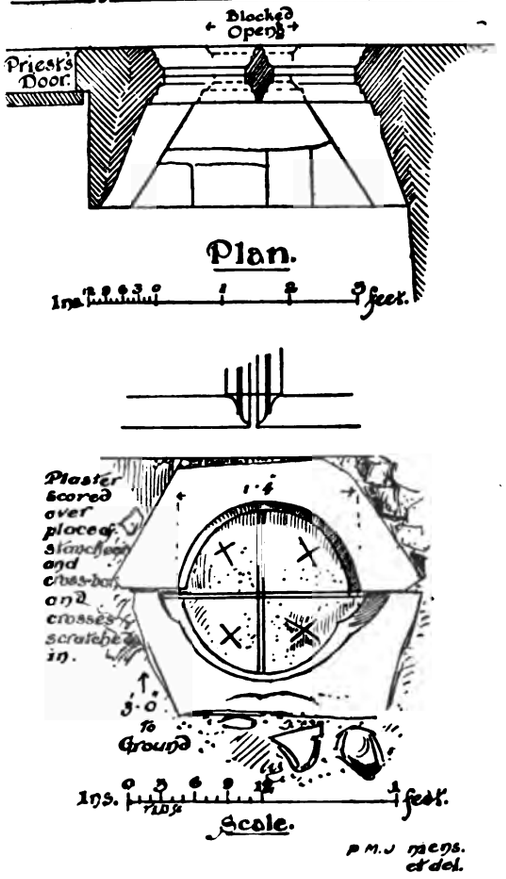
STINSFORD, Dorset. This is a very curious example.

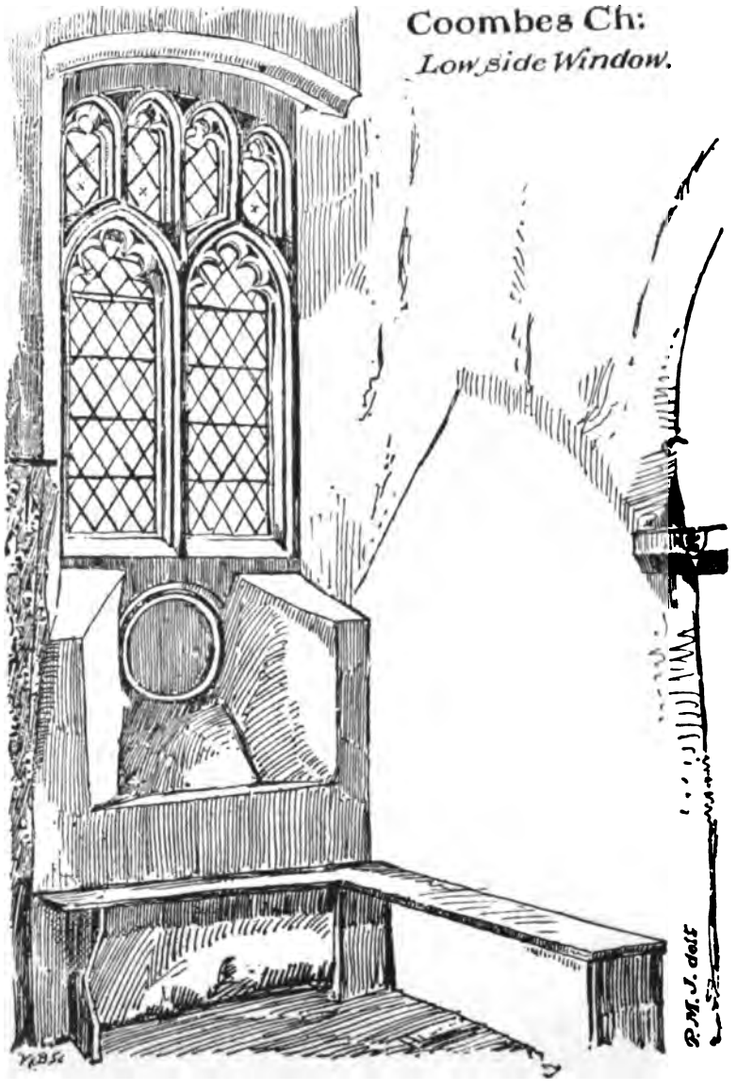
The chancel is early thirteenth century work, added to and transformed in the Perpendicular period; but the chancel arch and south aisle arcade, in the angle of which is the little oratory, confessional, or what you will, are in the original style. I incline to think, however, that this curious recess was scooped out of the pier at a later date, although the actual window opening is a diminutive lancet in shape, only 4 inches wide by 1 foot 7 inches, its cill being 4 feet from the floor. There is a blocked doorway of Tudor character between the chancel and the recess. Outside there is little to guide one as to the date and object of this curious construction. For an outward confessional it seems to me admirably adapted.

STUDLAND, Dorset. Low side window a perfectly plain square *hole* in the otherwise symmetrical Norman wall. Church well known for its quaint Norman work. East window curious Early English, and low side window apparently of the same date. Like many others of the earlier examples it is rude and hasty in character, as though improvised to meet a necessity, rather than deliberately and cheerfully formed. Surely it would have been more carefully designed and carried out had the use for which it was made been a recognised, old-established and permanent use.

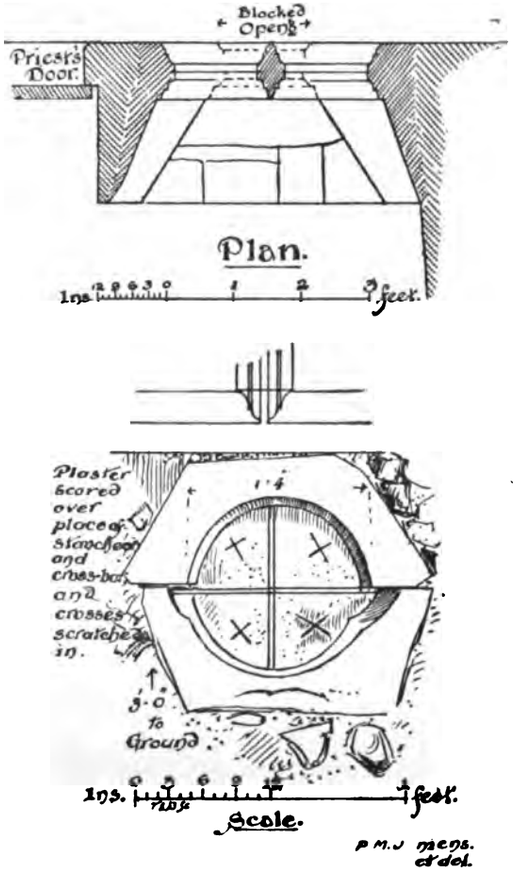

Ardingly
Level of other window cill.
P.M.J.

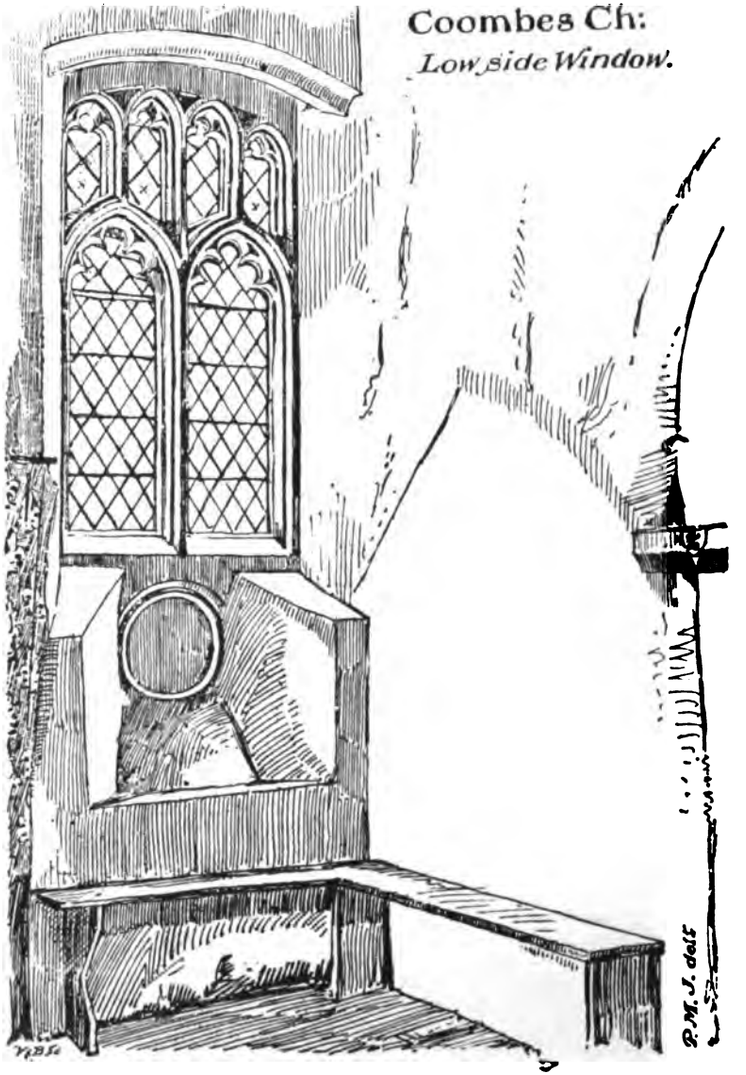
Low side window, Coombes.

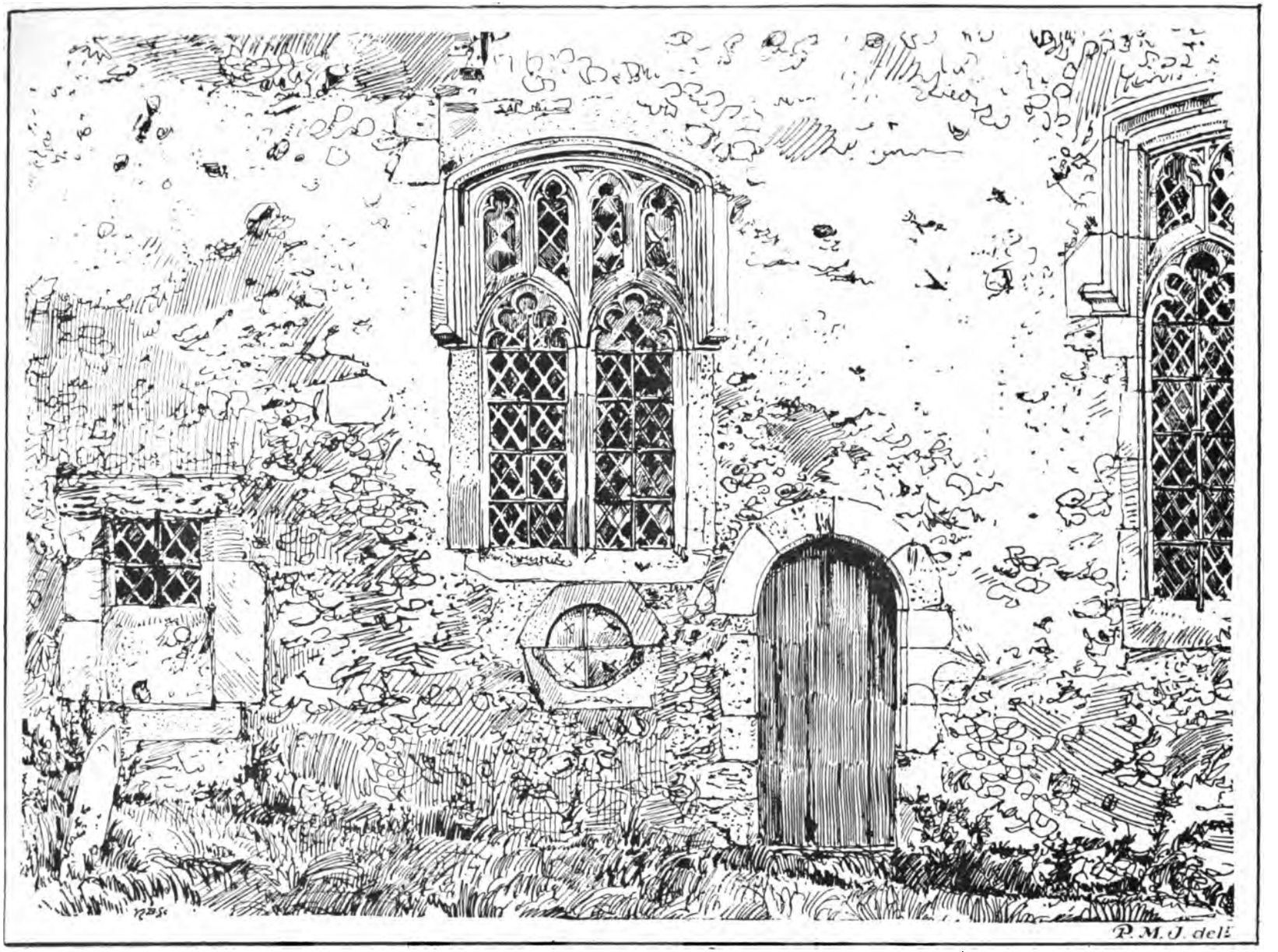




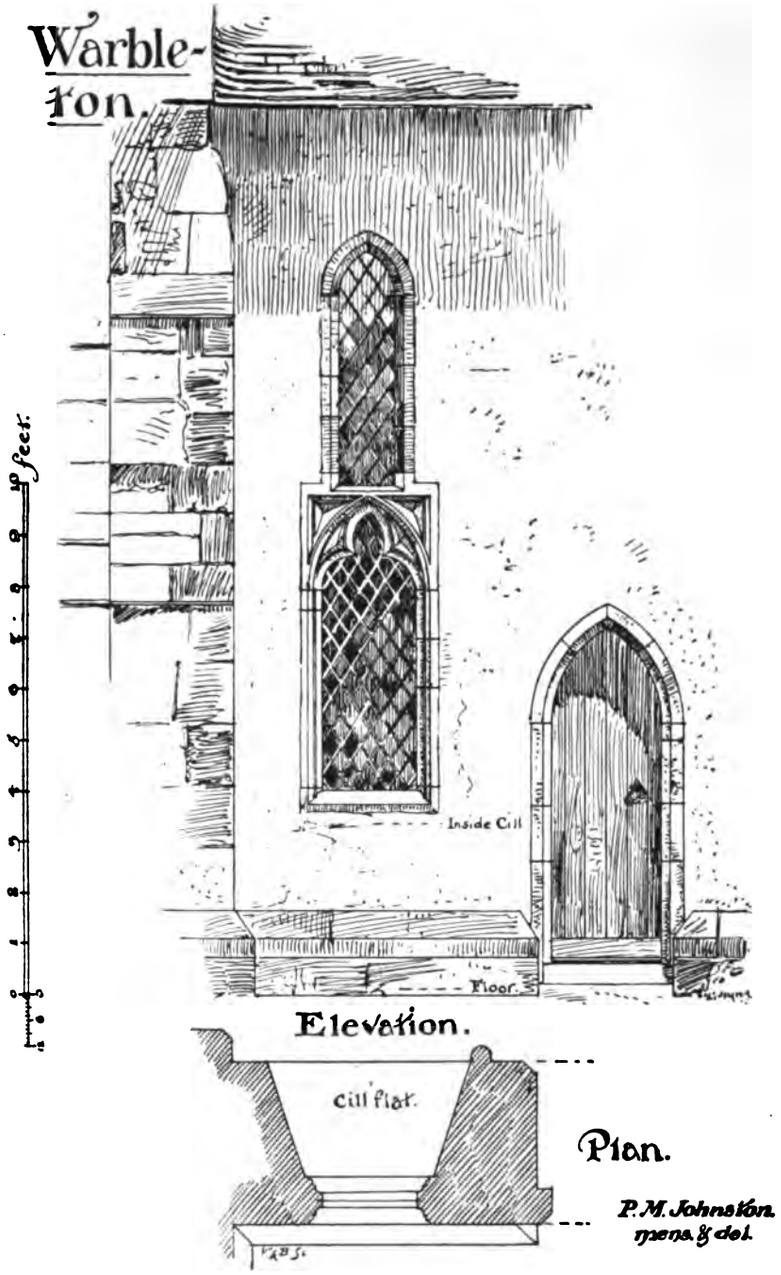
Low side window, Coombes.







Coombes Church: *Low side Windows, S. Wall.*


Warble-
ton.
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 feet.
Inside Cill
Floor.
Elevation.
Cill flat.
Plan.
P. M. Johnston.
mens. & del.

TARRANT RUSHTON, Dorset. This is a most interesting church with a perfectly fascinating plan—what is called a "Greek" Cross. Originally it consisted only of a small nave and chancel, of the earliest Norman, perhaps even pre-Conquest, date. The chancel arch, some herring-bone rubble, and the tympanum of the south door (or remains of it) are the only features existing, except fragments found in the restoration, to show the character of the original work. The north transept is early thirteenth century in date, and the south transept Decorated, in which style (Reticulated) the chancel was rebuilt. The low side window therein is a pretty little trefoil-headed light, coeval with the general work, rebated for a shutter, and till recently blocked. But there is another of these peculiar openings in the north transept west wall. It is a plain rebated lancet, about the height of a man and some 9 inches wide, and would command from the outside the chantry altar that stood in the transept. By its side (now enclosed in a modern vestry) is a narrow doorway of the same date, called within the memory of some still living "The Leper's Gate,"—a designation which has more solid ground to rest upon than much traditional nomenclature of our villages; for within a few yards of the wall in which are this window and door are the foundations of what we know to have been a leper hospital dedicated to St. Leonard. There are proofs of the former existence of a screen or partition which shut off the body of the church from the north transept, the floor of which was originally from 1 to 2 feet below that of the nave. There is, I think, no doubt that this transept served as the chapel of the hospital, and that *in this instance*, at any rate, it is very probable that the lepers confessed, assisted at mass, and were communicated, through a window. I do not for a moment believe that low side windows *as a class* were *in origin and intention* leper windows, but a good deal of evidence as to at least a *secondary* use of some of these openings in this connection remains and is worthy of careful consideration.

BREAMORE AND HEADBOURNE WORTHY, Hants. Besides being both most interesting Saxon churches, with life-size stone roods in bas-relief on their external walls, they contain two-light low side windows; the former of Perpendicular date; the latter a good example of late thirteenth century plate tracery, transomed for shutters. There is a window of the same type as the latter, but earlier, at BURITON in the same county; only with this peculiarity, that its right hand lower light is non-existent, the place being occupied by plain walling, which on the inside is plastered and still retains some thirteenth century figure painting, including "The Blessed Virgin and Child." Breamore and Buriton were both churches of monastic foundation, the former being a priory of Austin Canons.

I cannot pass on to my argument without calling special attention to the drawing of my friend, Mr. William A. Pite, of a low side window in Wigginton Church, Oxfordshire. Observe its remarkably ornate canopied seat, and then tell me if you think it likely that it was intended for the use of an acolyte waiting to ring a bell from the window at the Elevation of the Host; or for a Sacristan to sit in while watching through the window before service to give warning of the approach of the priest. (See illustration on next page.)

I will now proceed to consider, as briefly as may be, the different theories that have been advanced to account for the existence, in its varied forms, of the low side window as a feature

[1] See an excellent account of this church, with its many rare features, by the rector, the Rev. J. Penny, printed in the "Proceedings" of the *Dorset Nat. Hist. and Antiquarian Field Club*, vol. xviii, p. 55.

LOW SIDE WINDOW, SOUTH SIDE OF CHANCEL, ST. MARY, WIGGINTON, OXON.

in our ancient churches. It to some extent reconciles conflicting opinions if we admit the possibility of these openings having been constructed—or, more probably, *used when made*—to meet more than one requirement. Writing to me on this point, Sir Henry Dryden says:—"It does not follow that because a thing is used for *one* purpose it is not used for another. I think they (low side windows) were used for ventilation, lepers, confession, ex-communicated people,—but certainly *not* for bell-ringing." And in another letter Sir Henry gives the first place to the friar-confessional theory as the originating cause.

1. I have before alluded to the very prevalent—the popular—view that these openings served some purpose in connection with the lepers once so numerous in England. When low side windows began to be called "Leper windows," I have been unable to trace, but I believe the term to be far older than the Gothic revival and our latter-day science of ecclesiology. Certainly such facts as those adduced from Rushton Church lend weight to this theory—one, by the way, which the late Archbishop Benson, no mean authority, expressed to me his belief in, at any rate, as accounting for a large number of examples.

My own feeling is that such a use *as a secondary and partial one* existed; that lepers and others with infectious diseases may have been confessed and have received the Eucharist (as some have suggested by means of a cleft stick) through such apertures in an external wall; but I cannot think that low side windows as a class were made *ad hoc*, in view of the plain fact that in the great majority of instances a view of the high or other altar is not obtainable by looking through from the outside. Besides, leprosy in England long ante-dates low side windows. Nevertheless it would be idle to ignore the support which has been given to this as *a secondary use* by the late Dr. J. Mason Neale, when writing upon "Some Danish Lychnoscopes" (*The Ecclesiologist*, vol. XIII, p. 218); or such evidence as is to this day presented by churches in the Pyrenees, where, according to "Murray," we find that—"There are separate entrances and holy water basins, which were made for the 'Cagots'"—an outcast people, lepers socially—"also low windows to enable them to see mass celebrated."

2. We have the two forms of the lychnoscope theory: (*a*) that these openings were for the purpose of watching the paschal light. The Camden Society, who fathered this "young idea," abandoned its offspring at a very early stage in its existence, but it has been adopted by many benevolent foster-parents, and is, I believe, still "alive."

And (*b*) there is the view held by several antiquaries of great eminence that both "low" and "high" side windows (the latter of comparatively rare occurrence) were used to place a light in to scare away evil spirits from the churchyard. This view has the support of Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite (although he admits in a letter to me the possibility of confession having been a secondary use) and of the Rev. J. T. Hodgson, who connects the two varieties of opening with this practice of primitive and pre-Christian antiquity. Mr. Hodgson sees in low side windows an English equivalent of the perpetual light pillars found in the grave-yards of Germany and the "Lanternes des Morts" of French cemeteries, but he also allows "that they might possibly have been utilized, in some instances, for bell-ringing or confession is likely enough." Again, *as a secondary use*, I think it quite likely that low side windows may have been used for some such lychnoscopic purpose.

But the weak spot in the theory, considered as an originating cause, is that the supposed purpose is of the earliest Christian antiquity, and, indeed, far, far older; while the low side window as a common feature in our churches is of comparatively modern date. It is true that one or two examples said to be Norman, because they have round arches (not a very

safe test of age), exist in this country. Binsey, Oxfordshire, North Hinksey, Berks, and St. Giles's, Northampton, are cases in point, and perhaps three or four others would complete the total of Norman examples. And yet we have in England hundreds of typical Norman churches, in which the walls of the chancel are to-day just as they were first built, and not a few Saxon chancels in almost equally perfect condition. The fact remains that in this large number where, if the primitive practice of light-burning were the originating cause of low side windows, we should expect to find an abundance of instances, we find practically *none*, or at most perhaps one or two of doubtful character and purpose. In effect, low side windows came in with the thirteenth century; that is a plain fact. Light burning in graveyards is many centuries older.

3. The theory favoured by Dr. Cox and other distinguished antiquaries is that low side windows and Sanctus bell-cots served one and the same purpose, viz., to give notice to worshippers and those without of that most solemn moment in the mass when the priest uplifted the holy symbols for the adoration of the faithful. I am far from denying that in some cases these openings may have been so used where no bell-cot, or, which is the same thing, central tower, existed. Yet we are faced with the fact of *coeval* low side windows and bell-cots or central towers existing in the same building—showing obviously that both could never have been intended for the same purpose. Moreover, a sacring-bell would "carry" only a very short distance and could never have been heard in many a village if rung from a low side window; and then, look at the typical low side window, with its grille of bars only 4 or 5 inches apart. Does it seem likely on the face of it that these grilles (so fitting if *confession* were the object of the opening) would have been added to an already ofttimes diminutive opening if it were intended to thrust a hand and bell through?

And how about cases of duplicated low side windows—one on either side of the chancel? Is it seriously to be believed that in the numerous instances where these occur bells were simultaneously rung out of both?

I will pass rapidly over other theories that have been at one time or another advanced. With all or most of them their self-evident improbability *as an originating cause* hardly requires discussion, but *as a secondary use* there may be more to be said for them.

4. Ventilation. I have yet to learn that such an idea—"name or thing" was invented till about A.D. 1800. No doubt there were plenty of *draughts* in the days when windows were "wind-doors" and every door hung loose against a stone rebate. But ventilation!—I can't believe that in those "good old days," when the odour of sanctity included many other odours far from pleasant to our fastidious nineteenth century noses, there could have been any conception of an essentially modern science sufficient to account for the existence of low side windows as a class. I dare say the worthy priest when the atmosphere of candle, incense, and human fumes got a bit too thick, *did* sometimes open his shutter to let in a little fresh air, but I expect he soon shut it up again. Besides, he would hardly want a canopied seat by the window in order to sit in a draught.

I will not waste time further over such theories as (5) that the low side window symbolized the wound in Our Saviour's side; (6) that it was for offertory purposes; (7) for the ringing of a bell to give warning of the approach of the priest; (8) for the acolyte to pass the censer through, to fan the charcoal; (9) to serve for the distribution of alms in money or kind; (10) to give light to the reader of the lessons: there are numbers of churches which, with every window filled with stained glass, are almost too well lighted, and yet they contain a low

shuttered opening—which, by the way, must have given the reader a stiff neck or cold, if they had such things in the "good old days"!

For the 11th theory there is more to be said, viz.: that ex-communicated persons and others doing penance used these openings when not allowed access to the church; but I regard this as practically linked to the "Confessional" or "Leper" theories, and not worth independent consideration.

So also, two other subsidiary theories merit consideration *as such*, viz.: (12) that low side windows were used for the display of relics to pilgrims and others, and (13) that such pilgrims when they were too numerous to be allowed inside the church would defile past such a window to receive the priest's benediction. It is noteworthy that many churches containing low side windows lie along the principal pilgrims' routes, *e.g.*, to Canterbury and Chichester.

But in no one of these thirteen theories have we, as I think, sufficient weight to enable us to set it down as the originating idea of low side windows as a class of openings in the walls of churches.

And so we are thrown back upon the 14th and last theory, viz.: that of external confessionals, and while I do not for a moment suggest that every low side window was suitable for such a use, I do maintain that it fits the character of the great majority of such openings, and that the exceptions are to be accounted for by some one or other of the subsidiary or special uses as would so readily suggest themselves when once such a class of openings had come into existence in connection with the practice of auricular confession.

In this way I account for low side windows occurring in upper story chapels, such as the examples in Prior Crawden's Chapel, Ely Cathedral, Winchester College Chapel, the Chapel of the College of Priests, Chichester, and that of Leeds Castle, Kent.

The question thus arises, in what place and manner were these confessions made? It is strange that our knowledge on this point should be somewhat uncertain. It is not until the sixteenth century that we meet with evidence of the existence of the shriving stool and pew, which probably date from the previous century, and certainly the structures known as confessionals would appear to be of still more recent institution. To Mr. J. L. André and the Rector, the Rev. G. C. Walpole, I am indebted for the information that the scanty remains of what is traditionally supposed to have been a shriving pew still exist in West Wittering Church, Sussex.

The probability is that there was in early times no fixed place and method, but that a variety of "uses" prevailed, and one of the earliest, and perhaps the most general, would seem to have been the screening off of the chancel, or some part of it, in which the priest sat, with a *velum* or curtain to separate him from the penitent. The late Archbishop Benson, writing to me some years ago, assumed this to have been the most common mode. It is to this already long-established practice that the Council of Durham, held in 1217, referred when it laid down that "the confessions of women were to be heard *without the veil*, and openly, as far as outward appearance was concerned, but still not so as to be heard by any." (Bloxam, *Principles of Gothic Ecclesiastical Architecture*, Eleventh Edition, 1882, vol. II, p. 124.) Anyone who has noticed the narrowness of many of our reputed Saxon and Early Norman chancel arches will see how easily adapted they are for curtaining off the chancel.

Other and later methods (but in use concurrently with the *velum*) of hearing confessions are to be found in apertures pierced through walls and screens. As an instance of the latter, there is a beautiful parclose screen, dating from about 1330, between the chancel and south

chapel at Newington Church, Kent, in the close-boarded lower part of which are two perforations, one in the shape of a cross, about 5 inches square; and on the chancel side is the mark of where a bench was fixed against the screen. The cross would be on the level of the ear of a person sitting on the bench.

Much might be written of the many classes of openings to be found in the walls of our ancient churches, and of some of which the original purpose, or purposes, can now only be guessed at. The commonest and most familiar of these classes is the hagioscope, or squint, often found side by side, and, as I have instanced above, sometimes in actual combination with the low side window. Is it not, perhaps, too hastily assumed that these singular piercings through walls and piers, because they *usually* command a view of a high or side altar, were therefore made for that purpose alone? It is, I think, quite possible, in many instances, that these so-called hagioscopes were used as confessionals. That they should be so pierced as to make the altar visible does not militate against such a possibility, but rather adds weight to it; while, as can easily be demonstrated, the peculiar resonance of these miniature tunnels makes a whisper at one end distinctly audible at the other. Another form which these perforations through internal walls assumes is illustrated by the undermentioned very interesting instance to which Mr. André draws my attention. "At Sandridge, Herts, there is a solid wall, pierced with windows, between the nave and chancel, and with a central doorway, by the sides of which are stone stall ends; on one is carved a listening priest, on the other a woman, beads in hand, which is curious enough in itself, but I think, also shows that confessions were heard near the chancel arch, just in the locality where low side windows occur."

Such, then, were, as I conceive, the principal methods of making private confession in use in our parish churches in early times. Hagioscopes apart, there is no question that an aperture through an internal wall or screen was used as one such method. And if through an internal wall, why not through an external? In a small church, aisleless and with no chancel arch, such might be the only possible form of opening through a wall. The same persons who readily admit the probability of lepers having stood for perhaps half an hour at one of these low side windows to assist at mass, find it hard to believe that anyone in ordinary health could have knelt to confess and receive absolution thereat, because that rite might occupy about half the time. To have lived through the conditions of life in the thirteenth century—among which was the habitual spending of long hours in damp, draughty and unwarmed churches, mostly without seats, and having stone or earth floors—argues that our forefathers must have been a tough race, who would not think much of kneeling in the open air for fifteen minutes. Two writers in the *Church Times*, replying to a letter of mine upon this confessional question, raised the objection that people surely would not kneel on the wet grass outside a church, when they could more easily kneel inside it. To this Mr. André in a letter to me, very pertinently rejoins that such a difficulty could be overcome by the very simple act of placing a kneeling stool or bench outside the opening, such as would be used with any internal method of making confession.

In favour of the confessional theory we have (1) a somewhat nebulous local *tradition*, both in England and Denmark; (2) documentary evidence; and (3) argument from analogy.

Let us take the two latter.

There is the well-known letter from Bedyll, a commissioner for the suppression of religious houses, who, writing to Cromwell on December 17th, 1534, says:—"We have

sequesterd Whitford and Litell from hering of the ladys confessions; and we think it best that the place where these frires have been wont to hire uttward confessions of al commers at certen tymes of the yere be walled up, and that use to be fordoen for ever." (T. Wright, *Letters relating to the Suppression of Monasteries*, Camden Society, 1843, p. 49.)

Now if such external openings as that here spoken of (for external, from the nature of the case, they must have been) were in use in conventual churches as confessionals for outsiders down to 1535, is it so very improbable that confession under certain circumstances would be made through a barred opening in the outside walls of *parish* churches? Certain it is that if we looked about for anything to fit the sort of opening spoken of by Bedyll we could hardly find anything that answered to it more exactly than a typical low side window, with its mysterious fittings of shutter and grille, cill-niche or seat, stone reading desk, etc.

And to me the whole question seems bound up with the mission to this country of the various orders of friars—particularly of the Franciscans of *Fratres minores*, who became the confessors of low and high, but especially sought out the poor and neglected. Low side windows came in with the friars; their use declined as the friars' influence and popularity declined, and in parish churches they seem to have almost gone out of use for confession by the middle of the fifteenth century—long before the Reformation. Certainly hardly one can be found of a later date than 1450, although church building was exceedingly active for the next seventy years.

I believe that while the friars practically originated low side windows, the monks also used them. It would often happen that a parish church was given to a monastery and that instead of a secular priest being instituted to the cure of souls, one or more of the brethren would be sent to and fro to collect the tithes, and to perform the divine offices and such other ministrations—hearing confessions among them—as would ordinarily have fallen to the parish priest. Such an opening in an external wall seems very appropriate, as marking the distinction in the method of hearing confessions between regulars and seculars. And it is noteworthy that a very large proportion of churches in which low side windows occur *did* belong to a monastic body.

Finally, I would point to the analogy (which seems to have almost escaped attention at the hands of writers on this question) between low side windows and the external barred and shuttered openings in the anchorite's cell—such a common adjunct to cathedral, abbey and parish churches in the Middle Ages.[1]

Probably for centuries before the Lateran Council of 1215, that made private confession compulsory, and the coming of the friars in 1224, the fame of some one or other holy man shut up in his anker-hold, led penitents to seek his ghostly counsel. If a priest, he no doubt heard confession and gave absolution.

Now, how *could* he, in the case of a strict recluse, have done so *except* through what in all but name is a low side window—*i.e.* the grated opening "through which alone," as recorded of St. Wulfric at Haselbury, Somerset, "he always spoke to men."

I cannot better illustrate this than by referring to such an anchorite's dwelling still

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[1] Hermits and anchorites, originally one and the same, came to us from the East. To this day there are, I am assured by an eyewitness, cells attached to the Mohammedan mosques, tenanted by these strange beings, men of great sanctity, who watch the idle world go by, and counsel the devout from their barred windows.

existing at the west end of the north aisle of Hartlip Church, Kent, the same in which "Robertus inclusus de Hertlepe," who is mentioned in Registrum Roffense as donor of a silver chalice, kept his lonely vigil.

In a church not far from Hartlip, that of Upchurch, there is a singular painting which cannot be later in date than the commencement of the thirteenth century. It consists of scenes in the life of a bishop, in one of which he is represented as restoring a young child to life, and afterwards as bidding the child's father to go on a pilgrimage. For the last scene shows the father, with pilgrim's gown, staff and wallet, apparently in the act of being shriven by an anchorite, whose hand is seen projecting from the window of a turret-like cell.

I might multiply instances of anchorites hearing confession, but I will not labour the point.

My object is to show that when the great religious revival spread over England with the advent of the friars, and with it the immense increase of auricular confession, a mode of confession to suit the exigencies of certain classes, seasons, and conditions had to be devised; and that, with such a precedent before their eyes as the anchorite's window, an analogous opening was contrived in the parish churches, which we call to-day a "low side window."

NOTES ON A BRISTOL MANUSCRIPT MISSAL.

BY

E. G. CUTHBERT F. ATCHLEY.

In the Central Public Library at Bristol is a folio MS. massbook, which is supposed to have formed part of the collection which Dr. Tobias Matthew, Archbishop of York,[1] presented to the city by gift and bequest[2] between 1615 and 1628 : which books for the more part have only recently been catalogued.

The MS. consists of 153 leaves 33·7 cms. by 23·7 written in double columns each of which is about 22·5 by 7·0 cms. and contains 35 lines. The initial capitals are blue, with red ornamental lines generally continued as a border up and down the column. Where capitals are required in frequent succession, as in the Litany and *Exultet*, they are generally coloured alternately blue and red. But certain masses have more elaborate initial letters for the Office. Some have the letter in gold on a coloured ground with a border springing from the outer angles of the same: these are the Circumcision, and the high mass on the 3rd of May, for the Invention of the Cross. Certain others have initials of about twice the size of the foregoing consisting of a coloured letter on a gold ground, the border springing out of the angles as in the others. These are, the Epiphany, the Feast of Relics, Ascension Day, Pentecost, Trinity Sunday, Corpus Christi, the Dedication of the Church, Candlemas, and the Annunciation of our Lady. In addition to these, both the Common Preface, and the *Te igitur* have similar capitals : the T of the latter has by far the most elaborate border of any in the MS.

Leaves are wanting up to the midst of the Epistle for the third mass on Christmas Day, and the MS. ends in the middle of the Communion anthem for high mass of the Invention of the Cross. The ordinary and canon of the mass is placed between Holy Sabbath and Easter Day. Five leaves are lost between fo. 80*b*, the end of the *Ordo misse*, and fo. 81, beginning[3] *incipiens a moyse et omnibus*, in the middle of the Gospel for Easter Monday, and at least ten between[4] fo. 142*b*, the middle of the Epistle for the second day of the octaves of the Dedication and fo. 143, which commences with *Sacrosancta hodierna*, the sequence for St. Andrew.

[1] He was the son of John Matthew, Mercer, and born on Bristol Bridge 1546 (Charles Tovey, *The Bristol City Library*, London and Bristol, 1853 ; p. 8).

[2] *Ibid.* p. 5.

[3] The leaves are in quires of eight each, with a catchword on the verso of the last leaf of each quire : there is one on fo. 72 verso, and on fo. 83 verso, and none on fo. 80. This shows the last folio of the quire 73 sq. to have been lost, and the first four of the fragmentary quire 80–83.

[4] The catchwords are on versos of fo. 139, and fo. 145 ; which gives as missing the last five folios of the quire 140 sq. and the first five of that ending 145.

The first questions that arise are to what country did the book belong, and by whom was it used. It is evidently an *English* rite; the names of the saints in the Sanctorale, and in the Litany show this. They are as follows:—taking the Sanctorale first.

† St. Andrew Ap., † St. Nicholas Bp. Conf., Octave-day of St. Andrew, Conception B.M.V., *SS. Gencian, Fuscian, & Victoric, M.M.*,[1] St. Lucy, V.M., Vigil of St. Thomas Ap., † St. Thomas, Ap., *St. Anastasia V.M.*, † St. Silvester, Bp. Conf., *St. Genovefa V. not M.*,[2] SS. Remigius & Hilary Bps. & Confs.,[3] St. Felix M., *St. Maur Ab. Conf.*,[4] St. Marcellus Pope, M., St. Prisca V.M., St. Wlstan Bp. Conf., SS. Fabian & Sebastian M.M., St. Agnes V.M., St. Vincent M., † St. Cadoc, Conf. not Bp.,[5] † Conversion of St. Paul, *St. Prejectus M.*, Second feast of Agnes, St. Bridget V. not M.,[6] Vigil of Purification, † Candlemas, St. Werburg V. not M., St. Agatha V.M., *SS. Vedast & Amand Conf. Bps.*,[7] *St. Scholastica V. not M.*,[7] St. Valentine M., Chair of St. Peter Ap., St. Milburg V. not M., Vigil of St. Matthias Ap.,[8] St. Matthias Ap., St. Oswald Bp. Conf., *SS. Albin & David Bps. Confs.*,[9] St. Gregory Pope, *St. Edward K.M.*, St. Cuthbert Confs. Bp., St. Bennet Ab. Conf., † Annunciation B.M.V., St. Richard. Bp., St. Ambrose Bp. Conf., SS. Tiburcius, Valerian, & Maximian MM., St. George M., St. Mark Ev., St. Vitalis M., † SS. Philip & Jacob App., SS. Alexander, Eventius, & Theodolus MM.,[10] † Invention of Holy Cross.

Those names in italics have only memories at mass (memoria tantum); while those with a sequence are obelised.

In the Litany on Holy Sabbath or Easter-Even we have after the Apostles and Evangelists, and all disciples, the following names:—*Martyrs*, Innocentes, Stephane, Victor,[11] Clemens, Sixte, Corneli, Cypriane, Laurenti, Uincenti, Dionisi cum socijs tuis, Thoma,[12] Sebastiane, Quintine, Geruasi, Prothasi, Georgi, Edwarde, Edmunde, Oswalde, *Confessors*, Silucster, Augustine,[13] Augustine, Hilari, Ambrosi, Martine, Augustine, Augustine, Gregori,

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[1] These have only memories in the printed massbook of the Canons of St. Victor of Paris.

[2] St. Genovefa has naturally a full mass in St. Victor.

[3] These have a full mass in St. Victor.

[4] St. Maur has a full mass in St. Victor.

[5] The fact of St. Cadoc having a sequence would seem to point to his being held in special honour at the home of our MS., as there are comparatively few sequences in the Sanctorale. There was a relic of him at Glastonbury, *Os unum de Sancto Cadoco* (Ioh. Glastoniensis *Chronica* Thos. Hearne, Oxonij, 1726; p. 453). But I cannot find any evidence that they had one at Bristol.

[6] St. Victor gives the vigil mass of the Purification, with a memory of St. Ignatius, and no mention of St. Bridget.

[7] St. Victor gives only memories.

[8] In vigilia sancti Mathie Apostoli oritur magna questio. an videlicet debeat celebrari cum nocturno et cum missa de Vigilia (sicut multe ecclesie faciunt).....Ecclesia Sarum nihil facit de illa vigilia nisi ieiunium tantum (*Tracts of Clement Maydeston*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 1894; p. 28). It is not in St. Victor.

[9] St. Victor gives St. Albin only, and with only a memory and not a mass.

[10] St. Victor gives a memory of St. Juvenal Conf. at this mass: and a memory of both Confessor and Martyrs at the mass of Invention of the Cross.

[11] It is not very common to find St. Victor in a litany: Cotton MS. Vespas. D. i. fo. 75. *b*, has *Sancte uictor cū socijs tuis o℟*, the last of the Martyrs: the MS. is entitled *Seruicium de omni officio ep̄ali concernente chorum*, and was intended for the Anglican church. In the Dublin MS. (Brit. Mus. 24,198) St. Victor comes tenth, St. Thomas taking the second place. At St. Victor, Paris, he is placed second after the Innocents, as at Bristol, with *bis* after the name.

[12] St. Thomas is the last of the Martyrs in St. Victor.

[13] In the Dublin book the name of St. Austin occurs as the second and seventh of the confessors: neither time is it doubled. At St. Victor "*St. Augustine bis*" comes fifth: this is the Bishop of Hippo. But in our MS. the first St. Austin refers to the Apostle of the English, as at Dublin.

Nicholae, Remigi, Jeronime, Marcelle, Germane, Benedicte, Egidi, Cuthberte, Leonarde, *Virgins*, Maria Magdalena, Agatha, Lucia, Agnes, Cecilia, Anastasia, Genouefa, Katerina, Margareta, Brigida.

Moreover, the mass of St. Thomas of Canterbury is crossed through (the Henrician visitors have overlooked his name in the Litany),[1] and the word *Papa* is diligently erased or blotted out throughout the MS.[2] Secondly, it belonged to a community of regulars, presided over by an abbot: the rubric in the Good Friday service frequently mentions the *abbas*, and the Litany on Holy Sabbath prays for the preservation of *abbates nostros*.

Abbeys of Black Monks may certainly be excluded by the fact that St. Maur,[3] the coadjutor of St. Bennet, and St. Scholastica, the latter's sister, are not provided with a full mass, but only have memories,[4] and neither of them is mentioned in the Litany. Other orders of monks[5] may be excluded by the same facts, and by the absence of their special saints from the Litany and Sanctorale.

Canons Regular[6] are divided into two chief groups, white, Norbertian or Premonstratensian[7]; and Black Canons, which are of several varieties; in England, besides the ordinary kind, we meet with Arroasians, such as those of Harewold in Bedfordshire, Nutley in Buckingham-

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1536 A.D. Diuum ergo Thomam Cantuariensem archiepiscopum.....causam iterum ad tribunal suum, contumeliosissime dicere, post tot saecula coegit, ipsumque perduellionis condemnatum, inter Diuos amplius censeri vetuit. Imo in comitijs publicis sanciuit, vt capitale crimē esset, si quis aut diem commemorationis euis sacrum celebraret,.....nomenve ipsius in calendario sanctorū, vllo suo in libro non deletum extare permitteret. (Nicolai Sanderi *De origine et progressu Schismatis Anglicani libri*, Coloniae Agrippinae, 1585; fo. 91 verso: Romae, Typis Bartholomaei Bonsadini, 1586; p. 189.)

[2] 1534 A.D. Quinimo ipsum Papae vocabulum persecutus, edici curauit vt de caetero nullus Pontificum Romanorum vocaretur Papa, sed tantum Episcopus: quam legem tanta saeuitia executioni mandauit, vt capitis damnaretur, si cuius in libro vel solum nomen Papae non deletum extaret. Per Calendaria, per indices, per scripta patrum, per totum ius canonicum, per Scholasticos Doctores, Pape vocabulam lituris vndique obducebatur. (*Ibid.* Colon. Agrip. 1585; fo. 75 verso: and Romae, 1586; p. 121.)

[3] Black Monks generally invoked St. Maur as well as St. Bennet in the Litany. The Cassinensians kept him with octaves (Muratori, *Rerum Ital. Script.* Mediolani, 1726; vii. 935).

[4] For the use of the word *memory* in this sense see G. J. Aungier's *History and Antiquities of Syon Monastery*, London, 1840; p. 326.

[5] *Sancti Benedicti.* Sub cuius regula vivunt omnes Monachi tam albi quam nigri, Cistercienses, & alii (Gloss of John of Athon, *Constitutiones legitime seu legatine regionis anglicane.* Const. Dom. Othoboni, cap. *Porro cum ignorantia*, Paris, Jodocus Badius Ascensius, 1506; fo. lxij verso: and Oxford 1679; p. 144). Cistercians (White or Pyed Monks) commemorated their founder, St. Robert on 29th April (*Bullarium Romanum Novissimum*, Romae, 1638; ii, 406. Usuardi *Martyrologium*, Antverpiae, apud Philippum Nutium, 1583; fo. 60): and the Cluniacs St. Hugh on the same day (Usuardi *Mart.*, fo. 60): and St. Stephen, founder of the Grandimontensians, on the 13 February (Usuardi *Mart.*, fo. 29*b*). Carthusians moreover have no Paschal Candle, for which our MS. provides a service.

[6] *Sancti Augustini.* Sub cuius regula degunt omnes canonici (John of Athon, *Constit. D. Othoboni*, cap. *Audiuimus;* Paris edition, fo. lxij verso: Oxford, p. 144).

[7] Ordo Praemonstratensis, videlicet alborum Canonicorum, incepit anno D. 1119 (Leland *Collectanea*, London, 1770; vol. III, p. 332). One might have expected to find St. Norbert, their founder, in their Litany, but it does not appear that he was placed there until much later than the date of our MS.; and he was not papally canonised until 1583, though some asserted he had been by Innocent III (Stadler, *Heiligen-Lexicon*, Augsburg, 1875; IV. 584), and Surius remarks "Utrum autem in sanctis uir uitae sanctissimae relatus sit, "necdum computum habeo" (*De vitis Sanctorum*, Venetijs, 1581; vol. III, fo. 165*b*). "Praemonstrati, com- "memoratio domini Norberti primi patris Praemonstratensis & Archiepiscopi Magdeburgensis ecclesiae" (Usuardi *Martyrol.*, fo. 80, against 6 June). The orders of friars, it is hardly necessary to mention, were never governed by abbots.

shire, Hartland in Devon, Lilleshull in Salop, and Brunne in Lincolnshire: Victorines,[1] such as those of Wormesley and Wigmore in Herefordshire; Keynsham, Worspring and Steverdale in Somersetshire, and Bristol: and also those of the institution of St. Mary of Meretun, as at Old Buckenham, Norfolkshire. In France one meets also with Canons Regular of the Congregation of St. Geneviève.[2] The second martyr invoked in the Bristol Litany after the Holy Innocents is St. Victor: the second confessor is St. Austin, and this name occurs again in the sixth place, and each time it is doubled: the first is St. Austin "the Englishmen's Apostle," the second the Bishop of Hippo, whose rules the canons regular professed to follow. These reduplications are most reasonably explained by the supposition that the book was written for some Austin canons of an abbey dedicated to St. Austin of Canterbury; Dugdale mentions two such, Bristol, and Grimesby or Wellow in Lincolnshire.

The prominence given to the name of St. Victor may be accounted for by supposing these canons to have been of the order of St. Victor of Paris. The saints of the Litany and Sanctorale tell us something more. St. Wlstan, and St. Oswald, both bishops of Worcester; St. Werburg, patroness of Chester[3]; St. Milburg, Abbess of Wenlock; St. Cadoc of Cowbridge, abbot of Llancarvan; St. Oswald of Gloucester,[4] martyred at Oswestry and enshrined at the Priory of St. Oswald in Gloucester; these all point to a church somewhere in the west of England between Somersetshire and the Dee. There is not much to be gathered from the consideration of the respective "spheres of influence" of these saints, as shewn by the dedications of churches in their worship. Thus there were two in Brecknockshire dedicated to St. Cadoc, one in Caermarthenshire, ten in Glamorganshire, nine in Monmouthshire; and, according to Ecton, one in Cornwall, at Cranstock near Padstow. These churches are in the two dioceses of Llandaff and St. David's: St. David on 1 March has only a memory and not a full mass in the MS. which would seem to quite exclude any Welsh diocese: moreover, among the Saints[5] that Bp. John Smith of Llandaff (1476–78) informed William of Worcester were honoured in Wales[6] are St. Cadoc Martyr, 24th January; St. Madoc Bp. Conf., 31 January; St. Nonnita, mother of St. David, 3rd March; and St. Theodoric K.M., son of the founder of Llandaff Cathedral 1 April, a double feast: and of these our MS. only gives the first; who was also commemorated by the Black Monks of Sherborne[7] and the Black Canons of Bodmin.[8] St. Werburg had nine or ten churches dedicated in her name, Chester Priory, and Warburton, Cheshire; Blackwell and Derby,

[1] Canons regular of the Order of St. Victor of Paris seem to have been confined to the West of England so far as one can judge from Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum*. Besides the Victorine abbey of St. Thomas, Dublin, there were in Ireland, St. Wulstan's Priory Co. Kildare, Newtown Priory, St. Katherine's Priory at Waterford, and the Austin Abbey at Enniscorthy, all Victorine houses (Mervyn Archdall, *Monasticon Hibernicum*, London, 1786; pp. 339, 561, 698, 740).

[2] Le Sieur de Moleon [J. B. le Brun des Marettes], *Voyages Liturgiques de France*, Paris, chez Tilliard, 1757; pp. 264, 389.

[3] The relics of St. Werburg, a Mercian princess, were enshrined at Chester (Leland, *Collectanea*, London, 1770; Vol. III, p. 408. *Chronicles of the reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I*, Rolls Series, 1889; Vol. IV, p. 80). Those of St. Milburg were at Wenlock (Leland, *loc. cit.*, and *Chronicles*, &c., p. 79). "In Anglia Milburgis virginis, filiae regis Merciorum" (Usuardi *Martyrol.*, fo. 33).

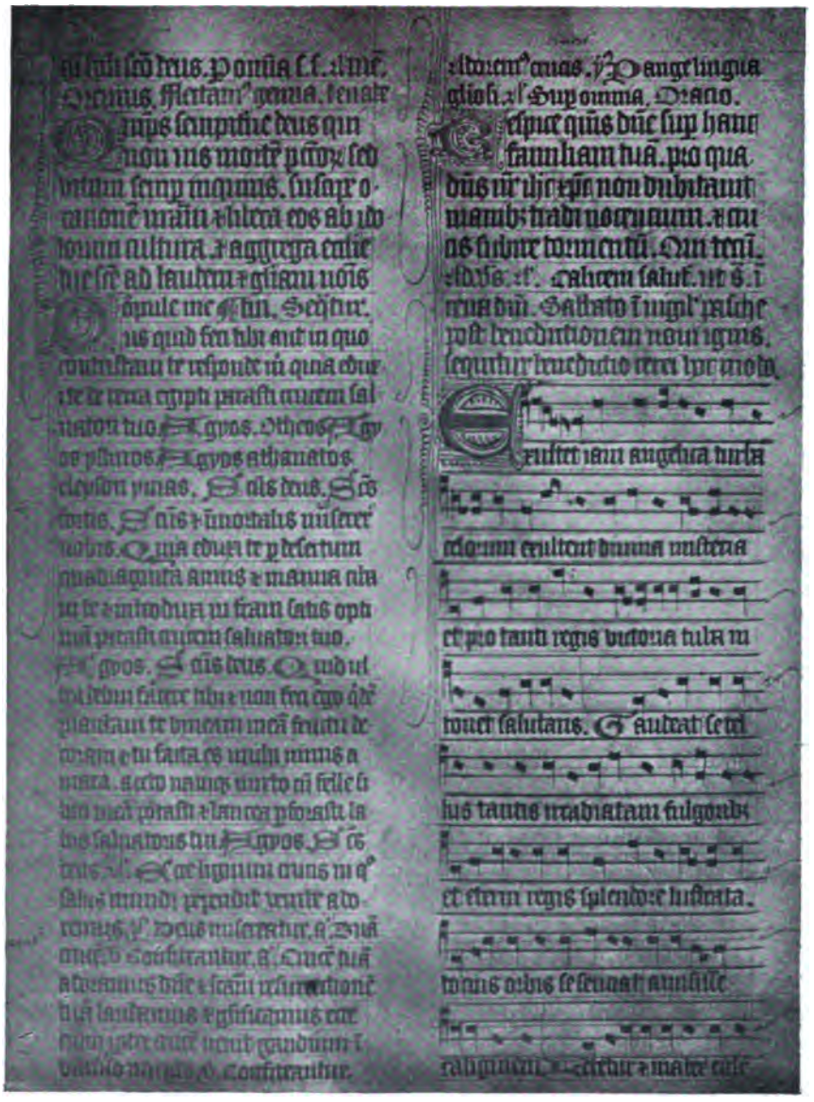
[4] Leland, *Collectanea*; Vol. IV, p. 172. John Bale, *Select Works*, Parker Society, 1849; p. 192.

[5] John le Neve, and T. D. Hardy, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, Oxford, 1854; Vol. II, p. 249.

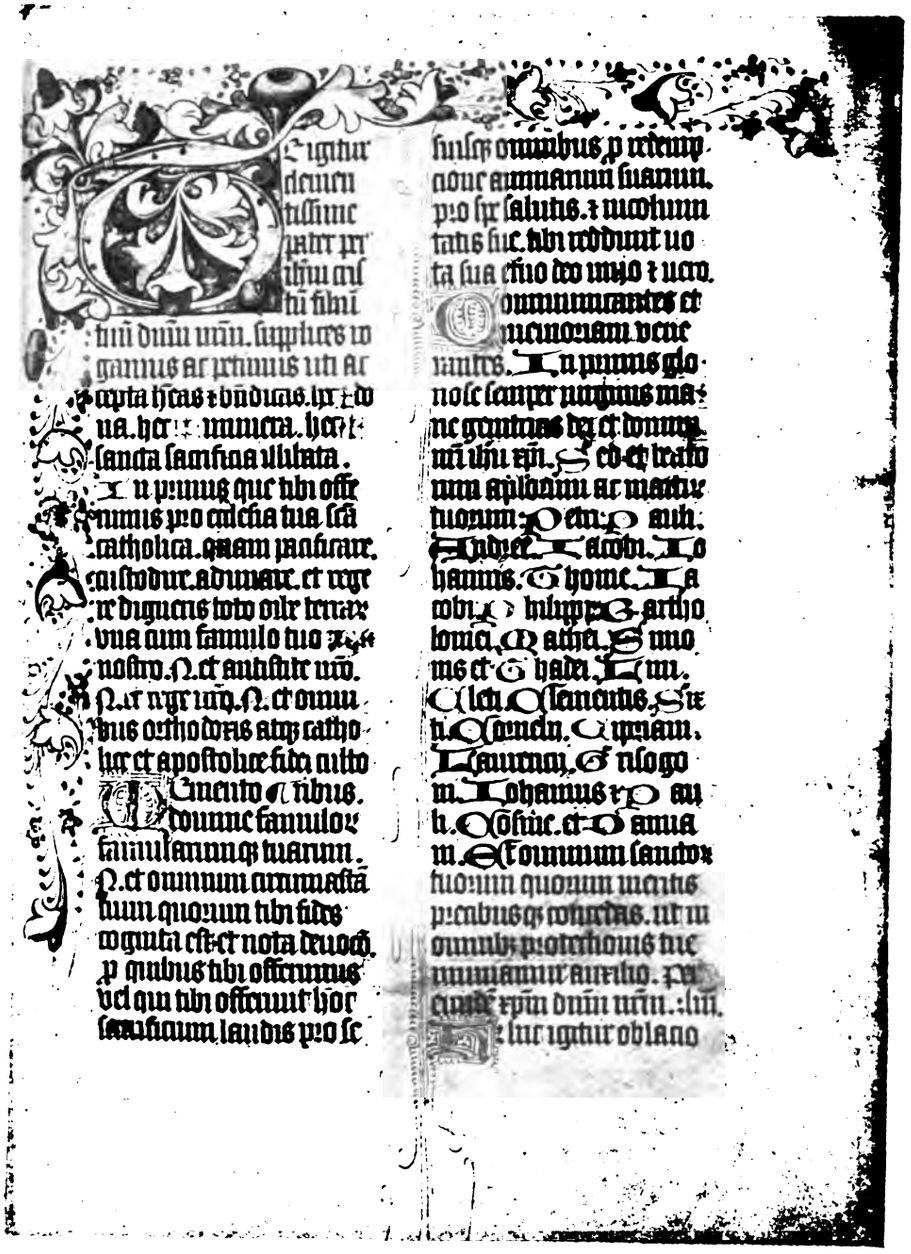
[6] *Itineraria* Symon Simeonis et Willelmi de Worcestre, Cantabrigiae, 1778; p. 164.

[7] *Transactions of the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society*, 1896; Vol. IV, p. 11, as a Confessor.

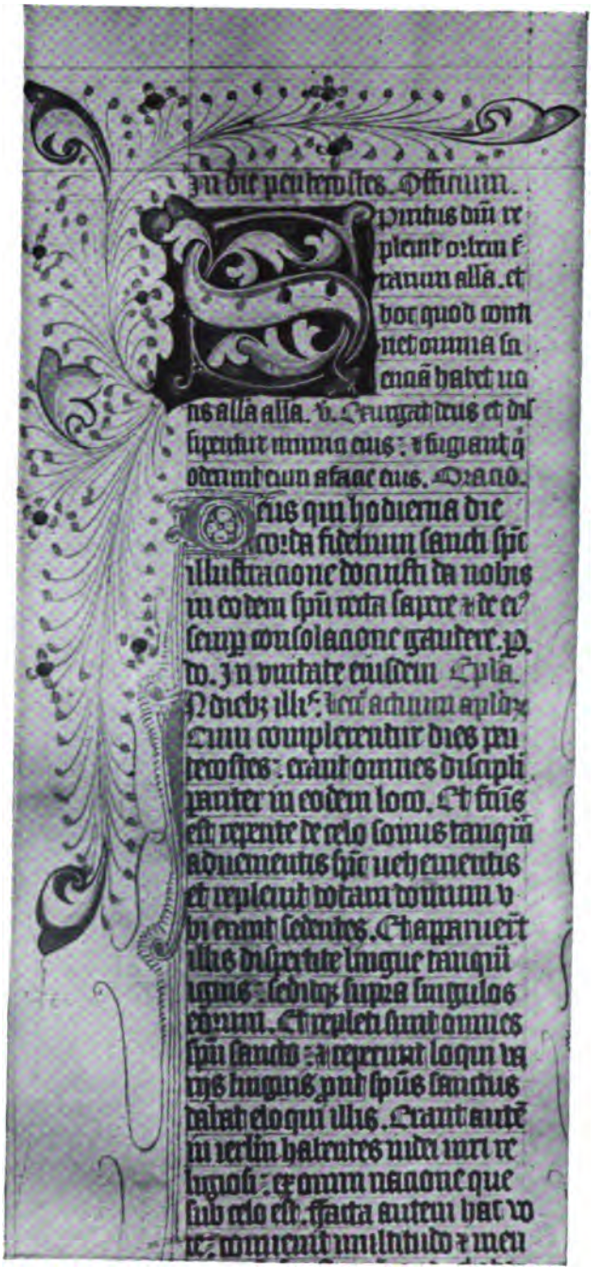
[8] A.D. 1478, as a Confessor on 24th January (*Itineraria* Symon Simeonis et Willelmi de Worcestre, p. 107).



Bristol Missal, fo. 67.



Bristol Missal, fo. 78.



BRISTOL MISSAL, fo. 95*b*.

Derbyshire; Kingsley, Staffordshire; Wenbury, Devon; Treveglos, Cornwall; Hoo in Kent, one at Bristol, and another in Bath. She was not in the Sarum, Hereford, York, or Westminster calendars. There were four parish churches, beside the Abbey of Much Wenlock dedicated to St. Milburg: Beckbury and Stoke in Shropshire, Offenham and Wigglesford in Worcestershire: and she was commemorated at Hereford, Sherborne, Tewkesbury, Ludlow,[1] and Westminster. There is nothing to be learnt from the distribution of the dedications to either St. Oswalds or St. Wlstan. St. Oswald, the Bishop of Worcester and Archbp. of York, was named in the Hereford and Ludlow calendars and that of the Missal of Robert of Jumièges: the King and Martyr, in Sarum, Hereford, York, Ludlow, Westminster, Exeter, and Robert of Jumièges. St. Wlstan was observed at Sarum, Hereford, Tewkesbury, Exeter, Ludlow, and St. Paul's. Both were patrons of Worcester Cathedral priory church.[2]

The number of abbeys of black canons in the area we are concerned with is not great: St. Mary, at Norton, Cheshire; St. John Ap. at Haghman, and St. Mary at Lilleshall, Shropshire; St. Mary, at Roucester, Staffordshire; St. Mary, at Kenilworth, Warwickshire, may all be set aside as they were in the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield; which may be excluded by the complete absence of St. Chad's name from the MS. St. James Ap. at Wigmore, Herefordshire, St. Mary at Cirencester, and St. Austin at Bristol[3] remain, and the doubling of both St. Austin's in the Litany is decisive in favour of the last named, "þe abbeye at bristowe[4] þat of seint austin is."

Wigmore was established by Hugh de Mortimer in 1179, with a Prior and four canons from the abbey of St. Victor at Paris[5]; and from it was founded Bristol Abbey in 1148. There is considerable confusion as to the date of the dedication[6] of the abbey of St. Austin

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[1] Harl. MS. 273, in R. T. Hampson, *Medii aevi kalendarium*, London, p. 462.

[2] Anno MCCXVIII Ecclesia Cathedralis Wygornensis dedicata est vij Id. Iunij in honore Sanctae Dei Genitricis Mariae & B. Petri Apostoli & Sanctorum Confessorum Oswaldi & Wlstani (H. Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, Londini, 1691; Vol. I, p. 483). In 1404 Bp. Richard Clifford speaks of the blessed confessors, Oswald & Wlstan, our patrons (D. Wilkins, *Concilia*, London, 1737; Vol. III, p. 278).

[3] The presence of such French Saints as St. Genovefa of Paris, SS. Gencian, Fuscian and Victoric of Amiens, St. Albin of Angers, and St. Remi of Reims are explained by the Order to which the Bristol Canons belonged: while the importance attributed to St. Cadoc can be accounted for by the fact that the Abbey possessed property in the neighbourhood of Llancarvan (John Bacon, *Liber Regis*, London, 1786; pp. 1080, 1094, &c.); although Llancarvan itself belonged to Gloucester (*ibid.*, 1079). Bristol was closely connected with Wales at a very early period, as the Earls of Gloucester owned both sides of the Severn: and Welsh names are not unfrequent even before the 14th century in Bristol deeds, &c.; in the 15th they were very common, and Welshmen held public positions both civil and ecclesiastical. The fourth Abbot of Bristol was called David, and may have been a Welshman: the last there is no doubt about, as he was called Morgan Gwillm (Sir J. Maclean's edition of *The Lives of the Berkeleys.....by John Smyth of Nibley*, Gloucester, 1883–5; Vol. III, pp. 52, 54). William, Prior of St. Austin's Bristol, was consecrated Bishop of Llandaff in 1185 (*Annales Monastici*, Rolls Series, 1864–69; Vol. II, p. 244).

[4] The Metrical Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester, Rolls Series, 1887; Vol. II, p. 681.

[5] Leland must have been mistaken in describing Wigmore as "a great abbay of White Canons" (*Itinerary*, Oxford, 1769; Vol. V, p. 11), unless Victorines wore a white habit. St. Victor of Marseilles was the patron of this house and order: "Massiliae, sancti Victoris, qui.....martyrium consummauit. Pes quo aram "daemoniorum euerterat, in passione sectus, Parisijs conservatur in Basilica Sancti Victoris" (*Martyrologium Parisiense*, Parisijs, 1727; 21 July. *Cf.* Usuardi *Martyrol.* fo. 102 verso).

[6] The various accounts are as follows. (1) "In the yere of oure Lord M°.C.xlvj.to the Bisshopes of "Worcestre, Excestre, Landaff, & Seynt Asse hallowed the seide churche of Seynt Austyns. And after that, "Alurede Bisshope of Worcestre sende vj chanons fro Wigmore and brought to Seynt Austyns bi the seide "founder, on Esterday, the yere of our Lord M Cxlviij°" (*The maire of Bristowe is Kalendar*, Camden Society, 1872; p. 22, written circa 1479 by Ricart town clerk of Bristol). (2) Leland says "An°. D. 1148. 3 *Idus*

at Bristol; the evidence points to Easterday, 1148; but there seem to have been several dedications at different dates, and as the church was rebuilt in the time of Abbot Knowles (1306–1332), it most probably was rededicated again after this restoration, for the mass *Terribilis* in our MS. has no variants for lxx^{a}, xl^{a} or Easter, so that they kept the anniversary of the Dedication some time between 20th June, the last of Trinity Sunday, and 15 January, the first of Septuagesima. The MS. keeps the Feast of Relics on the 3rd Sunday after Easter (*In festo reliquiarum quod semper accidit in dominica iij post pascha*). The Chartulary of the Abbey of St. Austin Bristol[1] contains on fo. 216, *forma tenendi capitulum generale iuxta modum ordinis S^{ti} Victoris Parisiensis*, and Speed refers to the canons as Victorines.[2] The sole information as to the saints held in honour at Bristol is a short extract from the Computus Roll of 8 Henry vij, (of which the original is now destroyed), contained in a letter to the Rev. S. Seyer, from Dr. Becke, Dean of Bristol, 21 June 1821.[3] "Oblaciones. Et de "viij.s. iiij.d. receptis de oblacionibus provenientibus de pyxe coram diversis imaginibus infra "eccles' monasterij predicti existentibus. videlicet Sancti Augustini iuxta summum altare "viij^{d}. Beatae Mariae iuxta ostium boreale iiij^{d}. Sanctae Trinitatis vijs. iiijd. Appoloniae "n^{l}: Antonij nil. Sancti Erasmi nil. Et de ijd. ob. receptis de huiusmodi oblacionibus "de pyxide Sancti Clementis infra capellam S^{ti} Jordani in viridi placea ibidem.[4] Et de alijs "denarijs receptis de oblacionibus in die Epiphaniae Domini ad summum altare ecclesiae "predictae hoc anno non receptae quia nullae huiusmodi oblaciones. Nec receptae de "oblacionibus in festo purificacionis Beatae Mariae Virginis causa predicta. Nec receptae "de aliqua huiusmodi oblacione proveniente de pyxide S^{tae} Sithae Virginis hoc anno causa "predicta."

Thinking that the MS. in question was probably a book of Salisbury Use, I first of all compared it with the Burntisland reprint of the Sarum massbook, noting down the variants.

"Apr. *die videlicet Paschae, fundatio monast, S.* Augustini Bristoll, *& congregatio fratrum eiusdem per Dñm* "Robertum *filium* Hardingi *praedicti*" (*Itinerary*, Oxford, 1769; Vol. VI, p. 46. Cnf. *Collectanea* Vol. I, p. 85). (3) John Smith of Nibley (17th century) wrote, "Vpon Easter day being the then eleaventh of April, Anno "1148, in thirteenth of the sayd king [Stephan] the fower Bishops of Worcester, Exceter, Landaffe, and St. 'Asaph (thither by him assembled) consecrated, & dedicated the sayd Church & buildings, to God, and to "St. Augustine the Englishe Apostle, and inducted the Abbot & Channons." There are marginal references to *Robt de Ricart, Aug. Chart.* and others (*The Berkeley MSS. Lives of the Berkeleys*, edited by Sir J. Maclean, Gloucester, 1883; vol. i. p. 35, vol. iii. p. 52). (4) The latter page has a marginal reference to fo. 34 of the Chartulary, where are mentioned "dño R Wigorñ Epo. & B. Exoñ Epo. & N Land Epō. et B Epo. S^{ci}. "Asaph. qui pred^{m} eccle^{m} dedicauerunt (from a transcript by Rev. S. Seyer, in Bristol Museum Library, *Fragments of topographical History of Bristol*, $\frac{1061}{192. D.}$; fo. 89, sheet iiij verso). (5) Wm. Barrett (*Hist. & Antiquities...of Bristol*, Bristol, 1789; p. 250) apparently quoting Abbot Newland's MSS., gives "Simon Bishop of Worcester, Robert Bishop of Exeter, Geoffry Bishop of Llandaff, and Gilbert Bishop of St. Asaph." (6) A deed in a *Collection of Original Leases* (fol. 20) in the Bristol Museum Library gives only "Barth. ep̄c Exoñ." and "Rog̃ wigorñ ep̄c. Not only do these various accounts differ among themselves, but a reference to T. D. Hardy's edition of *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae* (Oxford, 1854; 3 vols.) shows that the bishops' names are not consistent with the dates given. Apparently there was more than one dedication in the twelfth century, as the Chartulary and the deed last quoted do not agree.

[1] Fo. 107, sheet ij verso, of Mr. Seyer's *Fragments*.

[2] John Speed, *The Historie of Great Britaine*, London, 1632; fo. 1076 verso.

[3] *Penes* Mrs. Nicholas Pocock. The original Computus Rolls perished during the Riots in 1831.

[4] S. *Augustines*, Blak Chanons extra moenia; *ibique in magna area sacellum, in quo sepultus est S.* Jordanus, *unus ex discipulis* Augustini Anglorum *apostoli* (Leland, *Itinerary*, Oxford, 1769; Vol. V, p. 64). This is all that seems to be known about this Saint. He is possibly mythical.

This soon showed one that the MS. was not of that use, and further collation with the York and Hereford missals failed to assign it to either of those uses. The fact of *In principio erat verbum* being the gospel for Trinity Sunday made one think it might be a Paris book,[1] or rather, of Paris Use, but the appearance of Fasciculus iii, of Dr. W. Legg's valuable edition of the Westminster massbook[2] showed that this was not the case, and also enabled one to compare the MS. with many other English and foreign rites; to none of which, however, can it be satisfactorily referred. Some months later Dr. Legg, hearing that the MS. might be referred to a house of Black Canons of the Order of St. Victor, drew my attention to the printed massbook of the Abbey of St. Victor of Paris which is in the British Museum.[3] Dr. Legg then kindly compared a few of the masses for me with those in that book, and found a close agreement. This suggested that a complete collation of the two massbooks would be desirable, which accordingly was made: at the same time comparing it less closely, with the Premonstratensian missal,[4] and to a small extent only, owing to want of time, with the MS. massbook that formerly belonged to the Abbey of St. Thomas the Martyr in Dublin,[5] which was also a Victorine house.

The British MS. and St. Victor massbook are in general agreement: and the differences are small and on the whole, unimportant. Both books belong to the Gregorian group of massbooks[6]: but the MS. has not invariably the Gregorian mass collects. Thus the three mass collects *in die passionis sancti thome martiris* agree with Sarum and not with St. Victor.[7] On the 24th Sunday after Trinity we have *Absolue quesumus* as the collect agreeing with Sarum and others, but not with St. Victor. On the Feast of Relics the collect is *Propiciare nobis* as at Hereford, Abingdon, Coutances and the Premonstratensian book, but the secret and postcommunion are both Sarum, and not as St. Victor or the White Canons.

On the Thursday after *Letare* the Bristol MS. agrees with York, Robert of Jumièges, &c., in the collect *Presta quesumus domine ut salutaribus*, but not with St. Victor, or the Premonstratensians.

On the 24th Sunday after Trinity none of the three mass collects agree with either St. Victor or the White Canons: the collect, we have seen, agrees with Sarum; the secret is *Pro nostre seruitutis* as at York, &c.; and the postcommunion is *Quesumus omnipotens deus ut quos diuina tribuis*, which does not seem to appear elsewhere on this day. On the 25th Sunday after Trinity the collect *Omnipotens sempiterne deus misericordiam tuam ostende*,

[1] *Notice Historique sur les rites de l'eglise de Paris*, par un Prêtre du diocèse, Paris, 1846; p. 13.

[2] *Missale ad usum Ecclesie Westmonasteriensis*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 1897. Where any other massbook than Sarum, Hereford, York, Dublin, St. Victor, Prémontré, and Paris is mentioned in these notes, it is to Dr. W. Legg's collations that I have referred: but for these I have referred to the works themselves, in the editions or MSS. mentioned.

[3] *Missale Canonicorum Regularium ordinis Sancti Augustini secundum ritum insignis ecclesie Sancti Victoris ad muros Parisienses*, Victorum genus optimum, Nicolaus Prénost, Venundantur in vico Sancti Iacobi sub imagine Sancti Georgii ubi et impressum, Parisijs, 1529.

[4] *Missale secundum ritum et ordinem sacri ordinis Premonstratensis*, Parisijs, apud Iacobum Kerner, 1588. The comparison was sufficient to show considerable disagreement.

[5] British Museum, MS. 24, 198, Plut. cclxviij E.

[6] Dr. Wickham Legg in *Missale ad usum Ecclesie Westmonasteriensis*, Henry Bradshaw Society 1891–97; fasc. iii, p. 1418.

[7] In the Dublin MS. the collect is *Deus qui beatum thomam pontificem in gremio matris ecclesie palma martirij consecrasti*.....; Secret, *Salutaris immolatio quesumus domine nos mundet*.....; and Postcommunion, *Presta quesumus domine supplicibus tuis ut qui gloriosi martiris*.....; fo. 31 verso.

and secret *Sacrificijs presentibus*, and postcommunion *Quesumus omnipotens deus ut illius salutaris*: these three are found at St. Victor on the 26th Sunday, and for the 25th we find the three Bristol mass collects for the 24th. Unlike many Gregorian massbooks the Bristol MS. has a prayer *super populum* for the Sabbath before the 2nd Sunday in Lent, *Ab omnibus nos quesumus domine peccatis*, like St. Victor, Paris, and Westminster. The collects for Whitsuntide Ember Wednesday are (i). *Omnipotens et misericors deus apta nos*, (ii) *Mentes nostras*, the latter agreeing with Sarum.

On the 5th Sunday after the Epiphany, Bristol, St. Victor, and the White Canons have the three following prayers, Collect *Conserua populum tuum Deus et tuo*, Secret *Hec nos oblacio*, and Postcommunion *Celestibus domine parti delicijs*, which are the Gregorian collects for the 6th Sunday. On Rogation Tuesday, Bristol and St. Victor (but not the Premonstratensians) agree in giving a Collect *Deus qui nos conspicis in tot perturbacionibus*, Secret *His sacrificijs domine concede placatus*, and Postcommunion *Purifica quesumus domine per hec sancta*, which do not seem to occur elsewhere on this day. One may notice that Bristol reads *Purificet* in the postcommunion of 13th Sunday after Trinity, where St. Victor had *Uiuificet*. At the anniversary of the Dedication the Postcommunion is *Deus qui ecclesiam*; and both St. Victor and Bristol agree with the Hereford version of this prayer. Prémontré has this in the text, but *Deus qui de uiuis et celestibus* (Paris and Coutances) written over it.

On the feast of SS. Fabian and Sebastian we have two prayers under one *Per dominum* in all three collects, as at St. Victor and York, and in Robert of Jumièges. The mass for St. Wlstan is not the same as at Hereford, Sarum, or Westminster; nor does that for St. Milburg agree with Hereford, Westminster, Sherborne, or Tewesbury. The collect for St. Ambrose agrees with Sarum and the Black Friars, and not with St. Victor,[1] or Paris. The three collects for St. Genovefa are also found at Paris and at St. Victor. Agreement with St. Victor is also to be seen in the vigil mass for Candlemass. On the other hand the collects for SS. Gencian, Fuscian, and Victoric do not agree with those in St. Victor[1]: the same is true of the collects for St. Scholastica,[1] and the secret and postcommunion for St. Gregory. The whole mass for St. Cadoc will be found in the appendix to this paper.

The Scripture lessons in the Bristol massbook agree in the majority of cases with those in St. Victor.

On the 4th Sunday after the octaves of the Epiphany, however, the Bristol gospel is *Ascendente ih'u in nauiculam*, while St. Victor gives *Confiteor tibi pater domine celi*. On Low Sunday St. Victor gives two masses, *Resurrexi*, which has a prose, and *Quasimodo*, which is without one: both were said on Sunday, for the rubric orders the Gospel *Cum esset sero die illo* to be said entire on the Sunday, but on other days to be divided at *Thomas unus ex duodecim* into two parts which are to be said alternately: there is no division in the Bristol book, and *Quasimodo* is the only mass provided for Low Sunday. On the second Sunday in Lent the gospel is *Post dies sex assumit Ihesus*, at Bristol and St. Victor, differing from Paris, Prémontré and the other uses. On Trinity Sunday the gospel is *In principio erat uerbum*, found also at Paris and St. Victor: at St. Thomas Dublin, *In principio* as at the third mass on Christmas day, is given and followed by another, *Cum uenerit Paraclitus*.[2]

[1] That is to say, the collect does not agree, and Bristol adds—Secret & Postcommunion of the common.

[2] Brit. Mus. MS. 24198, fo. 55. The White Canons have *Erat homo ex phariseis Nicodemus*, for the Gospel on Trinity Sunday.

The epistle is *Uidi hostium* at Bristol, St. Victor, Dublin, Sarum and most uses, but not Paris.

The ferial lessons in Epiphany-tide and Trinity-tide are mostly the same as at St. Victor and Hereford: but those at the former season are anticipated by a week (compared with Hereford), owing to Bristol and St. Victor, like most other uses, having *In excelso throno* as the mass for Sunday within the octaves of the Epiphany, instead of for the Sunday after the octaves. Bristol gives gospels for both Wednesday and Friday after *In excelso*, which St. Victor omits. Both Bristol and St. Victor give *Egressus Ihesus abijt in patriam suam* as the gospel for Wednesday after *Adorate Deum* with the collect *Omnipotens sempiterne Deus infirmitatem*, and not the Hereford gospel.

After the mass of the Epiphany comes *In crastino epiphanie si dominica non fuerit aa missam omnia sicut in die preter euangelium quod erit Secundum Johannem* Uidit iohannes, &c., as at Sarum, Hereford, &c., for Sunday within the octaves. St. Victor agrees but gives the mass in full, with *Gloria in excelsis*, but no prose. Bristol does not give any ferial lessons for Eastertide, like Hereford and St. Victor, nor any mass for Friday after the octave of Ascension Day, as in the latter. The epistle for Wednesday after *Deus Omnium* is *Non regnet peccatum in nostro mortali corpore* which differs from St. Victor, Sarum, Hereford, York, and the White Canons; and on Friday it is *Omnes uos filij lucis estis*, which does not seem to appear elsewhere. On Thursdays in Lent we have the Paris gospels, as at St. Victor, but not agreeing with the Premonstratensians.

On the Sabbath before Palm Sunday Bristol agrees with St. Victor and Paris in the Gospel *Subleuatis ihesus oculis in celum et dixit* (S. John xvii, 1–26). On the Anniversary of the Dedication the gospel is *Non est arbor bona que facit fructos malos*, which is also found in St. Victor, Paris and the White Monks; but the White Canons have *Ingressus ihesus peramulabat hierico*. Bristol gives this rubric also: *Per octauas dedicacionis. Ad missam. officium. oratio. graduale.* Alleluia. *Offertorium. Secreta. Communio. et postcommunio. sicut in die. sed epistola et euangelium quotidie uariantur. nam prima die dicatur. Epistola.* Uidi ciuitatem *et euangelium* Non est arbor bona. *ut supra in die. Et secunda die dicantur epistola.* Unusquisque propriam mercedem accipiet. *et euangelium.* Egressus ihesus perambulabat iericho. *ut postea scribuntur. Et tercia die dicantur epistola.* Stetit Salomon ante altare. *et euangelium.* ffacta sunt encaenia. *ut postea scribuntur et sic singillatim debent epistola et euangelium uariari quotidie per totas octauas.* St. Victor states that all is done during the octaves as on the day, but the Prose is not said; it gives the same three gospels, but without any epistles to be said with them: and also a mass for the Sunday within the octaves, and for the octave day. In the Sanctorale, St. Victor and Bristol agree in most instances: but the Epistle for St. Vitalis, and the gospel on "Agnetis secundo" and St. Lucy are different in the two uses.

Coming to the anthems, on St. Thomas the Martyr the office and psalm are *Gaudeamus omnes.....Exaudi deus orationem.....*agreeing with Sarum but not St. Victor: on the Feast of Relics the office is *Sapienciam sanctorum* as at Sarum, York, and Westminster, but not Paris or St. Victor. On Thursday in Whitsunweek Bristol and Paris give *Repleatur os meum.....* Ps. *In te domine speraui*, disagreeing with St. Victor and the Norbertians.

The grails show the greatest alliance with the Paris rite, and in most cases they agree with St. Victor. On *Reminiscere* instead of a grail there is a tract *De necessitatibus*, with a second tract *Confitemini domino.* The second ℣ on the second Sunday after Easter is *Surrexit christus et illuxit populo* disagreeing with Paris, St. Victor, and the White Canons.

On Rogation Sunday Bristol has *Angelus domini descendit. . . . Christus resurgens ex mortuis. . .*, differing from both St. Victor and the Norbertians. The grail for the morrowmass of Whitsunday is *Veni Sancte spiritus* at Bristol, and *Emitte spiritum tuum* at St. Victor: there is none in the Premonstratensian massbook. During the week there is only one ℣ to the Alleluia, as at St. Victor and Paris, and agreeing in general with them: but on Thursday Bristol and Paris have *ffactus est repente de celo*, where St. Victor has *Veni sancte spiritus reple*, and on Friday Bristol has *Emitte spiritum tuum*, and St. Victor *Factus est repente de celo.* St. Victor and the Premonstratensian book give *Benedictus es domine deus* as the morrowmass grail on Trinity Sunday, while Bristol gives none at all. On the eleventh Sunday after Trinity the Bristol grail has an extra verse *Preoccupemus faciem eius*, not given in St. Victor. On Wednesday in Holy Week both Bristol and St. Victor have two tracts, *Domine exaudi orationem*, Bristol adding "Alius tractus in medio dicitur," and St. Victor giving *Domine non secundum.*

In the Sanctorale one may notice that the grail for St. Thomas the Apostle is *In omnem terram Perviamus*, which disagrees with St. Victor: and the first Alleluia for the feast of the Annunciation falling in Eastertide is *℣. Per te dei genitrix nobis est uita perdita data que de celo suscepisti prolem et mundo genuisti saluatorem.* This differs from St. Victor and elsewhere.

The offertory and Communion anthems do not require much notice. There are certain offertories in Bristol that have the first phrase repeated again; and this reduplication appears also in the St. Victor and Norbertian books. The days are: 1st Sunday after Epiphany; Quinquagesima Sunday; Thursday after *Reminiscere*; Monday after *Letare*; 3rd Sunday after Easter; and the 12th Sunday after Trinity. On the Sabbath before Palm Sunday the offertory *Benedictus es doce me* agrees with the White Canons and others, but not with St. Victor: and on Whitsun-thursday the offertory, *Lauda anima mea*, and communion, *Spiritus ubi uult*, are only found elsewhere at Paris, and not at St. Victor. On the feast of St. Thomas M. the offertory and Communion are the same as at Sarum, and not at St. Victor; while Bristol gives *Sacerdotes incensum domini* for the Corpus Christi offertory instead of *Sicut uiuens misit me pater*, found at St. Victor.

Such of the sequences as I have not been able to find elsewhere will be found in the appendix to this paper, together with a complete list of all the sequences in the Bristol book. It will be seen on looking through it that, with one or two exceptions, they are all found in the Sarum massbook. In the majority of cases St. Victor and Bristol differ as to the sequence for any particular day. It is not necessary to say more than that for Relics Sunday we have *Christo inclito candida*, as at Sarum for All Saints' Day; on Trinity Sunday it is *Benedicta semper sit trinitas deitas scilicet coequalis*, which agrees with the White Canons, Coutances, &c., but not with St. Victor; on Lady day it is *Missus gabriel de celis*, as at Westminster: and on Holy Cross day St. Victor, Paris, Sherborne, Rouen, Coutances, and the Premonstratensians unite with Bristol in having *Laudes crucis attollamus.* On St. Silvester's Day the Christmas *Nato canunt omnia* is sung.

Bristol gives a ferial as well as a dominical mass for the vacant day in the Christmas octaves. St. Victor and Prémontré give only one mass.

There are no forms for blessing Candles, Ashes, or Palms; at St. Victor they were hallowed with only one orison.

With regard to the Passions the rubric on Palm Sunday is "*Nota quod in omnibus "passionibus non dicitur.* Dominus Vobiscum. *neque* Gloria tibi domine": and after *Emisit*

Spiritum, or the like in the other Passions, is "*Hic dicetur.* Pater noster", and nothing more. St. Victor merely gives *Prostratio.* There is no form for the Reconciliation or Washings on Maundy Thursday, and there are no directions for Reservation for the morrow. The rubrics of the Good Friday service will be found in the appendix: in the main they agree with St. Victor. We may notice that the cross is uncovered by one action only, and the creeping with bare feet takes place *before* the *Corpus Domini* is placed on the altar; also that there is no direction for the ministers to "steal" the altar-cloths, as in many rites, at *Partiti sunt vestimenta.*[1] A peculiar feature in the Bristol service is the recitation of a collect *Respice quesumus domine* before the *Confiteor* and after the Cross was replaced: the same collect appears in St. Victor, but *before* the Cross is replaced; the Lyons massbook of 1524 gives a different collect, *Deus qui Unigeniti*, also after the reposition of the Cross, which still appears in the *Missale Romano—Lugdunense*, Paris and Lyons, 1866. The only other massbook in which the former collect appears in such a position is that contained in the Book of Common Prayer, when it is the first of three appointed for Good Friday. There is no form given for blessing New Fire, Easter Even commencing with *post benedictionem noui ignis sequitur benedictio cerei*, followed by *Exultet*, noted in full. The melody is similar to that in St. Victor, quite different to the Sarum and other uses, and the wording agrees with St. Victor. There is no form for blessing the Fonts, and apparently this rite did not obtain at Bristol on this day, and certainly not on Whitsuneve, where we have the rubric "*Et mediate post letania incipiatur missa. sic.* Kyrie." &c.[2]

The anthem to *Laudate* at Evensong of Easter Even is *Alleluia. quoniam in eternum. Alleluia. misericordia eius. Alleluia. Alleluia*, as at St. Victor.

The Ordo and Canon of the Mass are placed after Easter Even. The usual farses for feasts of our Lady are given in *Gloria in excelsis* and *Benedictus.* The *Kyries*, intonations to Gloria and Credo, and the prefaces are all noted: Pater noster is noted f. g. a. a., &c., instead of g. a. h. h., &c. There are no rubrics to the canon, except to note that *Amen* is not said after *Nobis quoque.* After *Hec sacrosancta commixtio* (which has no cross) come:

Domine sancte pater omnipotens eterne deus.....(*Missale Sarum* Burntisland, 1861–83; col. 624. No mention of giving the Pax here, as there is at St. Victor).

Deus pater fons et origo tocius...(*Miss. Sar.* col. 625).

Domine ihesu christe fili dei viui.....(*ibid*).

Corpus domini nostri ihesu christi michi indigno maneat ad salutem et proficiat ad remedium in vitam eternam. Amen.

Corpus et sanguis domini nostri ihesu christi (&c. as before).

Quod ore sumpsimus .....(*Miss. Sar.* col. 627).

Placeat tibi.....sit te miserante propiciabile in vitam eternam. Amen.

St. Victor differs in many respects from this, adding *In principio* and other devotions.

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[1] *more furum, ad modum furentis.* See Martène, *De Antiq. Eccl. Rit.* Lib. iv: cap. xxiij: art. xxvij: Antwerp, 1736; tom. iii, col. 372, 373, 375, 379, 381, 383. G. J. Aungier, *History and Antiquities of Syon Monastery*, London, 1840; p. 350.

[2] No service appears at St. Victor, but in the adaptation of the Victorine Statutes given in the appendix to Martène, *op. cit.* tom. iii, col. 739, *aquam ad fontes* appears amongst the things provided by the sacrist (cap. xxij). "Fratres mendicantes. & canonici regulares. habent consecrationem fontium" (*Tracts of Clement Maydeston*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 1894; p. 34).

One does not come across the names of any Victorine abbots or priors in the accounts of General Chapters of Austin Canons, given in Cotton MS. Vespasian D. i. fo. 41 verso sq., covering a period from 1325 to 1404; and the Chartulary of St. Austin's, as we have seen, shows that the Bristol Canons kept General Chapter according to the fashion of the order of St. Victor of Paris: this, taken with the similarity of the Victorine books suggests that this sort of canons kept to themselves, and did not come under the rules governing the ordinary variety.

Archbishop Melton of York[1] ordered the canons regular of the order of St. Austin to follow the use of the Church of York in his province in 1323; while the clergy who served God in the Oratory of the Holy Trinity at Barton, Isle of Wight, kept the rule of St. Austin, and followed Sarum Use.[2]

In conclusion, I must thank both Mr. Dewick and Dr. Wickham Legg for much help at all times in connection with the preparation of this paper, and in the localization of the mass-book.

APPENDIX.

In die sancti iohannis euangeliste (fo. 2*b*).

Sequencia.—Assit christus sanctorum gloria.
Panis viuus nostra victoria.
Verus doctor et salus hominum.
Vt nos purget a mole criminum.
Eius namque pia solennia.
colit gaudens mater ecclesia.
Qui ad nutum superni numinis
custos fuit marie uirginis.
Hic dilectus pre ceteris fuit a dei filio.
Supra pectus saluatoris dormiuit in conuiuio.
Fluenta sapiencie bibit ibi cum gaudio.
Ad extirpandas hereses euangelico gladio.
Nam iohannes pre alijs heresiarchas destruit.
In signis et uirtutibus mirabilis apparuit.
Drusianam morte uictam coram multis suscitauit.
Templum miro modo factum cum diana prece strauit.
Viros veneno perditos sospitati restituit.
Venenum feruens oleum letus bibit sustinuit.
Saxa geminas uirgas aurum fecit uirgo miras mirum.
Aurum geminas in antiquam reformauit genituram.
Geminas ualde preciosas fractas ob uanam gloriam.
Reddidit sanctus integras per ihesu christi graciam.
Per hec et hijs similia
conuertit multa milia.

[1] *The Priory of Hexham*, Surtees Society, 1864, vol. i, Appx., p. lxix, no. xlix.
[2] *Archaeologia*, 1800; vol. lij, pp. 207, 301

Quos celesti pane pauit
sacrosancto fonte lauit.
Cum in bona senectute uir sanctus pre viueret.
Ostendit dux fidelium apostolo quid faceret.
Dixit ad eum dominus paratum est conuiuium.
Expectat te tripudians festiua grex sodalium.
Mira plenus leticia visa magistri facie.
Viuus intrauit foueam laudando regem glorie.
Fidelis colat populus inauditas exequias.
Vt in dei conuiuio cum sanctis reddat gracias. Amen.

In die passionis sancti thome martiris (fo. 4).[1]

Ad honorem summi regis
defensorem sue legis
collaudet ecclesia.
Post tenebras et merorem
fit in plausum et splendorem
thome tollerancia.
Hunc natale uerbi dei
cuius uerbum causa rei
misit ad supplicia.
Feruet feruor militaris
sacro gradu sacris aris
non arcetur framea.
Cum nascente christo seratus
ornunt festa tanti status
sanguinis in laurea.
Stephano concoronatus
cum iohanne christo gratus
innocentum assecla.
Fraus et uirtus conflixere
spine rosam construere
ius pressit iniuria.
Sed iam pressis que pressere
transit hiemps orto uere
uernat signis anglia.
Est asilum hic salutis
claudis cecis surdis mutis
thome sanctimonia.
Lesos leuit et languentes
procul suos et presentes
martiris memoria.

[1] A shorter form of this sequence is found in *Missale Halberstattense*, 1511, and has been reprinted by Kehrein in *Lateinische Sequenzen des Mittelalters*, Mainz, 1873, p. 493.

Febris fugit uirus cedit
lepra sordens sospes redit
thome per suffragia.
Hij insomnes hij sopiti
sancti signis insigniti
reportant remedia.
Erubesce pars aduersa
que mersisti iam emersa
clare micant lumina.
Rode liuor et irrita
oleum ne uatet ita
nulla cogent flumina.
Pastor morum flos pastorum
spes anglorum crux errorum
zeli dei uictima.
Pestes pelle ius acerua
clerum rege plebem serua
in pace catholica.
Hoc det eius clemencia
thoma per tua merita
cum quo regnas in secula. Amen.

*fferia. vj*ª. *In parasceue.* (fo. 62*b*).

Dum legitur leccio. In tribulacione sua. *Sacerdos veniat ad altare et. inclinet. sed non dicat.* Confiteor. *Post leccionem dicto tractu sequitur. oratio.* Deus a quo et iudas. *sine.* Dominus vobiscum. *Pretermisso.* Oremus. *et.* fflectamus genua. *Deinde legatur leccio alia cum tractu sequente. Deinde passio post passionem dicuntur orationes solennes sicut* [*blank*] *sunt. Completis uero orationibus abbas deponat casulam et se discalciet in sanctuario. ministris et alijs se discalciantibus. Deinde cum omnibus stantibus dictum fuerit.* Populeus. *cum.* Agyos. *Per ter. abbas de manu sacerdotum crucem inuolutam accipiens et detegens imponat antiphonam.* Ecce lignum. *Cum autem percantata fuerit antiphona. duo sacerdotes tunc primum de abbate et accipientes crucem eam deponat. ubi adoranda est primum de abbate. deinde sicut solet. Adorata cruce: sacerdotes tradant eam abbati contra medium altaris stanti. Quam abbas imponens baculo sibi tradito ibidem imponat. Antiphona.* Super omnia ligna. *et cruce data sacriste ut in locum suum statuatur: dicit abbas. oratio.* Respice quesumus domine. *Postea abbas se calciet cum ministris*[1] *et sumpta casula ueniens cum illis ante altare dicat.* Confiteor. *sicut solet. Et cum ad altare uenerit. vino et aqua calice infusis sicut solet a ministris: ipse corpus domini ab eis suscipiens super corporalia displicata sicut solet et thurificet. Postea nichil dicat abbas tunc nisi.* Pater noster. *pretermisso.* Oremus Preceptis salutaribus moniti. *Et illud submissa voce decantet. Cumque chorus responderit.* Sed libera. *ipse dicat.* Libera nos quesumus. etcetera. *Et cum ad chorum iterum dixerit submissa uoce.* Per omnia secula seculorum. *et chorus responderit.* Amen. *utatur et tractet corpus sicut solet. nichil omnino dicens quoniam nec.* Pax domini. *nec.* Agnus dei. *dicetur. Et cum communicauerit. ad piscinam abluat digitos suos. Unde uersus ante altare breuiter oret. et post in uestiarium cum ministris ueniens sese disuestiat.*

[1] The corresponding part of the rubric in the St. Victor massbook is "*Abbas uero acceptam crucem baculo infigens deinde ipsam baculam cum cruce sursum erigens incipit antiphonam.* Super omnia ligna..... *Dominus abbas adhuc crucem tenens dicit orationem sequentem.* Oremus. Respice quesumus.....*Oratione finita sacrista de manu abbatis crucem accipiens statuit eam in loco suo. Postea uero abbas et ministri recalcient se,*" &c.

In festo sancti cadoci confessoris non episcopi. (*fo.* 146.)

Ad missam officium. Os iusti.

Oracio. Concede quesumus omnipotens deus. ut beati cadoci confessoris tui frequentata ueneracio ad perpetuam populo tuo perficiat salutem. et quem sepius ueneramur in terris eum semper habeamus patrocinum in celis. Per dominum.

Epistola. Justum deduxit do.

Graduale. Os iusti. *Si ante septuagesima.* Alleluia. ℣. Os iusti.

Sequencia.—Clangor sanctus nunc resultet
in sanctorum cordibus.
Sancta clangat et exultet
mentis. puris fidibus.

Confessores uenerentur
in hac die dominum.
Qua cadocus ex caducis
est assumptus hominum.

Sidus nouum ornat celos
in sanctorum gloria.
Noue laudis nouos melos
noua det memoria.

Adhuc uiuens dum uir sanctus
teneret presencia.
Vita fuit admirandus
in signorum gracia.

Gratus deo gratus mundo
graciosus omnibus.
Nulli nocens recta docens
uixit in hominibus.

Vincens carnem uincens mundum
omne uincens noxium.
Superauit et calcauit
uictor omne uicium.

In talentis seruus prudens
sic negociatus.
Audit euge serue bone
celo muneratus.

Eius ergo precibus
sanctis iungat ciuibus
nos christi confessor.
Nostre laudis munera
plena sumens gracia
uere intercessor.
Infera et supera dulce cantent alleluia. Amen.

Si in septuagesima. Tractus. Beatus uir.

Euangelium. Nemo accendit.

Offertorium. Desiderium.

Secreta. Letantes domine gloriosa beati cadoci memoria uenerandum munus offerimus. tribue quesumus. ut eius obtenta cuius merita recolimus. subsidia nobis multiplicata senciamus. Per dominum.

Communio. Beatus seruus.

Postcommunio. Recollentes domine sancti cadoci confessoris tui ueneracionem misteria diuina percepimus. quibus illum ad ueram beatitudinem peruenisse predicamus. et per eum nobis indulgenciam donari postulamus. Per dominum.

List of sequences in the Bristol Massbook.

1. *Christe hodierna celebremus natalicia,* (S. 74): for third mass of Christmas day.
2. *Magnus deus in uniuersa terra* (S. 63): for St. Stephan M.
3. *Assit christus sanctorum gloria*: for St. John at Christmastide.
4. *Celsa pueri concrepent melodia* (S. 69): for Childermas.
5. *Ad honorem summi regis*: for St. Thomas M.
6. *Nato canunt omnia* (S. 52): for the sixth day after Christmas, whether Sunday or no; and for St. Silvester.
7. *Eya recolamus laudibus pijs digna* (S. 77): for the Circumcision.
8. *Epiphaniam domino canamus gloriosam* (S. 85): for the Epiphany, Sunday within the octaves, and the octave day, apparently also on the morrow after the feast.
9. *Prome casta concio* (S. 368): for Tuesday and Friday in Easterweek.
10. *Uictime paschali laudes* (S. 377): for Wednesday and Saturday in Easterweek, Low Sunday; second, fourth and fifth Sundays after Easter.
11. *Christo inclito candida nostra canunt* (S. 954): for Relics Sunday.
12. *Rex omnipotens die hodierna* (S. 413): for Ascension day, Sunday within the octaves, and the octave day.
13. *Sancti spiritus assit nobis gracia* (S. 426): for Whitsunday.
14. *Almiphona iam gaudia* (W. 367): for Monday and Thursday in Whitsunweek.
15. *Alma chorus domini* (S. 439): for Tuesday and Friday in Whitsunweek.
16. *Laudes deo deuotas* (S. 442): for Wednesday and Saturday in Whitsunweek.
17. *Benedicta semper sancta sit trinitas deitas scilicet* (S. 843): for Trinity Sunday; apparently not through the octaves.
18. *Lauda syon saluatorem* (S. 457): for Corpus Christi.
19. *Clara chorus dulce pangat nunc uoce alleluia*: In both the massbook of St. Victor at Paris, and of the Premonstratensians: for the Dedication.
20. *Sacrosancta hodierna festiuitatis preconia* (S. 660): for St. Andrew.
21. *Congaudentes exultemus uocali concordia* (S. 665): for St. Nicholas.
22. *Clare sanctorum* (S. 661*): for St. Thomas, Ap.; Conversion of St. Paul; and SS. Philip and Jacob.
23. *Clangor sanctus nunc resultet*: for St. Cadoc, Conf. not Bp.
24. *Hac clara die turma festiua dat preconia* (S. 704): for Candlemas.
25. *Missus gabriel de celis* (S. 763*): for the Annunciation.
26. *Laudes crucis attollamus* (S. 902): for the Invention of the Holy Cross.

Explanation of Signs.

S=*Missale ad usum insignis et praeclarae ecclesiae Sarum,* labore ac studio F. H. Dickinson, A.M., Burntisland, e prelo de Pitsligo, Oxford and London, 1861–1883.

W=*Missale ad usum ecclesie Westmonasteriensis,* nunc primum typis mandatum curante Iohanne Wickham Legg, Henry Bradshaw Society, 1891–1897.

NOTES ON A MANUSCRIPT SARUM MISSAL IN THE BRISTOL MUSEUM.

BY

E. G. CUTHBERT F. ATCHLEY.

This massbook consists of three hundred and twenty-six leaves of vellum, 235 mm. by 160 mm., and is written in double columns of thirty-one lines each; it is made up in quires of eight leaves. The authorities at the British Museum date it at *circa* 1450.

Fo. 1 commences with part of the rubric before Advent Sunday, "pentecostes. tunc autem dalmatica & tunica induantur. Per reliquum vero tempus tocius anni dalmaticis" etc. Leaves are lost between the following folios: 2–3, 3–4, 20–1, 145–6, 162–3, 175–6, 213–4 (216–7), 217–8, 230–1, 231–2 (239–40), (244–5), (250–1), 262–3, 265–6, 319–20, 321–2, and from 326 onwards. The brackets indicate that the leaf has been cut out since the book was bound.

There are the ordines *ad catechuminum faciendum* and *ad facienda sponsalia* and fragments of the service for Visitation of the Sick and the Burial Service.

On fo. 70 *verso*, lengthways along the outer margin and partly cut away is "Johannes Maunot [?] est nomen Meus," and at the head of fo. 74 *verso* "By me Thom." "by me John fort." The V-partite Litany (ff. 117 *verso sq.*) is very irregular; it seems to be the Sarum Litany for Mondays in Lent, but the scribe has well blundered in several places.

Comparison with the Burntisland reprint of *Missale Sarum* shows a great number of verbal variations from the text given there, a large proportion of which are in accord with the printed edition of 1498, although many disagree. The secret in the MS. for the Second Sunday after the octaves of the Epiphany (fo. 26) is [1]*Placare domine sacrificio singulari*, with the readings *celerius* and *consiliet* for *clerius* and *conciliet*.[2] On the next Sunday two versicles are added to the Offertory (fo. 28), *In tribulacione inuocani dominum* and *Impulsus versatus sum ut caderem.*

The long rubric (fo. 30 *verso*) and after *Credo in unum Deum* orders the deacon to offer the Text to the celebrant to kiss while the choir are singing the Creed; then the priest says *Dominus vobiscum* and the Offertory; after which the chalice and paten, etc., are set on the altar; the offering is made with *Suscipe sancta trinitas*, and censed with the verse *Dirigatur domine.* Then the priest and choir are censed and kiss the Text. The rubric next goes on, "Post *Credo in unum* dicat sacerdos *Dominus vobiscum* conversus ad populum et *Oremus*, et offertorium"; so that the Creed and Offertory are overlapped, and *Dominus vobiscum* and the Offertory appear to be said twice.

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[1] See Dr. J. Wickham Legg, *Missale ad usum ecclesie Westmonasteriensis*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 1897 fasc. iij, p. 1456.

[2] *Missale ad usum insignis et præclaræ ecclesiæ Sarum*, Burntisland, 1861–1883; col. 97, note c.

The first *Memento* in the canon (fo. 137) reads, "Et omnium circumstancium atque omnium fidelium christianorum quorum," etc., like the Manual of 1554.[1]

The rubrics at the elevations are: "Post hec verba inclinet se sacerdos ad hostiam et postea eleuet eam supra caput suum ut possit videri a populo et reuerenter reponat ante calicem in modo crucis per eandem facte. et tunc discooperiat calicem et teneat inter manus suas dicens sic." And for the chalice: "Hic eleuet calicem et depositum illum. friget digitos suos ultra propter micas et cooperiat calicem."

At the ablutions the rubrics are: "Hic sumat sanguinem quo sumpto eat ad dextrum cornu altaris et sumat calicem inter manus suas ad huc digitis coniunctis sicut prius quo facto accedat minister et effundat in calicem vinum vel aquam et si necesse fuerit vt iterum celebret nichil de effusione percipiat sed reseruetur usque ad secundam missam. vel in sacrario ponatur post primam infusionem dicitur hec Oracio. *Quod ore* . . . Hic infundetur de vino a subdiacono super digitos sacerdotis in concauitate calicis quo hausto dicit oratio. *Hec nos communio* . . . Hic infundat subdiaconus aquam in calicem qua hausta eat sacerdos in medio altaris et inclinet se et dicit cum magna reuerencia respiciendo crucem oratio. *Gracias tibi ago* . . . Hic lauet manus in sacrario ita dicens. *Lauabo inter innocentes* . . . *tuum domine.* quibus lotis redeat ad dextrum cornu altaris et dicit Communio."

The following mass of St. Winefrid is written in a different hand from the rest of the book, and the initials are in red only and not in gold and colours like the others. It comes immediately after the mass *In reconciliacione ecclesie*, on fo. 213, ending on the second column of the verso of the same, the rest of it being blank.

"*De sancta Wenefreda Virginis officium.*[2]

Gaudeamus omnes in domino diem festum celebrantes sub honore sancte Wenefrede virginis de cuius passione gaudent angeli et collaudant filium dei. ℣. Eructauit cor meum uerbum bonum: dico ego opera mea regi.

Oracio.

Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui beatam wenefredam virginitatis et martirij premio decorasti: fac quesumus eius intercessione mundi huius blandimenta postponere et cum ipsa perhennis sedem glorie obtinere. Per dominum nostrum.

Epistola.

Domine deus meus exaltasti super terram.

Graduale

Dilexisti iusticiam et odisti iniquitatem. ℣. Propterea vnxit te deus deus tuus oleo leticie.

Alleluya. ℣. Hodie beata uirgo wenefreda cum triumpho martirij celos pecijt hodie christum uidere meruit quem dilexit.

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[1] *Missale Sarum*, col. 614, note f.

[2] The mass of St. Winefrid varies in the printed editions of the *Sarum Missal.* Many of the liturgical forms in the Bristol MS. agree with those of the printed editions of 1494, 1497 and 1498, but the sequence appears to be peculiar to the MS. (*Missale Sarum*, col. 959, note *c*).

Sequencia.

Salue uirgo decollata
post mortem resussitata
bennoi[1] munimine.
Que ter quinque uiuens annis
regularibus sub pannis
claustrali regimine.
Ubi caput reclinauit
fons ibidem emanauit
sed absque miniculo.
Cruentati sunt lapilli
nec albari possunt illi
qui iacent fonticulo.
Jn quo quicquid deponetur
hinc diuina vi uehetur
ad bennoi cellulam.
Sed non puppi seu carina
solum per freta marina
seu patet per insulam.
Wenefreda uirgo grata
soli deo consecrata
clemens reconcilia.
Nos qui mundo conuersamur
ut cum sanctis mereamur
esse celi curia. Amen.

Evangelium.

Simile est regnum celorum thesauro abscondito in agro.

Offertorium.

Offerentur regi uirgines proxime eius offerentur tibi in leticia et exultacione adducentur in templum regi domino.

Secreta.

Oblata domine munera tue magestatis uirtute sanctifica et beate uirginis et martiris tue wenefrede meritis salutaria nobis esse concede. Per.

Communio.

Diffusa est gracia in labijs tuis propterea benedixit te deus ineternum.

Postcommunio.

Perceptis domine sacramentis te suppliciter imploramus ut que in ueneracione beate uirginis et martiris tue wenefrede. tibi deuote obtulimus gaudia nobis conferant sempiterna Per dominum.

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[1] St. Beuno was the spiritual adviser of St. Winefrid. The various allusions in this sequence find their explanation in "the Lyf of Saynt Wenefryde" in Caxton's *Golden Legende*, Kelmscott Press edition, p. 1001.

Oracio.

Deus qui beatam wenefredam uirginem tuam pro te martirisatam resuscitasti. et quindecim annis postea in hoc seculo graciosus muneribus decorasti concede propicius ut qui eius imploramus auxilium omnium viciorum nostrorum senciamus remedium. Per christum."

The wherefore of this last collect is not clear. St. Winefrid's day is the 3rd of November, so that the mass is quite out of place; and the feast was instituted in 1398, and her relics were enshrined in the conventual Church of St. Thomas of Canterbury outside Shrewsbury in the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield. A rubric that suggested an early date for the MS. precedes the mass for Relics-Sunday (fo. 235 *verso*): *Notandum est quod proxima dominica post festum translacionis sancti thome martiris celebretur festum reliquiarum quod nuper celebratum fuerat in octauis sancte natiuitatis sancte marie virginis.* The change was made by Bishop Roger de Mortival in 1319.[1]

The vernacular parts of the Wedding Service may be of interest (fo. 316 *verso*): "I. N. take the .N. to mẏ weddid wẏfe. to have and to holde fro thẏs daẏ forwarde fore faẏrer fore fowlere for rẏcher fore porer fore better. fore wars in sekenes and in helth. to deth vs departe. ẏif holẏ chirche will it ordeẏn. and thereto J plẏght the trewth."

"I .N. take the .N. to mẏ wedded husbond to haue and to holde fro this daẏ forwarde fore faẏrer fore fowlere fore richer. fore porer fore better fore warse in sekeness and in helth to bene buxom and boner in bedde aut at bord to deth vs departe. if holẏ chirche it wyll ordeẏn and thereto J. plẏght the mẏ trewthe."

(Fo. 317) "Wẏth this rẏng J the wed. and this golde and sẏluer. J the ẏef. and with mẏ bodẏ. J the worschẏp, and with all my gode and catell. J the endow. *Jmponente sponso. primo in pollice dicens.* In nomine patris. *postea in indice dicens.* et filij. *Postea in medium dicens.* et spiritus sancti. *Postremo in medico dicens.* Amen. *et ibi eum dimittat et non in medio digito sicut in pluribus libris scriptum est. sed in quarto digito secundum illud decretum. xxx. q. v. c. femine quia in illo digito est quedam vena que pretenditur usque ad cor sicut ibidem habetur. Tunc vero procedat sponsa ad pedes sponsi et osculetur pedem eius dextrum. tunc erigat eam sponsus et inclinatis amborum capitibus dicat sacerdos.* Benedicti sitis a domino," etc.[2]

Although St. Winefrid's mass is placed in an anomalous position, as though her day had been first kept at a later date than the body of the MS., yet both St. David and St. Chad (fo. 219), whose days came into general use much later, are both in their proper places. And so is St. John of Beverley, on 7th May (fo. 224 *verso*), and his memory on 25th October (fo. 261). But yet St. Anne, whose day came in in 1383, is not given at all, nor is St. Thomas of Hereford. Corpus Christi day, on the other hand, is given in its proper place on fo. 176.[3]

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[1] *Vetus Registrum Sarisberiense*, Rolls Series, 1883; Vol. I, p. 227.

[2] See *Transactions of St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society*, 1894, Vol. III, Part IV, p. 168.

[3] It was first *published* in the Bath and Wells diocese in 11 Non. Junij, 1318 (*Calendar of the Register of John de Drokensford*, Somerset Record Society, 1887; p. 13).

WALL PAINTINGS IN SUSSEX CHURCHES.

BY

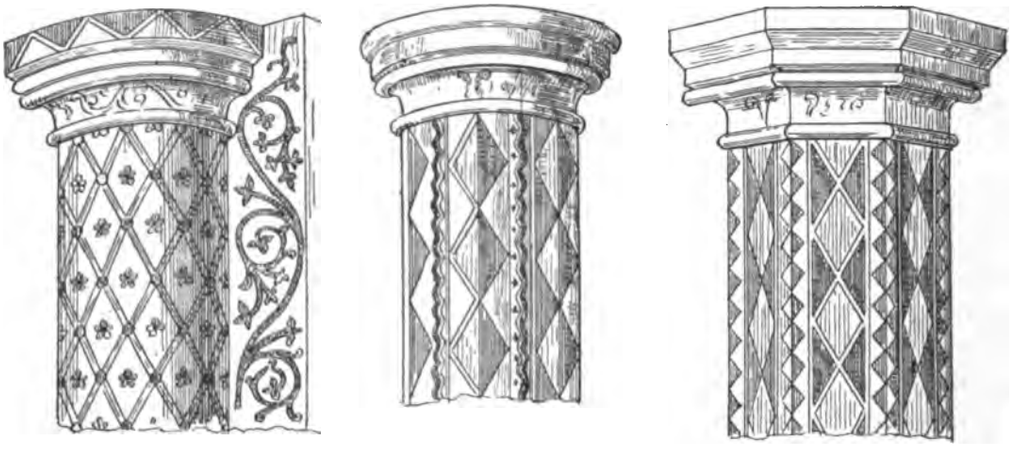
J. LEWIS ANDRÉ, F.S.A.

Although Sussex is a county not considered remarkable for the dignity or beauty of its churches, some of these edifices possess interesting features, which are but seldom met with in other districts, and it may be safely asserted that in no part of England are there so many wall paintings to be found of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries. The presence of these remarkable examples of pictorial art is quite unaccounted for in most cases, as no records are left concerning them. From an artistic point of view they are often of much merit, and must have been executed by artists of ability. Moreover it is curious to find in small, out-of-the-way parish churches, designs worthy of the noblest minsters. Especially is this the case in two instances, namely at Clayton and West Chiltington, though other examples of elaborate schemes of decoration may, perhaps, be accounted for by the fact of monastic bodies having been located near the churches possessing them, as at Battle, Hardham, and Horsham.

In most cases the scheme of ornamentation appears to have been as follows as regards the naves of the churches. Over the chancel arch, in the oldest examples, was simply the Holy Lamb, as at Westmeston, or the same figure was on the soffit or under surface of the opening, as at Plumpton. Later on we find Our Lord in a vesica-shaped glory, seated on a rainbow, and as the Great Judge, as at Clayton, Hastings, and elsewhere. At the side piers of the arch were scenes from the Passion, as at Westmeston, or allegorical conceptions, as at the same place and Clayton. The side walls of the nave had generally two ranges or tiers of pictures, like the mural decorations of the palaces of Assyria, and the buildings of Etruria. In early work each painting was enclosed in elegant arcades, as at West Chiltington, or divided from each other by architectural details, as at Hardham, whilst in late examples the scenes are simply framed in squares, as at Battle. The upper and lower ranges of subjects were separated by a band, often a very deep one, and variously embellished either with chevron work, as at Chiltington, foliaged scrolls, as at Clayton, or texts, as at Hardham and Westmeston. The arches of the nave in early work generally have the soffits very wide, and these were diapered with a lozenge pattern at West Chiltington, and had elegant scroll work and figures at

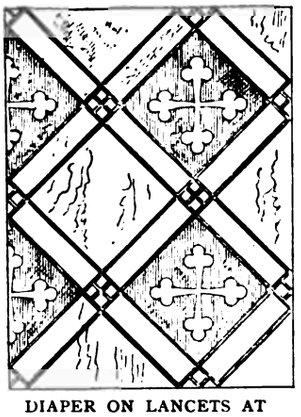
PAINTED DECORATION ON EAST ARCH OF SOUTH ARCADE OF BEDDINGHAM CHURCH.

Beddingham. The pillars at West Tarring appear to have been covered with a kind of fan-shaped diaper, and at Rotherfield they bore stripes of upright chevron work in bright colours, or a network pattern enclosing roses. Window splays had either scroll work, as at Horsham, or full-length figures of saints, as at the same church and Battle. At the former place the west wall above the tower arch was covered with large representations of the Annunciation and the Last Supper, of fifteenth century date.



PAINTED DECORATION FORMERLY ON PILLARS AT ROTHERFIELD CHURCH.

Singular to say, most of our Sussex examples of wall paintings occur in the naves of the churches, but there is an exception to this in the shamefully ruined little church at Treyford, an Early English building of much simple beauty, which has an extremely dignified eastern triplet, the jambs of which are covered with a very elegant diamond shaped pattern, whilst the space above the lancets is filled in with that elegant flowing scroll work, so characteristic of the early Pointed style.



DIAPER ON LANCETS AT TREYFORD CHURCH.

Where figure subjects were not introduced, and also to form backgrounds to them, masonry patterns were frequently employed. These were sometimes merely oblongs in red outline with roses in the centres, as at Battle, or the same figure filled in with elegant sprays of foliage, as at Horsham and Slindon. In late work the walls were powdered with stencilled patterns, as at Arlington and Rotherfield.

Our ancestors were not always contented with the paintings of their church walls, and did not hesitate to replace them with fresh designs, as was the case at Chiltington and Mid-Lavant. At the last-named church three layers of ornamentation were discovered of different dates, and a passage in the will of a certain William Ponte, illustrates this practice. It was made in 1471, and the testator says, "I bequeath towards a new picture of S^{t}. Mary of Maghfeild xx^{s} if the parishioners are willing to repaint the same." *Test. Vetusta*, p. 326

Whether we are indebted, or not, to native talent for the wall paintings in Sussex, will probably never be known, but it is a satisfaction to imagine that it may have been so, as Matthew Paris in the thirteenth century expressed great admiration for an artist called William of Colchester, and the accounts of the College of Mettingham, Norfolk, in the fifteenth century, show that much painted work there was executed by one "Thomas de Jernemuta," otherwise Thomas of Yarmouth. In the sixteenth century foreign talent was doubtless employed in Sussex, and the Fleming, with the Italian name of Bernardi, has left many examples of his artistic skill at Chichester and elsewhere in the county.

The cost of these paintings, in the fifteenth century at least, was sometimes borne by the united liberality of the parishioners, as testified by various Churchwarden's Accounts. An entry, for example, in those of Cowfold, runs as follows, "rec^{d} for payntyng of the Church of devotion de Parochia iij^{s} viii^{d}"; and by those of West Tarring we learn that in 1523 a picture of S. Blaize was purchased for that church, at what we should now consider the very moderate cost of vi^{d}. Bequests for the same purpose occur in some Sussex wills, as in that of William Haben, of Rogate, dated 14th of December, 1520, in which the testator says, "I give to the painting of S. Bartholomew xij^{d}." This saint was the patron of Rogate Church. In 1534, John Stanmer, of Heene, left a similar sum to "S. Botolp in Hyne for the painting."

As regards the subjects represented, a large number are derived from Holy Scripture, but of these I have only found one scene taken from the Old Testament, namely the temptation of Adam and Eve, at Hardham. In the middle ages, the Incarnation and the Passion of Our Lord, formed two centres from which radiated both theology and art, and such being the case we find most of the paintings connected with the life of Christ relate to these events. Thus at West Chiltington the whole of the north wall of the nave was covered, late in the twelfth century, with a series of pictures portraying subjects associated with the "Word made Flesh," whilst on the south wall were depicted those of the Saviour's Passion. The Annunciation, as the commencement of the Incarnation, was at Amberley, Horsham, Rotherfield, and West Chiltington, and although not a painted work of art, I cannot refrain from mentioning a very curious representation of this mystery, carved on a tomb of one of the Erneley family at West Wittering, and in which the usual lily-pot stands between St. Mary and St. Gabriel, but in this instance the stem and branches of the lily bear the figure of Our Lord crucified upon it, which is a somewhat rare feature, though examples are to be met with at Wellington, Somerset, and St. Michael's, Oxford. The Annunciation at Horsham was a large composition with life-size figures, but it has been so much repainted that very little, if any, of the original work is left. The Nativity occurred at West Chiltington, Hardham, and Preston, and, as in other mediæval representations, the Blessed Virgin was seen lying on a couch, with her Infant Son bound in swaddling clothes reposing by her side, a treatment which differs from that given of the subject by modern artists, who exhibit the Blessed Virgin and St. Joseph kneeling in adoration round the manger of the new-born babe. Although it is not in a church, a curious wall painting at Shulbred Priory deserves notice. It is on the north wall of the Prior's chamber, and is not earlier than the time of James I: the scene is the Nativity, with several animals supposed to be announcing the birth of the Redeemer. A cock bears a label inscribed "Christus natus est." A duck one with "Quando quando," a raven cries "In hac nocte," whilst a cow bellows out "Ubi ubi," and a lamb answers

"Bethlam." It merits mention here, I think, as a fair example of the "quaint conceits" which appear to have delighted the English people of the seventeenth century.

The adoration of the Magi, was a very favourite subject for painters and sculptors of the early ages of Christianity, and scarcely less so for those of the mediæval period. Portslade, Preston, and West Chiltington had wall paintings of it, and there are Sussex examples of the Flight into Egypt, the Baptism of Our Lord and of His triumphal entry into Jerusalem, whilst half of the pictures of the Last Supper on the walls of English churches are found in Sussex; moreover, we have the subject sculptured on the font in the parish church of St. Nicholas, Brighton, a carving not often seen in such a position. As a painting it is not of frequent occurrence in churches, but is met with chiefly on the walls of monastic refectories, and there is still one to be discerned at St. Martin's Priory, Dover, whilst abroad there was the celebrated picture of it, by Leonardo da Vinci, at Milan.

A series of events in the Passion was on the wall of the north aisle at Horsham, but destroyed when the church was enlarged, and a much finer one existed between the windows, in the north wall of the clerestory at Battle. Aldingbourne had also similar representations. The Betrayal, and St. Peter cutting off the ear of Malchus, appeared on the north wall of the nave at Westmeston. In the former subject there was the peculiarity of *two* figures upholding lanterns, and it may be noted here that mediæval paintings furnish us with the motive which actuated St. Peter in his violent assault on Malchus, as they often represent that high priest's servant holding the lantern, by the light of which Judas was enabled in the darkness to discriminate the person of Our Lord from those of His Apostles. To return from this digression, the Crucifixion was on the east wall at Kirdford, and to be met with at Horsham, Mayfield, West Chiltington, and Westmeston. There still remains at Wisborough Green a very remarkable example, the horizontal beam of Our Lord's cross forming the same transverse arm of the crosses of the thieves. In this picture, and in the one at Horsham, much ingenuity was displayed in attempts to show the malefactors fixed to their crosses in a manner different from the way in which Our Lord was crucified, and they are consequently seen, there and elsewhere, in impossible attitudes. The will of John Cooper, of Slinfold, dated 9th of February, 1526, mentions a picture of the Rood in the church of that village.

The Deposition from the Cross was at Westmeston, and the Resurrection at Chiltington and Hardham. The *Noli me tangere* may still be seen at Preston, and the Incredulity of St. Thomas, whilst Christ in Majesty was at Binstead, Chiltington, and Hardham.

A few years back, the remarkable series of wall paintings at Clayton, was laid bare, and one of the most curious of the subjects represented was on the south pier of the chancel arch. It appears to portray Our Lord instituting the Holy Eucharist, and has a background of several ranges of circular trefoil arches, before which is a noble and dignified figure of the Redeemer behind an altar on which stands a chalice, and the whole design appears to resemble one which is embroidered on a twelfth century dalmatic of Byzantine work, preserved at St. Peter's at Rome, and of which an engraving will be found in Dr. Rock's *Textile Fabrics*.

At Westmeston there was a picture on the west face of the north jamb of the chancel arch, representing Our Lord between the Apostles SS. Peter and Paul, and presenting a book to the latter, who stands at His right hand, whilst to St. Peter, He gives a single key,

that apostle being to the left of Him. Over the figures was a band inscribed (with abbreviations) :—

LIBRUM DAT PAULO CHRISTUS CLAVES QUOQUE PETRO.

At Horsham there seems to have been the same allegorical design, and it occurs on the tympanum of the baldachino of the high altar at St. Ambrose, Milan, which is supposed to be a work of the ninth century, and in it, as at Westmeston, St. Paul occupies the place of honour on the right side of Our Lord. An engraving of this last example will be seen in D'Agincourt's *History of Art*, a work which also contains a print showing a stone found at Verona bearing a like scene, and similar representations occur in Byzantine art of the early ages of Christianity. In former times it is well known that the chief apostles, SS. Peter and Paul, were frequently associated together in theology and ritual, as well as in art, and Venerable Bede quotes a letter of Pope Vitalian in which they are termed "the two heavenly lights, the sun and the moon." St. Paul is often seen in early Christian art with a book for his emblem, and not the sword, which has been his accredited emblem in recent times. An example of this may be noticed in a picture at the National Gallery, in which Orgagna represents St. Peter carrying a church, St. Paul a book. At Clayton, St. Peter receiving the keys from Our Lord, appears to have been on the north side of the chancel arch.

The Resurrection, it has already been stated, was at Chiltington and Hardham, and this subject was a common one on the brasses fixed on tombs used as Easter Sepulchres, of which an instance occurs in Sussex, on the monument of Richard Covert, dated 1547, at Slaugham. Another subject, that of the Holy Trinity, had many representations on Sussex brasses, but I know of no examples of its appearance as a wall painting, though it is to be met with elsewhere.

Probably no picture was a greater favourite than the Doom, or Universal Judgment, and, I need hardly say, that the usual place for its representation was over the chancel arch, but not invariably so, as at Portslade and Stedham it was on the north wall of the nave. The grandest example of this scene is undoubtedly at Clayton, and which was laid bare as recently as 1893. In most cases, only the space above the chancel arch is occupied by this subject, but here it is continued along the north and south walls of the nave of the little village church, an edifice which is a Norman one, and whose paintings are late in that style. Above the centre of the chancel arch, is seen Our Lord enthroned within a vesica-shaped glory, a form of enclosing nimbus, which dates from the fourth century, and is seen on a Diptych engraved by D'Agincourt. Figures, probably of the Apostles, surround the Redeemer, and at the east end of the north wall is an enclosure formed of trefoil arched balustrades, somewhat similar to, and in the same position as a walled-in space in the Doom at Stedham. In both of these examples figures are seen within the enclosing walls; in the latter they are angels, and I do not think that the Holy Trinity is figured in the Clayton example, as has been suggested. West of this, also on the north wall, are several large figures of nimbed ecclesiastics, bearing pastoral staves, and welcomed by an angel with uplifted hands, whilst further to the west were probably other saints, and there is clearly a river to be seen flowing by some arcade work, resembling that on the chancel arch. This stream may perhaps bear reference to the one mentioned in Psalm xlvi, 4: "There is a river, the streams whereof shall make glad the City of God, the holy place of the tabernacles of the most High"; or, as the rivulet is at the back of many of the figures, allusion may be intended to Psalm cxxiv, 3, 4, 5: "When their wrath was kindled against us. Then the

waters had overwhelmed us, the stream had gone over our soul. Then the proud waters had gone over our soul."

On the south wall of the same church, is pictured the cross venerated by angels, and although this emblem is generally seen in pictures of the Last Judgment, it is not usually so prominent as here ; west of this is an angel with raised hands repelling bishops and other ecclesiastics, clad in chasubles, as on the north wall. The whole of this grand composition is conceived with much spirit, and I consider only equalled in interest by the better preserved subject of the Ladder of Salvation, on the west wall of Chaldon Church, Surrey.

Another fine example of the Doom is at Patcham, and is of thirteenth century date. It has a central figure of Our Lord, throned and showing His wounds, whilst His Mother kneels in intercession at His right hand. Below are seen the saved, marching in a compact line, and keeping step with one another—a true "Salvation Army." Mitres and crowns appear on the heads of some, as these insignia are retained by the saved and the lost, for all eternity, owing to the indelible efficacy of the chrism used in conferring orders, and consecrating monarchs. Various opinions have been held as to the relative wickedness of the sexes: thus, whilst Pride, the root and reason of all sin, was portrayed as a woman, we find that the Seven Acts of Mercy were always pictured as being performed by a female, and Dante in his Hell places only one of the gentler sex within it. This, I mention, because in the Doom, formerly over the chancel arch at Angmering, all the women were to be seen going to bliss, whilst the men, as a rule, were descending to endure never-ending woe. In a similar scene at All Saints, Hastings, Our Lord held a lily in one hand, probably as a symbol of His Incarnation, and sometimes, I believe, the lily is seen proceeding from His mouth.

At least a dozen representations of the Doom have been brought to light in Sussex, and quite recently one has been discovered in the small church at Ford, during a careful reparation —not "restoration"—of that edifice, by Mr. Philip M. Johnston. It is a fifteenth century work and unfortunately much mutilated.

St. Michael, often seen in pictures of the Judgment, as the weigher of souls, has not been so found in any Sussex example, except at Rotherfield, although the belief in this office of the archangel was widespread, and of ancient date, allusion to it being found in the Anglo-Saxon *Dialogues of Solomon and Saturn*, in which mention of Michael's "bright balance" is made. Sometimes writings connected with the final sentence on mankind were inscribed on the rood beam under the picture of the Doom, as at Penhurst, where in the centre of the beam was written "Ecce Homo," and to the right of it "Venite Benedicti," &c., whilst on the left was "Ite Maledicti," &c. The subject of the Last Judgment is sometimes seen in stained glass, and at Ticehurst we have a very curious example in which there appears a four-wheeled waggon full of condemned souls, who are being pushed forwards towards Hell by hideous demons.

In many churches the eastern bay of the nave roof was often highly decorated in colour, as at Cheddar in Somerset, and in Sussex we have an example at Nuthurst where there was a fine Doom over the chancel arch.

The Blessed Virgin, as before stated, appears as an intercessor in the Doom at Patcham, and at Lindfield she was represented as bearing down the scales held by St. Michael, the incident being given apart from the Doom, and on the east wall of the south transept. The Coronation of the Blessed Virgin formed the centre of some rich and elegant painted work

at the old church of St. Olave, at Chichester, over the high altar, and there still exists at the chapel of the episcopal palace, a most beautiful figure of our Lady. It is of early fourteenth century date, and the details are excellently designed.

Although St. Christopher was represented on the walls of nearly every church, and about two hundred examples are recorded of his portraiture, Sussex can only boast of about half a dozen of these paintings. One of these, discovered about eight years ago, was at West Grinstead, and in it on the right hand of the usual gigantic figure of the saint was depicted a town with an elaborate tower in the foreground, ornamented with rich pinnacles, and crowned with a crocketted spire. Further off was seen the open country, with fields enclosed by park palings, and in the distance was a windmill. The hermit, placed to the left of St. Christopher, was clad in the usual russet-coloured gown peculiar to his class, whilst behind him was a hermitage, one which appeared to be, as the auctioneers say, "a very desirable residence," having a room below stairs with a two-light transomed window, and a chamber story lighted by a dormer in the roof. It is much to be regretted that such a complete picture of the subject was destroyed soon after it had been discovered, though fortunately a sketch of it has been hung up in the church.

The story of St. Christopher was considered by many, including Martin Luther, a fine Christian poem, and, as with the legends of St. George, and of St. Margaret, it appears to be generally so interpreted. The mediæval artists, it may be remarked, both painters and sculptors, seldom omitted to introduce a quiet joke when they had the opportunity, and many quaint ideas have been embodied in sculptures and pictures of St. Christopher. Thus, in some we see the fishes in the stream are gazing with upturned heads and open mouths at the miraculous passage of the saint and his burden through their midst. Again at Hayes, in Middlesex, an angler appears quietly seated on the river bank, and hooking a large fish, whilst an eel twines round the staff of the Christ bearer. At Wickhampton, Norfolk, a lobster is pinching his great toe, and at Melcombe Horsey, Dorset, a mermaid is seen disporting amid the waves.

Although the usual place for the picture of St. Christopher was on the north wall of the nave, he sometimes appears elsewhere, as at Rotherfield, where he was probably on the south wall, and at South Bersted he was on a pillar of the nave.

St. George is often seen in association with St. Christopher, as on a ring found at Froxfield, Hampshire; and at Stedham they faced each other, one being on the north, the other on the south, wall of the nave; and here it may be noted, that in mediæval art, the saint, if represented in carved work or panel paintings, was generally on foot; but, if seen in wall paintings, he appeared on horseback. Thus on the sixteenth century tombs at Broadwater, he is a foot soldier, but in pictures at Mid-Lavant and Stedham he is a horseman on a prancing steed. It need hardly be said that this animal was always depicted as a very fiery one, and in some parts of France, a spirited horse was called "a St. George's charger." The true colour of this war horse is white, in accordance with his reputed appearance at Antioch, but at Stedham he was painted blue, perhaps to represent a dapple grey, which the Scotch, I believe, still call "a blue horse."

Pictures in connection with other saints occur in many instances, but call for no special remarks, except in two examples. At Preston is the martyrdom of St. Thomas of Canterbury, and at South Bersted, there was, it is said, a representation of St. Thomas Aquinas, the great Dominican doctor, "disputing" with divines.

One of the most curious paintings I know of is on the splay of a late Perpendicular window in the little church at Burton, near Petworth. It shows a female figure head downwards, and crucified by being tied to a saltire-shaped cross ragulée. From her head hangs a mass of deep red hair, and the face is that of a young woman, whilst beneath the effigy is a kind of "box pattern," as it is termed, and some mutilated letters, which render it probable that St. Wilgefort is the martyr represented. She was somewhat popular in England, under the alias of Uncumber, in the fifteenth century and the first half of the sixteenth, and there was an image of her in the Sussex church of Wadhurst. Dean Colet in his will of 22nd August, 1519, says, that his body is to be buried in St. Paul's Cathedral, "nigh unto the image of St. Wilgefort, where I made a little monument." A legend concerning her relates that to save herself from the importunities of a man who wished to marry her, she prayed for a beard, and, as her prayer was successful, she is often represented with this hirsute appendage, as on the screen at Worstead, Norfolk; and in a print reproduced in Cahier and Martin's *Characteristiques des Saints*. But the beard is not always her attribute, as in the present instance at Burton, and in the work just mentioned is another in which she is without it. Representations of the saints and of events in their lives, vary very much in their details, and the St. Wilgefort at Burton is the only one I have seen where she is portrayed on a saltire cross and head downwards.

A fragment of a large picture at Arundel is interesting, as it shows the embroidered mantle of a saint, said to be St. Mary, upheld by an angel.

Besides the saintly figures on church walls, the screens at Brighton and Horsham had them, and at the latter church they existed till 1826, when the screen was entirely destroyed as being "somewhat cumbrous"!

Allegorical subjects were great favourites with our mediæval forefathers, and one of these was very popular, and called the "Three Dead and the Three Living." It is still on the walls of several churches, and in Italy it formed part of the great fresco of Andrea Orgagna in the Campo Santo at Pisa. The manner of representing this legend is generally that found at Belton, Suffolk, and Charlwood, Surrey, where three kings on horseback are confronted by three hideous skeletons, standing before them; but in Orgagna's work these skeletons are lying in coffins. This legend was painted in the apex of the wall over the chancel arch at Battle, it being filled with three skeletons on one side, and three royal figures on the other. Sometimes the skeletons are also crowned monarchs, as at Ditchingham, Norfolk. At Hardham, there appears to have been an allegorical subject showing a Christian warrior triumphing; and another of the Soul of the Righteous assumed into Heaven, upheld by four angels, and founded on the parable of Dives and Lazarus, one which Henry III, had, with great appropriateness, painted on the wall of one of his dining halls.

It is stated in Lower's *History of Sussex*, that there was a painting at Kirdford, of a king "exhorted to good by a counsellor on one side, and to evil by a demon on the other." As this was close to a picture of the Magi, probably the king was intended for Herod, who reluctantly allowed the murder of the Baptist. At Battle, two panels on the north wall of the clerestory seem to have represented a similar contest between a Christian and a demon. The Seven Acts of Mercy were at Arundel; the Seven Sacraments at Mid-Lavant; and the Seven Deadly Sins at Wisborough Green, the last being a remarkable example, taking the form of a woman, with demons proceeding from various parts of her body. At Arundel was depicted Satan creating the sins, and monsters swallowing them in their jaws.

It is well known that one of the favourite pilgrimages to a foreign shrine, was to that of Compostella in Spain, where the relics of St. James the Great were venerated, and some Sussex records show that many pilgrims came from this county, Winchelsea being their port of embarkation. The circumstance is noted here, as at the church of Wisborough Green, there is a very curious painting of St. James, who appears as a pilgrim duly invested with pouch and bourdon, or pilgrim's staff, and accompanied by other persons similarly equipped, who are being introduced to Our Lord, by their saintly leader. Their pouches have scallop shells on them, which seem to have been placed upon such wallets for a distinctive emblem, as may be seen in a window at Great Ellingham, Norfolk.

The Signs of the Zodiac are frequently found ornamenting churches, more especially those on the Continent. Each sign was popularly supposed to influence the month connected with it, and also to have a religious meaning,—Virgo, for instance, representing the Blessed Virgin. Spenser, in his *Faerie Queene*, has twelve verses on these zodiacal symbols, and till quite recently each sign was supposed to have power over the health of a particular part of the human body. At Westmeston these figures appear to have been painted on the chancel arch, as at Copford, Essex.

Aubrey, in his *Remaines of Gentilisme and Judaism*, says, that when a church was consecrated, the bishop officiating went about the edifice "with holy consecrated oyle, and with a pencil made a little cross in the middle of the painted one." And the custom is of great antiquity. It is mentioned by Ælfric, the Saxon bishop, in one of his *Homilies*, where he relates how an angel, to purify a temple of Ashtaroth, formed the sign of the Cross on its four corners. These crosses were generally plain patée ones formed in red, and surrounded by a circle, though occasionally they were highly ornamented, as at Worstead, Norfolk, and Darenth, Kent. In Sussex, all the known examples are very simple in character, and they have been found in at least seven churches; in one case at Slindon, there were three on the east wall of the chancel.

Historical events and personages were sometimes painted on church walls to commemorate scenes of importance or men of notoriety, thus in 1163, a picture of the marriage of Henry, Duke of Bavaria, with Matilda, daughter of King Henry II, of England, was hung up in the church of St. Blosius, Brunswick; and at Chichester Cathedral, on the east side of the north transept, there still exists a series of fancy portraits of the Bishops of Chichester, down to the sixteenth century. These are in most cases purely imaginary, and there is a strong family likeness pervading the entire series, which commences with Stigand, the last bishop of Selsey, and ends with Robert Sherburne, who, it may be mentioned here, was once dean of St. Paul's, London. To him the cathedral is indebted for these pictures and for a similar series of the English kings whose likenesses are on the west side of the same transept, and are equally fanciful in character with those of the bishops. In the same cathedral are also pictures of King Caedwalla, the Saxon, bestowing Selsey on S. Wilfrid, and one of the confirmation of the grant by King Henry VIII. All these curious paintings were the work of Theodore Bernardi.

In the time of Edward VI, texts were ordered to be painted on church walls, and Townley, in his *Biblical Literature* (Vol. III, p. 92), quotes Gregory Martin, who was a native of Sussex, to the effect that over every church door was inscribed "Babes keep yourselves from images." (1 John v, 21.) The Accounts of St. Peter's, Cornhill, London, have, under date 1547, a payment of iij*s.* iiij*d.* to the "pishe prest for searching of the Scriptures," for

suitable passages for this purpose, but on the Accession of Queen Mary, Bishop Bonner ordered all such inscriptions to be, as he expressed it, "abolished and extinguished." In Elizabeth's time they were again introduced, and in the seventeenth century most churches appear to have had them, as in Sussex, where they appeared at Amberley, Barcombe, Burton, Bury, and Eastergate, among many other places. Unfortunately these texts were written over the old paintings, where they may be often seen, as at Aldenham, Herts; but such an employment of the Scriptures, when not thus abused, has the sanction of high antiquity, and is thus noticed by Bingham in his *Antiquities of the Christian Church.* "I have," he says, "only one thing more to remark out of St. Ambrose, which is, that usually there were some profitable texts of Scripture upon the walls of the church"; and he tells one to whom he is writing, that she ought to have remembered a certain precept, "because it was written before her eyes on the walls of the church." In England the Te Deum was inscribed on the roof of the nave of St. Alban's Abbey Church in the fourteenth century, and at a later period, Long Melford Church, Suffolk, had its interior almost covered with texts and prayers. Wordsworth in his *Excursion,* when describing a village church, notices the custom and tells us that :—

> Admonitory texts inscribed the walls,
> Each in its ornamental scroll, enclosed,
> Each also crowned with winged heads a pair
> Of rudely painted cherubim.

The Ten Commandments were sometimes set up in churches anterior to the Reformation, as at St. Christopher le Stocks, London, where they appeared in company with several prayers to the saints, and abroad we find that in 1515 the Archbishop of Seville held a provincial synod, or council, in which it was ordained that the parish priests should instruct their parishioners in the mysteries of the Catholic faith, and should place in each of their churches, tables containing the articles of the Christian belief, and the Ten Commandments. In Sussex these tablets were sometimes placed over the chancel screen as at Rusper, and the Commandments, it would seem, were also inscribed in private houses, as at Hangleton Place, where they were carved in a quaint manner on the hall screen.

The Royal Arms, which so frequently replaced the picture of the Doom, as at Worminghurst, did not always occupy such a prominent position, and at Henfield they were on the north wall of the nave, at Burton on the south one. The latter is an elaborate example, and the motto of King Charles I, "Christo auspice regno," appears beneath the scutcheon. Perhaps it is not generally known that during the interregnum, the arms of the Commonwealth took the place of the royal ones, as may be seen on a board preserved at North Walsham, Norfolk.

In connection with the subject of this paper, it should be recorded, that in the early part of the eighteenth century, Roger Mortimer, a painter of considerable merit according to local tradition, was in the habit of retouching the old and decaying pictures in our Sussex churches, and a writer in the Collections of the Archæological Society of the county says that, "in some cases, no doubt, like modern church restorers, he has obliterated the distinctive traits of the works he designed to preserve." (*S. A. C.*, Vol. XXII, p. 239.) Among other works, on which Mortimer with more zeal than discretion tried his renovating process, the pictures at Slaugham may be mentioned, and I think it probable that one at Hardham should be included in the list.

Before concluding this paper on the wall paintings which adorned the Sussex churches, I cannot but direct attention to the fact that many of them are rapidly perishing, and that when a painting has been relieved from the coats of whitewash under which it has so long been hidden, its fate is generally this—it is either re-whitewashed, as unsightly to modern eyes, or it is left to fade away, which it does very quickly on its fresh exposure to the atmosphere. This has been the case at Hadleigh, Essex, and at Rotherfield the rich decoration in colour which ornamented the nave pillars, and was perfect when first discovered, has entirely disappeared. To remedy this unfortunate state of things regarding our Sussex wall paintings, I am happy to say a Committee has been formed by the Sussex Archæological Society, with the object of preserving the traces of pictures still remaining on the walls of the churches of the county. Notwithstanding this I advise all those interested in the ancient pictorial art of our country to visit all churches where paintings have been recently discovered, and, if possible, make drawings or tracings of them.

Finally it may be remarked, that in many popular periodicals, newspapers, guide books and the like, the mediæval wall paintings in our churches are described as "frescoes," which is a mistake, as they are simply distemper works on plaster, whereas fresco is executed in the plaster itself when in a wet state, and I only know of one example of true fresco on the walls of an old church in England. It is at Burlingham St. Edmund, Norfolk, and represents the Martyrdom of St. Thomas of Canterbury, a subject which in all probability would have been destroyed, had it been executed in distemper only.

SOME NOTES ON THE PARISH REGISTERS OF WINCHELSEA, IN THE COUNTY OF SUSSEX.

BY

R. GARRAWAY RICE, F.S.A.

(*of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-Law*).

As the title of this paper suggests, it is not my intention to give an exhaustive account of the Parish Registers of Winchelsea, or a lengthy essay on the historical value and importance of Parish Registers. Dr. Stubbs, the present Bishop of Oxford, in his admirable preface to the Parish Registers of St. Mary's, Reading, which have been printed by the Rev. G. Payne Crawfurd, speaking of Parish Registers in general, mentions "their great value in relation to public, local, and personal history," and adds "they are full of illustrations of social antiquities, of the growth and relation of classes, trade connections, political combinations and local customs." As a genealogist, I should like to see every Parish Register in the kingdom printed in full, and I am glad that such work is being taken up keenly by various societies; still the ordinary entries in a Parish Register are not interesting reading, therefore I propose, on this occasion, to call attention chiefly to items of local and antiquarian interest. Unfortunately the early registers of Winchelsea are lost, and instead of dating from 1538, or even from the first of Elizabeth, 1558, from which date the older registers were copied, in 1598, into parchment books, there is nothing earlier than a register book commencing in 1655, which, however, contains one entry dated 1651. Copies of the entries of marriages, baptisms and burials of an earlier date are doubtless preserved amongst the Bishop's transcripts at Lewes for certain years after 1603, but these would not contain notes of local customs, etc., to which the Bishop of Oxford has alluded.

In the "Parish Register Abstract" of the Population Return of 1831, the Parish Register Books of Winchelsea, anterior to 1813, are catalogued thus:—"No. I Register, 1655–1724—Nos. II. III. (Parchment) 1725–1812—Nos. IV. V. Marr. 1754–1812." It is with these books and their contents that I propose to deal. Of books Nos. IV and V but little need be said; the first named is of paper and contains marriages entered in the manner directed by the Act of 1753, on forms. Pasted inside the first cover is a pretty little engraved label, of oblong shape, consisting of a border of Chippendale design enclosing in script letters, "Sold by John Hogben at Rye in Sussex." From this we may perhaps infer that John Hogben was in 1754 the leading stationer at Rye. Book No. V is a similar one, but of parchment; it commences in 1807, and only nine pages are filled. Book No. I is of paper bound in vellum. It contains births and baptisms from 1655, marriages from 1683 and burials from 1678; it continued in use to 1724. There are many gaps, and the register seems to have been imperfectly kept until the advent of the Rev. John Harris as

curate, in 1690. The following memorandum relating to his predecessor occurs in this book:—"Edward Matthewe Clerke entred on the Cure of Winchelsea June the 7th in the year of our Lord God 1686, being Licensed thereunto by the late Reuerend Father John Lake, Bishopp of Chichester." Mr. Harris has left the following memorandum concerning himself:—"September 7th 1690, John Harris, Clerk, Vicar of Icklesham, entered on ye Cure of this Parish by virtue of ye speciall order & Licence of ye R^t^ R^d^ Father in God Symon L^d^ B^p^ of Chich: & of a Sequestration from ye Chancellour Dr Briggs, bearing date September 6th 1690." Added in another hand, "And Febr. ye 15th following (having Institution from ye s^d^ B^p^), Read his Articles & having Induction the day before given him by Mr Brian Rector of Gestling." John Harris seems to have taken the register in hand, for he set out several pages of the book under years, with headings for the respective entries, from 1651, but many years are blank, doubtless from his inability to obtain the entries omitted by his predecessors. He records his work thus:—"The Register of Christenings & Burials for ye Rectory of Winchelsea since ye year 1651 as corrected and methodised September 10th by me John Harris, Curate, Ibid. 1690."

The Transcripts seem to have been regularly sent in to the Bishop's Registry during the last century, for several entries similar to the following occur:—"The Transcript was returned to the visitation May 18, 1704."

One "John Prosser, Curate" signs the register in 1700, and his burial is recorded in 1723, the only year in which the entries are in Latin:—"Tricesimo Aprilis Sepultus est Johannes Prosser, Clericus."

Book No. II is of parchment bound in brown leather; it commences in 1724, and contains baptisms and burials to 1787 and marriages prior to 15th December, 1754; the marriages are, however, continued in an abbreviated form in this book down to 1787, as well as being recorded in the official register, which is somewhat unusual. Inside the first cover of this book is written:—"M^m^ On Sunday May 10th 1761 (being Whitsunday), James Holt was by me chosen & appointed Clerk of St Thos Parish in Winchelsea, whereof I gave Notice in Church (as by Canons required), during the Time of divine Service:—Witness my Hand R^d^ Tireman, Rector." "Wm Willes Rect^r^" signs the register in 1724, and he had two children by Jane his wife baptised, viz., in 1727–8 and 1728–9; she was buried 22nd April, 1737, as "Jane Wife of Wm Willes, Rect^r^," and he on 20th December, 1751, as "The Revd Mr Wm Willes, Rector of this Parish." The register is signed by "R^d^ Tireman, Rector," in 1751; and he had a daughter Katherina, by Elizabeth his wife, baptised 23rd August, 1753, also several other children baptised and buried in subsequent years. "The Revd Mr John Rudd, Curate, Aff. rece^d^.," was buried 17th August, 1764, and "D. Hollingbery, Curate" signs the register in the same year, and as "Rector" in 1768. He was the Rev. Drake Hollingbery, also sometime Vicar of Icklesham. He was son of Richard Hollingbery, of Dover, co. Kent; he matriculated at All Souls College, Oxford, 11th December, 1760, aged 18, paying the fees of a plebeian's son, and he took his B.A. degree in 1764. By Elizabeth his wife he had several children who were baptised and buried at Winchelsea, the first one on 28th September, 1778; she was probably his second wife, for "Jane wife of Drake Hollingbery clerc" was buried 2nd February, 1776. Mr. Hollingbery ruled a sort of frame on page 82 of this book, heading the same:—"Inscription on a flat stone in the middle aisle of the Church of Winchelsea." Round the edge he wrote the French inscription to Reynaud Alred, and within the frame, under the word "Anglice," gives a translation thus:—"Reynaud Alred who died

the 15th day of April 1354 lies here. God have mercy on his soul. He who shall pray for his soul shall have 50 days grace.—D.H., Rector."

Whatever Mr. Hollingbery's archæological leanings may have been, they certainly did not extend to the preservation of the remains of ancient buildings. His graphic account of his removal of the walls of St. Giles's church in Winchelsea, which he records on page 100 of this register book, suggests that he may have taken the destruction of Jerusalem as his model:—"Fortes fortuna juvat:—Mem^{m} In the year 1780 & at intervals in the three preceeding years, the walls of St. Gyles's church, which in certain parts rose several feet above the ground were removed & the foundations grub'd up at an expense of 100£ & upwards. For the purpose of levelling the ground it was afterwards plowd, & in doing this the plowshare struck against something so firm that it became necessary to use a mattock. It proved to be a pig or bar of lead, & on a farther search five more of the same sort, but of different weights were found & a quantity of old sheet lead. It is reasonable to suppose this to have been the covering of the church & that part of it had been cast into bars for the convenience of removing; but how it came to be afterwards buried & forgot is left wholly to conjecture. One thing however is certain that the bars together weigh'd 31^{c} 1^{q} 16^{lb} & were sold for £18. 16. 6. & that the old sheet lead was sold for £4. 14. 0. This sum of £23. 10. 6. with the money arising from the sale of a large quantity of the stones, fortunately at this time in request for the works carrying on at the New Harbour, about paid the expences of clearing, & the Rector is now in possession of a pleasant & level field & garden, made from an heap of ruins & a roughter, by the indefatigable exertion & perseverance of his predecessor, D. Hollingbery." On page 103, viz., the last page in the book, the same indefatigable Rector records:—"The Terrier of the Gleabe landes &^{c} belonging to the Rectory of St. Thomas in Winchelsea, Vizt. Two Church-yardes, the one of St. Thomas containing by estimation two Acres of ground. The other of St. Gyles, united to the same containing likewise two Acres (☞ St. Gyles's divided).

"Item. One orchard or garden belonging to the Parsonage house of St. Thomas containing one quarter of an acre or thereabouts. In Witness hereof Wee the Minister & Churchwardens there have subscribed & signed hereunto the one & twentieth day of March Ano. 1635, Robt. Tompson, Rec. ibdm., Bartholmew Pett + his mark, Willyam Neve, John Westbourne, Churchwarden, Willyam Joab, Churchwarden.

"Anno 1772, Copy of the Terrier of Winchelsea taken out of the Bishop's court & faithfully transcribed by me D. Hollingbery, Rector. Witnesses:—Thomas Marten, John Peters, Churchwardens."

Book No. III is of parchment bound in brown leather and contains baptisms and burials 1788 to 1812, and an unofficial register of marriages, for the same period, entered in an abbreviated form. It is headed "The register of the Parish of Winchelsea in the diocese of Chichester." On the first page of the fly-leaf is an account of the population of Winchelsea, taken 10th March, 1801 and in 1811, signed "D. Hollingbery, Rector," and on the next page the gift of the church clock is recorded:—"Mem^{m} The Church clock & Dial was presented to the Inhabitants of Winchelsea by the Revd Drake Hollingbery, Rector, & was compleated at his sole expence on the 30th day of Nov. 1790." The register is signed in 1807 by "Thomas Ferris, Cur." On a slip of paper stuck in the end of No. IV marriage book, and directed to Mr. Hollingbery, is written in an illiterate hand:—"1806, Sur i Tho. Apps am Readey to make oath that george loyde saide ann mabs was not his wife Because he had one Before.

I take leave of this worthy Rector by quoting the rather waggish note he added to the above:—"Mem. Ann Mabbs, also asserts that he (very graciously), told her as much immediately after their marriage, D.H."

It is interesting to note that a large number of entries of foreigners, apparently French people, occur *circa* 1750 to 1780, and a great number relating to soldiers and militiamen during the latter part of the last and early part of the present century.

It now only remains to call attention to a few of the more important and curious entries in the register. Amongst the first named and by far the most grandiloquent is the following which is entered on a page by itself:—"Samel Hovenden born & baptized—Memorand. That on Twesday the seaventh day of ffebruary Ao Dni 1687–8 And in ye ffourth yeare of the Reigne of Or Sovereigne Lord King James the second over England &c, Samuel Hovenden (Son of Mr Thomas Hovenden and Joane his wife of this Town of Winchelsea), was borne, And was baptized the Twesday following, being the 14th day of the same month & yeares." There are several entries recording the burial of Jurats of the town and the following ones relating to the Mayors:—"Dorothy ye Daughter of Thomas Hovenden, Mayer of Winchelsea, Esqr, & Joan his wife Baptized October 28th, 1685." The Mayor of 1685 is doubtless identical with "Thomas Hovenden Jurat" buried 25th December, 1691. "Mary Wife of John Parnell, mayor" was buried 15th April, 1713, and in the same year "Nov. 23 John Parnell, Esqr, then Mayor, he Dyed of the Small Pox," buried. 1731, May "19th Thos Son of Jno Parnell, Mayor, & Jane his wife was aBptized." The father is probably identical with "John Parnell, a Jurat of this corporation Afft. reced." buried 26th September, 1768. 1781, "Sept. 6 William Marten, mayor Afft. reced." buried. The affidavit referred to the deceased having been buried in woollen. "Wm White & Ruth Keeler were married" 2nd November, 1738. He was son of John White finally of Newchurch, Kent (who was buried at Icklesham, 15th March, 1749–50), and was finally of Icklesham, gentleman, where he was buried 5th July, 1792. Their eldest son, William White, baptised at Winchelsea 21st October, 1739, as "Wm Son of Wm and Ruth White," was finally of Barnet, co. Hertford, gentleman; he died 27th June, 1816, and was buried in a vault in Barnet church, and his eldest son, "William White, who died 26th April, 1801, Aged 32," has a monument in the north aisle there. The name of Washington occurs once in the register, viz., on 17th August, 1764, "Jane D. of Robert and Jane Washington Privately [baptised] received into Church [*blank*]." "Thomas Holford of this parish, Surgeon & Jane Frewen of the parish of Rye, Widow" were married by licence 10th May, 1773. "John Stewart, Commander of the Mount Stewart, Afft. reced," was buried 6th October, 1780.

The number of entries relating to soldiers and militiamen has already been alluded to. "Edward son of George & Belinda Colebrooke, Somt Ma, Lt Col.," was baptised 30th August, 1806, and "John-Morgan Jenkins, Captn R. West Midsx. Mila" was buried 10th May, 1810, and the baptism is recorded on 5th December, 1810, of "Edward Tyrrel son of Admiral Edward-Tyrrel & Susan Smith. Memm was baptised privately in the Parish of St. Margaret, Westminster on the 4th day of Nov. 1809," and on the same day, 5th December, "Harry Tenison," son of the same, baptised. One adult baptism is recorded, "Memdm June 18th 1704, Benj. Jackson was then Baptised in the Parish Church of Winch. Aged about 60." A well-known Puritanical Christian name occurs under date 19th January 1718–9, "ffaint not wife of John Hawkins" being buried. Amongst the entries relating to Inland Revenue officers are:—1701, "Nov. 14 Eliz. Daughter of Thomas Walsh, Riding Officer" baptised.

1708, "Augst. 20th Jos. Bigg, Officer of ye Customs" buried. 1800, April 7th, "Charles Stephens (Supervisor of the riding officers), Afft. rec'd," buried.

Burials of persons who died from mishap and shipwreck:—1716, "June 10th Hannah and Ann Children of Edward Garrett, both drowned together at ye Iron-house." 1717, August "27 William Read of Crowhurst found dead upon ye Sands neare Mr Cruttenden's Cross wall." 1762, "Augt. 17th Thomas Seers, Junr, drown'd in ye New Harbour." 1800, "Mar. 10 Uriah Smith, mariner, (killed by accident), Afft. reced." 1802, November "24 Hendrick Fonneck" and "Pieter-Nickels Soereno, both of the ship Adriana of Rotterdam, wreck'd near Fairlight cliff," and on November "25 An unfortunate of the same ship, commonly calld Christian." 1804, March "20 J. Taylor (3 bat. Royal Arty), found dead on Camber point & supposed to have perished with ye cold." 1808, January "6 An unfortunate mariner found on the Sea-shore." 1808, "Feb. 8 Two mariners found on the Sea shore suppos'd to be two Frenchmen from two peices of money & a dagger that were found on their persons." 1808, "Sep. 2 The remains of a man unknown found on the Sea shore." In addition to the places already mentioned "Martha Springer servt at ye Shiphouse" was buried 6th June, 1700; "William Son of John & Amy Dann at ye Point House" was baptised 19th November, 1754, and children of John and Mary Lowes "at the Point house," were baptised 1772 to 1775. "Edward Sabine apprentice to the factory" was buried 24th February, 1774, and there are other entries about that period in which "the factory" is mentioned.

In conclusion my best thanks are due to the Rev. Henry Patch, Rector of Winchelsea, for giving me every facility for searching the register of his parish for genealogical purposes, and for permitting me to make the notes embodied in this paper.

THE HOOD AS AN ORNAMENT OF THE MINISTER AT THE TIME OF HIS MINISTRATIONS IN QUIRE AND ELSEWHERE.

BY

E. G. CUTHBERT F. ATCHLEY.

In the middle ages the use of a hood was not restricted to members of the Universities, still less to graduates; but it was part of the ordinary dress of the period, and worn by rich and poor, clerk, layman, and laywoman alike. We are all familiar with the Squire's[1] yeoman "clad in coat and hood of green," with that "stout carl" the miller,[2] who sported "a white coat and a blue hood," and with the Reeve[3] from Norfolkshire whose lord had presented him with a coat and hood as a token of his pleasure. Our host describes the practical joke of a monk[4] as putting an ape into the man's hood, "and in his wife's eke, by Saint Austin!" The Monk of the Tales fastened his hood under his chin by means of a curious pin wrought of gold.[5] Of the Pardoner we read that

> "Hood for jolity wore he none
> For it was trussed up in his wallet."[6]

And it was because the strange horseman's "cloak was sewed to his hood" that Chaucer[7] after long consideration "deemed him some canon for to be." Friar Hubert,[8] too, had a hood, the tippet or pouch-like end of which was stuffed "full of knives And pins, for to give fair wives."

When Dan Lidgate lost his hood in London,[9] he went into the Court of Common Pleas, to endeavour to recover the missing garment, "where sat one with a silken hood." The royal justiciaries used to wear hoods lined with lambskin, but afterwards they took to minever like doctors, masters in universities, bishops, and lords of Parliament.[10] At the

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[1] W. W. Skeat, *The Students' Chaucer*, Oxford, 1895; p. 420: Prol. to *C.T.*, l. 103. A miniature from the Breviary of Cardinal Grimani (fifteenth century) reproduced opposite to p. 16 of Paul Lacroix's *Military and Religious Life in the Middle Ages*, London, no date, shows a gentleman in green wearing a hood and hat.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 426: Prol., l. 564.

[3] *Ibid.*, Prol., l. 612.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 498: *Prioress's Prol.*

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 421: Prol., l. 195.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 427: Prol., l. 680.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 657.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 422: Prol., l. 233.

[9] *London Lyckpeny*, Str. iv, in J. Strutt's *Compleat View of the Manners . . . of England*, London, 1774-6; iii. 60.

[10] Thomas Gascoigne, *Loci e libro veritatum*, edited by J. E. T. Rogers, Oxford, 1881; p. 202. *Cf.* the picture of Charles VII of France holding a "Bed of Justice" in Paul Lacroix's *Military and Religious Life in the Middle Ages*, London, no date, opposite p. 24.

opening of Parliament in 1536 Charles Wriothesley[1] describes both the latter as wearing robes of scarlet furred with white lettis and having their hoods about their necks.

Amongst other things, it was a chamberlain's duty to his lord to

> " Set his garment, after as ye know the use ;
> Take him hood or hat for his head, cloak or cap de huse."[2]

In *the Vision of* William Langland *concerning Piers the Plowman* he looks forward to the time when the physician would be fain to leave his physic, and sell his furred hood[3] and his cloak of calaber for food, and later recounts how old age so hit

> " A physician with a furred hood, that he fell in a palsy ;
> And there died that doctor, ere three days after."[4]

The hood formed part of the costume of various knightly Orders. They of the Garter wore a hood usually of the same colour as the surcoat, often blue.[5] In the Order of the Bath the novice had to put on a cope of black russet with long sleeves and the hood sewn on to the cope in the manner of a hermit,[6] but the full dress hood was furred with minever.[7] The hood of the Order of St. Michael was of crimson velvet lined with crimson satin.[8]

The child of the fifteenth century was instructed to

> " Hold off thy cap, and thy hood also,
> Till thou be bidden it on to do."[9]

And, if he visited anyone,

> " When thou come the hall-door to,
> Do off thy hood, thy gloves also."[10]

In 1403 Henry IV forbade the use of large hoods furred or lined, and extending beyond the shoulder-tips, to any but canons, the Lord Chancellor, the Chancellor, Barons of the Exchequer and some others, Masters of Divinity, Doctors of Laws, and Regents at the Universities ; four years later the privilege was extended to Serjeants-at-Law.[11] In the regulations enacted by Henry VII, the King is to wear " his furred hudd " on the four feasts of the year, about his neck.[12] On Twelfth Day the King wore the furred hood about his neck for the service in church ; and " when he goeth to meat " he must " take off his hood

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[1] *Chronicle of England*, Camden Society, 1875 ; i, 45, 46.

[2] MS. Harl. 4011 (A.D. 1460–70) in *The Babees Book*, Early English Text Society, 1868 ; p. 178.

[3] William Langland, *The Vision of William concerning Piers the Plowman*, Early English Text Society, 1862 ; ij, 107.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 375.

[5] E. Ashmole, *Institution, Laws, and Ceremonies of the most noble Order of the Garter*, London, 1672 ; p. 215. But see J. Strutt's *Compleat view of the Manners . . . of England*, iij, 78, 82. Sir John Fastolf, 1459, had several hoods, some with tippets, some without ; and amongst them was " one blue hood, of the Garter " (*Archæologia*, 1826 ; xxj, 254 sq.).

[6] *Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles*, Camden Society, 1880 ; p. 107.

[7] *Historical Collections of a Citizen of London*, Camden Society, 1876 ; pt. iij, *William Gregory's Chronicle*, p. 165.

[8] J. Strutt's *Compleat View of the Manners, &c.* ; iii, 79.

[9] *The Babees Book* (MS. Cott. Caligula A. ii, A.D. 1460), p. 13.

[10] *Ibid.* (MS. Sloane 1986, A.D. 1430–40), p. 299.

[11] J. Strutt, *Compleat View of the Dress and Habits of the People of England*, London, 1799 ; ii, 224.

[12] J. Nichols, *Collection of Ordinances and Regulations, &c.*, London, 1790 ; p. 119.

and lay it about his neck and clasp it before with a rich owche" (brooch).[1] At Mattins on his Coronation Day he had "his furred hood sliven over his head, and rolled about his neck," but at evensong[2] it was "laid about his shoulders, and the hood and the tippet were clasped" together before his "breast with a great owche and a rich." It is noted that at evensong of Twelfth Night in the third year of his reign,[3] Henry VII wore "his hood about his shoulders, in Doctor's wise." This appears to have been the usual fashion of wearing doctor's hoods.

At the beginning of the thirteenth century the hood was part of the clerical costume out of doors, as we incidentally learn from the reproof[4] administered by the author of *Ancren Riwle* to self-reliant clergymen who considered themselves proof against the wiles of the flesh. It begins:—"Now cometh forth a feeble man, and holds himself ever so highly, if he have but a wide hood and a closed cope." This *cappa clausa* or closed cope was ordered for all rural deans and prebendaries by Cardinal Stephen Langton in the Council of Oxford, 1222; while the legate Otho required all clerks in Holy Orders to wear this very inconvenient garment, *especially in Church*, so that it—with its hood—was part of the authorised quire-habit of parish priests in the thirteenth century, and later on the legate Othobon reiterated the same injunction.[5] We find the *cappa clausa* or the surplice required at Coutances[6] in Normandy as the habit for the clerk who is to read the epistle at mass and under the name of *cappa rotunda* for the server and reader of the epistle at Angers[7] in 1269. Ten years later the legate Philip in the council of Buda[8] insisted on priests wearing surplices or their *cappæ rotundæ* at all canonical hours, especially evensong, mattins, and mass.

But hoods were not restricted to one class of society nor to one occasion nor to one sex. Ladies used to wear short hoods and tippets bound about their heads, at tournaments[9] in the fourteenth century, and at the end of the next, tippets of varying length and breadth (according to their rank), and hoods, formed part of the regulation mourning gear for court ladies.[10] Chamberers wore hoods and cloaks but no manner of tippets.[11]

Cardinal Bourchier, archbishop of Canterbury, and the convocation of his province forbade in 1460 the use of "hoods with short liripipes commonly called *Tippets*" in public to all below the status of doctor or canon of some cathedral church, as well as of little hats with liripipes attached to them.[12]

In the year 1463 the same archbishop promulgated a series of restrictions of the luxurious habits of the age, forbidding, amongst other things, the use of a hood lined

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[1] J. Nichols, *Collections of Ordinances and Regulations, &c.*, London, 1790; p. 119.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 121. [3] A Cotton MS. in J. Leland, *Collectanea*, London, 1770; iv, 235.

[4] *Ancren Riwle*, Camden Society, 1853; p. 56. The York Statutes of 1291 order the use of closed garments for vicars and forbid *capucium retortum* (H. Bradshaw and Chr. Wordsworth, *Statutes of Lincoln Cathedral*, Cambridge, 1897; ii, 115).

[5] Lindewode, *Provinciale*, Lib. III, Tit. *De vita et honestate clericorum*, Cap. *Vt clericalis ordinis*, verb. *Cappis clausis*, Antverpiae, 1525; fol. lxxxvij: or Oxford, 1679, p. 118.

[6] Martène and Durand, *Thesaurus Nov. Anecdot.*, Lutet. Parisiorum, 1717; t. iv, col. 301.

[7] *Ibid.*, col. 1082.

[8] O. Raynald, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, Coloniæ Agrippinæ, 1694; t. xiv, p. 604.

[9] Henrici Knighton, *Chronicon*, Rolls Series, 1895: ii, 57.

[10] J. Strutt, *Compleat View of the Manners . . . of England*, London, 1774–6; iii, 165.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 167. [12] D. Wilkins, *Concilia*, London, 1737; iii, 580.

or otherwise doubled, either simple with a horn-like appendage (*corneto*) or a short liripipe after the fashion of prelates and graduates, and also the wearing in public of liripipes or *tippets* of silk or cloth around the neck, to non-graduates, to those who had no ecclesiastical dignity, always excepting those priests and clerks in the service of our lord the King.[1] Previously to this a furred hood seems to have been worn by priests in general. The Ploughman complains of the Clergy in the following strain :—

> " There was more mercy in Maximien,
> And in Nero, that never was good,
> Than is now in some of them
> When he hath on his furred hood."[2]

And a later diatribe, of the time of Henry VI, apostrophises them thus :— .

> " Ye pope holy priests full of presumption,
> With your wide furred hoods void of discretion."[3]

The hoods of bishops seem to have varied in colour and material according to the wearer's taste. Thus Hall,[4] writing of the 12th March, 1525, says :—" The bishop of Scotland was much marked this day, for whensoever he came to the Court, before this time his apparel was sumptuous, his hood was ever velvet or crimson satin : but after the taking of the french king, he wore only black chamblet, by which token men judged his french heart."

The ordinary quire-habit in secular cathedral and collegiate churches,[5] from the thirteenth century until the reign of Edward VI, consisted of the following garments, worn over the cassock :—A surplice (or a rochet), an amess (*almutium*), and a black cloth cloak or cope (*cappa nigra*). Among the canons of St. Gilbert of Sempringham[6] the ministers of the altar used surplices with hoods which covered the head and neck while the mass-vestments were being put on ; apparently, however, the choir surplice was of the ordinary shape. The amess was a fur garment, at first like a shawl, open before, but afterwards in England closed in front and put on over the head. It had a small hood,[7] which was used to cover the head, though in later times this was often replaced by the *pileus* or cap.

The quires of collegiate and cathedral churches were grouped into three ranks, the uppermost consisting of the dean and canons, the middle of petty-canons and vicars ; and

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[1] Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii, 586.

[2] Thomas Wright, *Political Poems and Songs*, Rolls Series, 1859 ; i, 312.

[3] *Ibid.*, 1861 ; ii, 251. The Parson of the *Canterbury Tales* is portrayed in scarlet hood and gown in an MS. cited by J. R. Planché, *Cyclopædia*, ij, 91.

[4] *Hall's Chronicle*, London, 1809 ; p. 693. Clement Maydestone describes Richard Scrope as going to his martyrdom in a blue cassock, and a hyacinth-coloured hood about his shoulders, 8th June, 1405 (H. Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, London, 1691 ; ii, 370).

[5] W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, London, 1830 ; vj, 1339, 1344, 1373, 1389, 1408, 1419. W. H. Frere, *The Use of Sarum*, Cambridge, 1898 ; j, 24, 25. W. Dugdale, *History of St. Paul's Cathedral*, London, 1716 ; App. 34, 37. For Lichfield see *Monast. Angl.* vj, 1259, 1263. Chr. Wordsworth, *Statutes of Lincoln Cathedral*, j, 390–1 ; iij, 329. For Paris see E. Martène, *De Antiq. eccl. rit.* Lib. II : cap. v : ordo j : Antuerpiæ, 1736 ; t. ij, col. 508, 509.

[6] *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vj, pt. ij, p. 1*.

[7] See J. R. Planché, *Cyclopædia of Costume*, London, 1876 ; j, 7 : ij, 368 : and Brit. Mus. MS. Domitian A. xvij, fol. 11*b*, reproduced in the plate opposite p. 4 of J. D. Chambers's *Divine Worship in England*, London, 1877.

the lowest of boys and altarists, who, however, did not wear amesses. At first amesses were all of black, but in the fourteenth and following centuries, canons of the upper grade used the grey amess, made of grey squirrel outside and lined with minever. They of the second grade used black amesses, generally of calaber, lined with minever. There were some exceptions, however. Thomas Beck, bishop of St. David's, in founding the college of SS. Maurice and his companions and Thomas the Martyr at Lancadane, Caermarthenshire, in 1283, ordered that the canons should wear the same habit as those of St. David's, except that their amesses were to be of purple (though not of too vivid a colour), in worship of Blessed Maurice and his companions and in memory of the faithful departed, and to be lined with goat's or lamb's skin.[1] Some years previously, in 1210, William count of Pontivy[2] provided for a supply of scarlet cloth to the canons of St. Maurice of Chablais, to make red hoods (*capucia rubea*) to wear in church for a like reason. Previous to the eighteenth century the canons of St. Lô at Rouen wore an amess of violet stuff doubled and bordered with white fur in summer, and in winter a violet *cappa* or cloak with a long pointed hood of the same colour.[3] At Crediton, a collegiate church dedicated in worship of the Holy Rood,[4] the six vicars and two clerks wore amesses of black calaber; one of the latter was organist and choir-master. There were also four clerks sitting in the second grade who wore surplices and black cloaks but no amesses; they were singers with men's voices.

At Sarum[5] the canons exchanged the black amess for the grey lined with minever by special permission of King Edward II in 1319. The vicars were restricted to the use of black cloth amesses lined with lambskin or goat, by Roger de Mortival,[6] bishop in 1324; but his successor, Robert Hallam, in 1410 allowed the subdean and succentor, if they did not happen to be canons, to use for distinction calaber amesses lined with minever.[7] In the statutes he granted in 1410 to the college of St. Bartholomew, Ap., at Tonge, Salop,[8] John, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, directed the warden to use an amess like that used by the Sarum canons, but the chaplains to use black amesses like the Sarum vicars.

In parish churches the rector or vicar sometimes wore a grey amess in choir over his surplice[9]; the parish clerks, sexton, conducts or hired clerks, and the organist also wore surplices,[10] but no amesses.

The *cappa nigra* was a black cloth cope or cloak[11] worn over amess and surplice, open in front, reaching to the heels. It was worn by all ranks in choir during the winter months, generally from October or November to Easter, at all services, except when silk copes were prescribed; all the year round at mattins, at which service more protection from cold was

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[1] W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, London, 1830; vi, 1332.

[2] Cited from *Gall. Christ. Benedict.*, t. xii, col. 431, in Du Cange, *Glossarium*, &c., Niort, 1883–87; ii, 156, under CAPUTIA RUBEA.

[3] De Moleon, *Voyages Liturgiques*, Paris, 1757; p. 389.

[4] G. Oliver, *Monasticon diœcesis Exoniensis*, Exeter and London, 1846; pp. 81, 82, 84.

[5] W. H. R. Jones, *Vetus Registrum Osmundi*, Rolls Series, 1883; i, 36.

[6] W. H. R. Jones, *Fasti Ecclesiæ Sarisberiensis*, Salisbury and London, 1879–81; ii, 277.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 266.

[8] W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, London, 1830; vj, 1408.

[9] D. Wilkins, *Concilia*, iij, 615.

[10] *E.g.*, *Archæologia*, 1855; xxxvj, 222. *British Magazine*, 1834; vj, 266 :] 1847; xxxij, 487.

[11] See the plate opposite p. 25 in J. D. Chambers's *Divine Worship in England*, London, 1877.

needed because of its early hour. There were slight variations at different churches in the times for wearing the black cloak, but they are of no importance to the present inquiry. In some places it was lined with silk, as for instance is ordered in the statutes drawn up for the use of the College of St. John Baptist at Stoke by Clare, Suffolk,[1] by Master Thomas Barnesley, dean, in 1415, and confirmed by Dr. Richard Fleming, bishop of Lincoln. In the eighteenth century the black cloak, as worn by all ranks in the quire at Rouen Cathedral Church during the winter, had a red border, of velvet in the case of canons, of stuff for the rest; and a pointed hood was worn at the back of the *cappa nigra*. Besides this, the canons wore a little furred hood or *aumusson*, that covered the head and shoulders, over the black hoods.[2] We have already seen the use of violet instead of black for the colour of these quire-cloaks at the church of St. Lô in the same city.

In most instances there was a hood attached to the back of the cloak, of which some examples have already been noticed. At St. Paul's in 1374 the minor-canons[3] used large ones lined with sindon or taffeta; Roger, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, had previously ordered the same for the canons and vicars of the college of the Assumption of Blessed Mary at Astley,[4] Warwickshire, in 1343. At Exeter in 1395 the hoods of the canons, vicars, and annuelars were lined with coloured linen or silk.[5]

In some places, however, hoods were strictly forbidden. The statutes of 1247 forbade the canons of Chichester[6] to use any cope with "gorjures" in quire; and by those of 1314 the vicars were ordered to wear in quire at divine service suitable and uniform amesses or caps on their heads, but not hoods. So too at Stoke by Clare[7] in 1415, all in quire were constrained to use black caps and no manner of hoods; and about the same time the canons of Aberdeen[8] wore a clean surplice reaching halfway below the knee over the cassock, and an amess or biretta on the head, but not a hood.

The chancellor of Lincoln Cathedral Church petitioned William Alnwick, bishop, in 1437, that the canons might be allowed to leave off their black cloth copes and use only surplices and amesses, except at mattins.[9] In the first year of Edward VI this request was granted, or rather, the use of the black cloak[10] was everywhere altogether forbidden, "because it is thought to be a kind of monkery." For the same reason the visitors had been going

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[1] Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vj, 1419.

[2] De Moleon, *Voyages Liturgiques*, Paris, 1757; p. 277. In summer the canons carried a grey amess on the left arm, and the chaplains a russet amess. *Cf.* the picture of the reception of St. Gery at Cambrai in P. Lacroix's *Military and Religious Life*, &c., p. 286.

[3] *Archæologia*, 1871; xliij, 179. Wilkins, *Concilia*, iij, 134.

[4] W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, London, 1830; vj, 1373.

[5] *Archæologia*, 1817; xviij, 408, 411.

[6] *Archæologia*, 1877; xlv, 210, 211.

[7] Dugdale, *Monast. Anglic.*, vj, 1419. A similar order was made at Milan (L. A. Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, Mediolani, 1726; t. ix, col. 549). At Strassburg in 1400, vicars and prebendaries were required to wear either *pileus* and hood or *birretum* in quire (Martène, *De Antiquis ecclesiæ ritibus*, Lib. IV. in fine, Antuerpiae, 1737; iij, 652 B).

[8] *Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis*, Spalding Club, 1845; ij, 62.

[9] *Statutes of Lincoln Cathedral*, iij, 374.

[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 591, 580 sq. G. W. Kitchen and F. T. Madge, *Documents relating to the Foundation of the Chapter of Winchester*, Hampshire Record Society, 1889; p. 182.

about forbidding amesses of cloth, and all "upon earnest request," so they said.[1] But when, with the accession of Mary, there was a general revival of catholic customs, the black cloak was one of those ornaments which were not brought back,[2] so that there may have been some truth in the remark.

Parish priests in the fifteenth century certainly wore a hood on some occasions. John Myrc, canon of Lilleshul in Salop, instructs them to shrive their flock after this manner:—

> "But to thine own parishen
> Do right thus as I thee ken,
> Teach him to kneel down on his knee
> Poor or rich whether he be,
> Then over thine eyes pull thine hood,
> And hear his shrift with mild mood."[3]

And if the priest is going to visit the sick—

> "A clean surplice cast ye on,
> Take thy stole with thee right,
> And pull thy hood over thy sight."[4]

It is quite probable that this hood would have been lined and shaped in the proper manner of his degree, if he were a graduate.[5] That a hood was worn with the surplice in some places abroad (apart from the general custom of wearing the quire-cloak and its hood, or the amess and its hood) is certain. We have already noticed the custom of the canons of St. Maurice of Chablais; and in 1339, it is recorded that Arnold, bishop of Magallon,[6] forbade the use of a surplice together with a hood in processions.

In some way or other, then, a hood was part of the usual quire habit in cathedral and collegiate churches from the twelfth century onwards, and for some rites even in parish churches; lawfully ordered, indeed, as a quire vestment[7]; but so far there has been no direct evidence of its being an academical hood. This, however, differed from other hoods only in its material, its lining, and to some extent in its shape.[8]

The use of minever, pure white fur or pure grey fur, sindon, tartarin or silk was forbidden to all students and scholars at Oxford within the University in 1432, with the exception of masters or licentiates in any faculty, persons of the blood royal, and certain others of high

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[1] Chr. Wordsworth, *Tracts of Clement Maydeston*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 1894; p. 234 *note*.

[2] *Archæologia*, 1877; xlv, 210, note *d*.

[3] John Myrc, *Instructions for Parish Priests*, Early English Text Society, 1868; p. 27.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 60. The collet in the lower picture of the plate opposite p. 52 in J. D. Chambers's *Divine Worship in England*, London, 1877, is wearing over his surplice a scarlet hood.

[5] In 1417 Dr. Chicheley ordained that a doctor in one of the faculties must be presented to benefices with cure of souls of 60 marks a year value and over; if of 50 marks, a licentiate in one of the faculties or a B.D.; and if of 40 marks, the holder must be M.A. or B.A. (Wilkins, *Concilia*, iij, 381). Consequently a great number of parish priests must have been graduates.

[6] *Gallia Christiana Benedictinorum* (new edit.), t. vj, col. 383, in Du Cange, *Glossarium*, Niort, 1883–87; vij. 666, s.v. SUPERPELLICIUM. ¶ Superpelliceum.

[7] Although ordered by three authorities, yet in Lindewode's time these constitutions were practically ignored (*Provinciale*, Lib. III, Tit. *De Vita et honestate clericorum*, cap. *Vt clericalis ordinis*, verb. *Cappis clausis*, Antwerp, 1525; fol. lxxxvij: or Oxford, 1679; p. 118).

[8] H. Rashdall, *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages* Oxford, 1895; ii, 2, p. 641.

degree, or those who had at least 60 marks private income clear.[1] However, in 1489 they became so daring as to fashion their hoods like those of masters, and a statute was enacted which compelled them to keep to the ancient practice of the University, and wear a liripipe sewn to the hood and not woven of one piece with it.[2] Bachelors of the several faculties were also constrained to wear hoods lined throughout, and not merely just furred along the border.[3] Benedictine incipients in theology or canon law used to wear the hoods of their scholastic copes furred with budge[4] and lined with black sindon, and bachelors admitted to lectures on the Sentences or the Decretals also wore hoods furred in the same manner.[5] But we are not told that these were ever worn in quire.

Let us now turn to the quire-habit prescribed in the various colleges at the two Universities. Robert de Eglesfield, chaplain to Queen Philippa, wife of Edward III, caused the chaplains of Queen's College, Oxford,[6] which he founded in $134\frac{0}{1}$, to wear surplices and amesses of black cloth (called "Pers" in English) lined with black fur; but the provost and scholars to wear amesses lined with grey fur.

William of Wykeham ordained about 1394 that the warden of his college of St. Mary at Winchester[7] should wear a grey amess over his surplice in quire; the subwarden, fellows, and chaplains, amesses lined or furred over their surplices; but the rest, surplices only. Scholars and clerks were all forbidden to wear their hoods from Easter Even until All Saints' Day. This hood seems to have been attached to, and of the same material as, the cassock, and was worn by every member of the college.[8] A few years later he founded another college, this time at Oxford. The warden, vice-warden, fellows, and scholars of New College[9] were one and all bound to be present in person at both evensongs, mattins, mass, processions, and other hours on every Sunday and other solemn and inferior feasts throughout the year, wearing decent surplices of their own; and the fellows, being graduates, to use lined or furred hoods and to occupy the stalls of the chapel. Scholars within the years of probation and fellows who were not graduates were forbidden to wear hoods in choir from Easter Even until All Saints' Day.[10] Dr. Henry Chicheley, archbishop of Canterbury, founded his college of All Souls[11] in 1438, but the statutes were not granted until 1443. His directions for the quire habits agree with those Wykeham gave to New College, except that he required the fellows who were graduates to wear furred hoods over

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[1] *Munimenta Academica*, Rolls Series, 1868; j, 301.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 360. Examples of foreign tippeted hoods may be seen in Paul Lacroix's *Science and Literature in the Middle Ages*, London, 1878; pp. 11, 65.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 361.

[4] Budge is lambskin with the wool dressed outwards. See also Acts 37 Edward III, cap. 9; and 24 Hen. VIII, cap. 13, §§ i, ij.

[5] Clement Reyner, *Apostolatus Benedictinorum in Anglia*, Dvaci, 1626; App. iij. Script. lxiij, p. 136 This was the rule for all bachelors at Cambridge in 1414 (*Documents relating to the University and Colleges of Cambridge*, published by direction of the Commissioners, 1852; j, 402).

[6] *Statutes of the Colleges of Oxford*, printed by desire of H.M.'s Commissioners, 1853; j, Queen's College (4), p. 29. Perse is dark navy blue, or the blue of the facings of the uniforms of royal regiments.

[7] M. E. C. Walcott, *William of Wykeham and his Colleges*, Winchester and London, 1852; p. 217.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 133.

[9] *Statutes of the Colleges of Oxford; New College* (5), p. 68.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 80.

[11] *Statutes, &c.; All Souls' College* (7), p. 47.

their surplices, lined with silk according to their degrees. This seems to be the earliest notice of the use of a "hood after their degree" in quire. Dr. Thomas Rotherham, bishop of Lincoln, in giving statutes in $14\frac{79}{80}$ to the college founded by his predecessor, Dr. Fleming, in 1429, after directions for attendance at All Saints' Church on festivals, prescribes that the rector of Lincoln College[1] shall wear an amess, if he has one, over his surplice; but if not, then the hood of his degree; and the fellows in like manner. At Magdalen, about 1480, William Patten, of Waynflete, directed the president to wear a grey amess over his surplice, and the fellows and scholars who were graduates to wear hoods lined with sindon or tartarin agreeably to their degrees and standing.[2] The statutes given to Balliol College[3] in 1507 order the use of surplices with hoods according to their degrees, by the master, fellows, and scholars. Dr. Richard Foxe, bishop of Winchester, in 1517 prescribed the use of a grey amess over his surplice to the president of his college of Corpus Christi,[4] founded the previous year; while for the fellows and scholars, pupils and ministers of the chapel, he ordered surplices, over which those that were graduates were to wear hoods, furred or lined with tartarin agreeably to their degrees and standing. Cardinal College was founded by Wolsey in 1524 in the Priory of St. Frideswide. The dean and superior canons wore surplices and grey amesses; the minor canons surplices and hoods of blue-coloured cloth fashioned in semblance of amesses and fringed along the lower border with sky blue or grey fur. The stipendiary priests appeared in surplices and calaber amesses; the other stipendiaries and the choirmaster wore surplices and hoods like the minor canons, but without the bordering, while the chorister-boys wore surplices only.[5] After the fall of Wolsey the college was refounded by Henry VIII, in 1534, and the prebendaries or canons then wore over their surplices the grey amess lined with minever; the vicars instead used a black cloth amess lined with black fur, or doubled with sendal; the chorister-boys as before; in addition they all wore black quire cloaks (*cappa nigra*) from Michaelmas to Easter Even.[6] In Queen Mary's reign the use of the academical hood, forbidden by the second of the Edwardian Books of Common Prayer,[7] was doubtless restored in those colleges where it had previously obtained, and in the statutes of St. John's College granted in 1555 the same habits as we saw were ordered at Corpus Christi were enjoined.[8]

At Cambridge the same custom is in evidence. The graduates of King's College[9] were ordered, about 1443, to be present at both evensongs, mattins, mass, processions, and other hours of the day wearing their surplices and hoods lined or furred. Dr. Caius's statutes for Gonville and Caius Colleges,[10] first given in 1558 and modified in $157\frac{8}{9}$, prescribe the use of a surplice; and for graduates, a hood over it lined with minever if the wearer be a regent;

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[1] *Statutes, &c.;* j, *Lincoln College* (6), p. 27.
[2] *Statutes, &c.;* ij, *Magdalen College* (8), p. 63.
[3] *Statutes, &c.;* j, *Balliol College* (1), p. 9.
[4] *Statutes, &c.;* ij, *Corpus Christi College* (10), p. 40.
[5] *Statutes, &c.;* ij, *Cardinal and King Henry the VIIIth's Colleges* (11), pp. 59, 166.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 191.
[7] *The Two Liturgies . . . of King Edward VI*, Parker Society, 1844; p. 217. *Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London*, Camden Society, 1852; p. 76. *Monumenta Franciscana*, Rolls Series, 1858–82; ij, 258. Charles Wriothesley's *Chronicle of England*, Camden Society, 1877; ij, 78.
[8] *Statutes, &c.;* iij, *St. John's College* (12), p. 44.
[9] *Documents relating to the University and Colleges of Cambridge*, 1852; ij, 567.
[10] *Documents, &c.* ij, 259.

with lambskin, if a bachelor; of silk, if a non-regent. Every graduate of Cambridge University[1] was required to wear the costume proper to his degree when he walked in the general procession.

On 9th June, 1549, being Whitsunday of the third year of the reign of King Edward VI, a Book of Public or Common Prayer in English was ordered by Act of Parliament[2] to be used in the Church of England instead of the Latin books previously in use, under very severe penalties. The only portion of this compilation that concerns the present question is the following rubric[3]:—

> "In the saying or singing of Matins and Evensong, Baptizing and Burying, the minister in parish churches and chapels annexed to the same, shall use a surplice. And in all Cathedral Churches and Colleges, the Archdeacons, Deans, Provosts, Masters, Prebendaries, and Fellows, being graduates, may use in the quire, beside their surplices, such hood as pertaineth to their several degrees, which they have taken in any university within this realm. But in all other places, every minister shall be at liberty to use any surplice or no. It also seemly that graduates, when they do preach, shall use such hoods as pertaineth to their several degrees."

Let us go back for a moment to the beginning of Edward's reign, and see what changes had been effected in the quire-habit. Such as they were, they were all brought about by royal injunctions, which were entirely illegal,[4] and had no "Authority of Parliament." Still, the changes were made, and we should know what they were to understand the further alterations made by the book of 1549. During the first and second year of Edward's reign royal visitors went round to all cathedral and remaining collegiate churches,[5] forbidding the further use of the *cappa nigra*, or cope of black cloth, scapulars, black hoods or habits, and amesses of cloth. At Lincoln they ordered the canons to use surplice and grey amess only, and the other clergy to use only a surplice, and no habit or black hood.

On either the 3rd or the 9th of June, 1549, the canons of St. Paul's, London,[6] left off their grey amesses and put on instead the university hoods of their degrees, while the petty canons replaced their black calaber amesses with "tippets like other priests." We see here another instance of the use of the hood as a substitute for the grey amess, just as Dr. Rotheram had prescribed seventy years before at Lincoln College, Oxford.

In the first year of Elizabeth's reign, the State again enforced by Act of Parliament an English form of public Prayer on the Church of England,[7] under pain of heavy penalties, the act further ordering the use of such ornaments of the Church and of the ministers as was (the custom) in the second year of the reign of Edward VI, by authority

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[1] *Documents, &c.*, j, 401.

[2] *An Act for the Uniformity of Service and Administration of the Sacraments throughout the Realm*, 2 and 3 Edw. VI, cap. 1: "From and after the Feast of *Pentecost* next coming."

[3] *The two Liturgies . . . set forth by Authority in the Reign of King Edward VI*, Parker Society, 1844; p. 157.

[4] 31 Hen. VIII, c. 8, and 33 and 34 Hen. VIII, c. 23, which gave royal proclamations under certain definite conditions force of statute law, were repealed by 1 Edw. VI, c. 12. Moreover, the Edwardian proclamations quite failed to keep to the conditions required by the Acts.

[5] See p. 6.

[6] *Chronicle of the Grey Friars*, p. 59. *Monumenta Franciscana*, ij, 220. Wriothesley, ij, 14.

[7] 1 Elizabethæ, cap. 2.

of Parliament. And so we find silk copes in use in processions,[1] at evensong,[2] funerals,[3] and on numerous other occasions when they were forbidden by the rubrics of the Prayer-book of 1549. Grey and calaber amesses[4] were retained, and were in use, the former until after 1581 (in spite of an attempt by the puritan bishops[5] to make it illegal in 1571), when it shared[6] with "silken hoods in their quires upon a surplice," and "Furred hoods in sommer of their great doctors," the reputation of being "Gross points of popery evident to all men."

The archbishop-elect of Canterbury and the bishops of Chichester and Hereford wore their doctor's hoods on their shoulders over their surplices at the *Placebo* and *Dirige* for King Henry II of France, sung at St. Paul's on the 8th September, 1559; they were assisted by two prebendaries in grey amesses.[7]

In 1563 Dr. Parker[8] issued certain *Orders in Apparel* for the benefit of Oxford University, one of which was "that all Heads and other scholars, of what degree so-ever they be, shall wear in their churches or chapels at the time of Common Prayer, surplices, and hoods according to their degree." By Common Prayer he meant mattins and evensong, as in the next order the phrase is contrasted with "Solemn Communion." And two years later he enforced this order on certain recalcitrants at Christ Church and Magdalen College. In 1564 matters had so far progressed in a puritan direction that all ceremonial decency was well-nigh abolished; to remedy which Parker, with the connivance of the civil authority set forth and endeavoured to enforce that series of injunctions commonly known as the Advertisements,[9] by which deans and prebendaries were required to wear a surplice and a silk hood of their degree in quire, and a hood in preaching, while in parish churches a surplice was ordered to be used.

So things continued until 1603, when the Church of England gave birth to certain canons, the 25th of which orders the use of surplices and such hoods as are agreeable to their degrees to deans, heads of colleges, canons and prebendaries, who are graduates, when there is no communion, in cathedral and collegiate churches; while the 58th requires the minister in all parish churches and at every service to use the same, unless he happens to be a non-graduate, when he is not allowed to wear a hood, but may use, instead of the hood, some decent tippet of black so it be not of silk.

In 1661 Convocation produced a new Book of Common Prayer, which was adopted and enforced by penal legislation on the part of the State[10] in the following year; a book in which the Church of England finally repudiated and recovered from "the Principles of the Reformation." In it there is a rubric ordering the use of such ornaments of the Church

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[1] *Diary of Henry Machyn*, Camden Society, 1848; pp. 232, 257, 258, 280, 306. E. Ashmole, *Institution . . . of the Garter*, London, 1672; 564–6, 576.

[2] J. Nichols, *Progresses of Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth*, London, 1788; vol. j, *At Cambridge*, 1564, p. 11. John Stow, *Annales*, Londini, 1631; p. 1033.

[3] *E.g.*, Stow, *Annales*, 819.

[4] *Diary of Henry Machyn*, 258. E. Cardwell, *Synodalia*, Oxford, 1842; ij, 497–8.

[5] *Synodalia*, j, 115, 116.

[6] *British Magazine*, 1842; xvj, 625.

[7] J. Strype, *Annals of the Reformation*, London, 1725; j, 127, 128.

[8] J. Strype, *Life and Acts of Matthew Parker*, London, 1711; p. 164, and App., bk. iij: no. xl, p. 71.

[9] *Ibid.*, App. bk. ij, p. 49. Bp. Sparrow's *Collection of Articles, &c.*, London, 1671; pp. 124 sq.

[10] 13 and 14, Carol. II, cap. 4.

and the ministers thereof to be used as were (lawful) in the Church of England in the second year of the reign of Edward VI, by authority of Parliament. Now in that year there does not seem to have been any use of hoods in quire except in some college chapels, and perhaps in parish churches; even under the book of 1549 it was allowed only in cathedral and collegiate churches, though as a preaching vestment it is commended if not commanded, apparently wherever the preacher was a graduate. Is, then, the hood an ornament prescribed by the rubric? It seems not, except in the cases referred to. Should we, then, discontinue its use? No, for the canons of 1603 which order its use are quite compatible with the rubric, and therefore are still in force. There is a long prescription from 1603 down to the present century for the use of the academical hood as a quire vestment by all clergy who were graduates, a period of nearly 300 years, during which its use was enjoined by bishop after bishop[1] in his visitation articles, both before and after 1661. Custom which is beside the canon law,[2] is not required to show longer prescription than ten years, and here we have 300. Nor can it be said that the use of a hood is less reasonable than the use of a *cappa nigra* or an amess. Before this, there is over forty years' prescription for its use by all the cathedral and collegiate clergy of the upper grade, from 1549 to 1553, and from 1559 to 1603. There is a further catena of authorities for its use in certain collegiate foundations at the Universities from 1400 onwards. And lastly, it must be remembered that a hood of some sort was an ornament of the minister, at any rate in cathedral and collegiate quires, for at least 200 years before that. We can use hoods in quire, therefore, not so much on the ground of the Ornaments Rubric as of long custom, arising out of deliberation and not of ignorance, and contrary neither to the canon nor the civil law.

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[1] The statutes of cathedral churches sometimes show the same, as for instance those of Hereford (*Statutes of Lincoln Cathedral, &c.*, ij, 80, note). It may be noticed that the clergy in the plates opposite pp. 129, 181, 209, 373, and 402 in J. D. Chambers's *Divine Worship*, are all without hoods over their surplices; which tends to show that these ornaments were not worn during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries at litany and mass as often as is supposed.

[2] On the matter of custom, the following gloze of Nicholas de Tudeschis on *Decr. Greg. IX*, Lib. I, Tit. *De consuetudine*, cap. *Cum tanto*, is of value:—"Quantum vero tempus requiratur ad consuetudinem inducendam. varie sunt opi. glo. hic in prin. requirit tempus .x. annorum sicut in prescriptione. Alii requirunt tempus de cuius inicio memoria non fit vt statim subijcitur in glo. Sed tu conclude sic materiam aut queritur de iure ciuili aut de iure canonico. Primo casu communiter tenetur vt sufficiat tempus .x. annorum. etiam si consuetudo sit contra ius quod probant legiste hac ratione iura longum tempus ad inducendam consuetudinem vt C. que sit longa consuetudo in rubro et nigro. et in l. ii C. de seruitu sed longum tempus dicitur .x. annorum vt C. de prescrip. lon. temp. per totum ergo &c. Et hanc opinio sequitur Bar. in d. l. de quibus & Cy. in d. l. ii. De iure vero canonico dic quia autem consuetudo est preter ius & sufficit tempus .x. annorum. ad hoc gl. nō. i. c. fi. j. eo. li. vj. & in C. consuetudo .xij. di. quod videtur limitandum nisi consuetudo veniat ad retrahendum iuri alicuius ecclesie quia tunc sicut in prescriptione ecclesie requiritur tempus. xl. annorum. ita in consuetudine. Et est hoc notabile dictum Inno. s̄ eo cum dilectus quod est bene notandum. videtur tamen ibi Inno. restringere quando consuetudo est contra ecclesiam particularem. secus si contra ecclesiam vniuersalem non tamen ad hoc video bonam rationem diuersitatis quia non debet esse minus fauorabile totum corpus ecclesie quam aliquod membrum ipsius ecclesie aut consuetudo est contra ius canonicum et tunc requiritur tempus xl. annorum et in hoc casu requiritur quod consuetudo sit prescripta ut hic & in c. iii. eo. ti. li. vj. et rationem diuersitatis inter ius canonicum et ciuile s̄ dixi. Et quare maius tempus requiritur quando est contra ius quam quando est preter. Verum tamen puto verissimum quia vbi consuetudo venit contra ea que sunt reseruata principi in signum specialis priuilegii tunc vtroque iure requiritur tempus de cuius initio non est memoria vt est tex. nō in c. super quibusdam de verbo bo. signi cessat enim in illis casebus ratio quam s̄ dixi per quam de iure ciuili sufficit tempus." Colophon . . . Parnormitani super primum decretalium . . . Basilee . . . MCCCC lxxvii: agrees with Venetiis, apud Iuntas 1588; t. i, p. 267.

But the hoods that are worn should conform to the earlier shape, and be worn on the shoulders, and not dangling by a ribbon at the back of the knees. The mediæval hood had a cape, which was put on over the head, and not buttoned up the front as modern imitations thereof are wont.[1]

With regard to the use of a hood at other than quire services, one may add a few words. The rubric would allow the priest to wear a hood when shriving or when carrying the Eucharist to the sick, both of which practices were customary among mediæval parish priests. Custom would sanction its use in Rogation processions, but one may doubt whether anything sanctions the common purposeless meander round the church before high mass and at other times, and hence the question of what ornaments the minister should wear therein hardly arises.

As a mass vestment the case is different. The rubric is absolutely incompatible with its use in this way, and ornaments of merely *personal* dignity are out of place on those engaged in offering the Eucharistic Sacrifice.

As a substitute for the hood, ministers who are non-graduates are permitted by the canons of 1603 to wear tippets of black of some material that is not silk.[2] Now what is a tippet, or *liripipium*, as the Latin version of the canon has it? The mediæval dictionaries known as the *Promptorium Parvulorum*[3] and the *Catholicon Anglicum*[4] both give "Tippet—*liripipium*"; while Levin's *Manipulus Vocabulorum*[5] has "a tippet—*stola*." Tippet and liripipe are therefore the same, whatever they may be; and in some cases at least the tippet was sufficiently like the stole of the fifteenth century for Levin to translate it *stola*.

It is very evident when we come to inspect the examples of *liripipium* or tippet that there were at least two articles called by this name. Du Cange defines *liripipium* as (1) *Epomis seu potius longa fascia* and (2) *cauda caputii*. Of this latter sort was Friar Hubert's tippet[6] that was stuffed full of knives; evidently it was the tail of the hood, and identical with the "cornet" of the hoods worn by prelates and graduates mentioned by Bourchier[7] in 1463. In 1460 the same archbishop had complained[8] that simple priests wore "hoods with short liripipes, commonly called *tippets*"; these seem to be akin to the liripipes sewn to the bachelors' hoods at Oxford[9] in 1489, and to those worn by the Court

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[1] Some illustrations of fifteenth century hoods may be seen in *Archæologia*, 1892; liij, plate 14 (opposite p. 229), representing the society of Winchester College; plate 15 (opposite p. 230), representing the society of New College, Oxford, some members having hoods with tippets; and plate 16 (opposite p. 232), representing William of Wykeham and other ecclesiastics in academical costume. Also in *Transactions of the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society*, IV, part III, after p. 208. H. Haines, *Manual of Monumental Brasses*, Oxford and London, 1861; pp. lxxxij, lxxxiij, lxxxiv. The hoods shown in Bernard Picart's *Ceremonies et Coutumes Religieuses*, Amsterdam, 1723; tom. ij, opp. pp. 12, 16, 20, 114 are buttoned, but they are neither English nor mediæval; they perhaps are intended to represent amesses.

[2] Loco caputiorum . . . liripipia . . . . ex nigro (modo ne serico).

[3] *Promptorium Parvulorum*, Camden Society, 1843-65; iij, 494.

[4] *Catholicon Anglicum*, Camden Society, 1882; p. 389.

[5] *Manipulus Vocabulorum*, Camden Society, 1867; p. 87. That a tippet was something wherewith a man could conveniently hang himself may be seen from Thomas Cranmer's *Miscellaneous Writings*, Parker Society, 1846; p. 319.

[6] *The Students' Chaucer*, p. 422: Prol. to *Tales*, l. 233. *Cf.* J. R. Planché's *Cyclopædia*, j, 45, 118, 198, 292, 295-7; ij, 112.

[7] See p. 3.

[8] See p. 1.

[9] See p. 8.

ladies as part of their mourning gear. A duchess, for instance, wore one reaching to the ground, and half-an-inch and one nail in width.[1] We also find the term "liripipe" applied to the extremely elongated toe pieces worn in the fifteenth century.[2]

Another sort of tippet or liripipe was referred to by Bourchier in 1463. Graduates, dignitaries, and clerks in the King's service, and no others, were allowed to wear liripipes or tippets of cloth or silk around the neck.[3] Of a similar nature was the "tippet of fine sables" that Wolsey[4] used to wear "about his neck" when "going to Westminster Hall daily in the term season," and the collar or tippet of sables[5] worn by most sixteenth century English bishops. We note that this vestment was (1) not used in quire, but out of the church; (2) a vestment of dignity and rank. Tippets of sarcenet were ordered by Parker's Advertisements[6] as part of the "outward apparel" of deans, masters of colleges, archdeacons, and other dignitaries in cathedral churches, Doctors and Bachelors in Divinity or Laws; and the 74th canon of 1603 extends the order to all prebendaries, whether priests or deacons, and also forbids the use of tippets to all other ministers. In post-Edwardian times, then, the tippet was still worn out of church and as a vestment of dignity. This prevailed after 1661, as we learn from the *Spectator*, No. 21 (March 24th, 17$\frac{1}{1}\frac{0}{0}$), where "Doctors of Divinity, prebendaries and all that wear scarfs" are classed together as ecclesiastical "field-officers." But Addison goes on to insinuate that many clergy who were not entitled to use scarves nevertheless did so. In 1714 this had become still more common: the *Spectator* of October 20th, 1714 (No. 609), relates how a country gentleman was so astonished "to see the town so mightily crowded with doctors of divinity"; but his friend assured him that he was mistaken, for all the young clergy, even directly after their "first degree in the University," used to indulge in scarves "of the first magnitude," which the writer regarded as "a mark of vanity or affectation."

This was a tippet of dignity, worn out of the church, but not in quire. There was another sort, however, for Bradford[7] speaks of shaven crowns and tippets as marks by which priests were known. Of this sort the Act of 24 Henry VIII, c. 13, § ij, makes mention, allowing tippets of black velvet, sarcenet, or satin to deans, doctors, and the higher clergy; while lesser clergy were forbidden to use in their tippets either sarcenet or silk unless they

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[1] J. Strutt, *Compleat View of the Manners . . . of England*, London, 1774–6; iij, 166. J. R. Planché, *Cyclopædia*, ij, 153.

[2] *Munimenta Academica*, Rolls Series, 1868; p. 421. J. R. Planché, *Cyclopædia of Costume*, London, 1876; ij, 133.

[3] Wilkins, *Concilia*, iij, 586.

[4] Geo. Cavendish, *Life of Cardinal Wolsey*, edited by S. W. Singer, London, 1827; p. 105.

[5] The Statutes of Cardinal College, Oxford, p. 84 (*Statutes, &c.*, vol. ij, No. 11), mention in the course of some regulations that certain costly materials of dress were not to be used, "sive in torquibus quas appellant liripipia, Anglice *tipetts*." Collar, liripipe, and tippet here mean the same thing. See Planché's *Cyclopædia*, j, 220; John Foxe, *Actes and Monuments*, London, 1583; pp. 1615, 1911: H. Haines, *Manual of Monumental Brasses*, Oxford and London, 1861; p. ccxxix: and Plate C of Dr. Wickham Legg's paper on "The Black Scarf" in *Transactions of the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society*, Vol. III.

[6] Bp. Sparrow's *Collection of Articles, &c.*, London, 1671; p. 126. At Cambridge in 1588 D.D.s and masters of colleges were allowed to "wear a scarlet tippet or a tippet of velvet, according to the ancient customs of the realm and university," in Cambridge, at Court, and in the City of London (H. Ellis, *Original Letters, First Series*, London, 1824; iij, 26).

[7] *The Writings of John Bradford*, Parker Society, 1848; p. 428.

were either Masters of Arts or Bachelors of Laws, or had an income of £20 clear. Apparently all ranks of Elizabethan clergy were compelled to wear tippets of some sort in public; it is hardly clear from Grindal's words[1] whether they were worn in church in public prayers or not. Whether it was a tippet of this sort that the petty canons put on in place of their calaber amesses is not quite certain; but petty canons wore sarcenet tippets about 1547, as we can see in a story related by Dr. Thomas Cranmer.[2] Still, there is no evidence that "other priests" ever wore tippets over their surplices before the seventeenth century. The canons of 1603 permit priests who are non-graduates to wear black cloth tippets, and in quire, like the tippets of the petty canons of St. Paul's in 1549. It must be distinguished from the second kind of tippet mentioned above, because it is (1) only a quire vestment, and (2) a vestment denoting inferior rank from an academical point of view. On the other hand, it denotes the clerk in holy orders as distinct from a laic. What the black tippet of non-graduates was like must remain a matter of conjecture in the absence of any pictorial representation or accurate description; but it is difficult to see how it could have been other than a long and more or less wide strip of black cloth. It does not appear that that part of the hood which falls like a cape over the shoulders was ever known as a "tippet," or considered in any other way than as part of the hood.

The tippet bound about the head with which Dennis Simpkin, the miller of Trumpington, used to deck himself when he went to church on holy days with his wife, the parson's daughter, must have been a scarf-like piece of cloth wound round his head in something after the fashion of a turban.[3] In the famous picture of the triumph of St. Thomas Aquinas there is a man on the right wearing a tippet bound about his head in this manner.[4]

We conclude, therefore, that a tippet is a long strip of cloth, worn stole-wise round the neck, and not a cape or hood, in spite of Du Cange explaining *liripipium* as *epomis*, a word usually used for the hood. The use of this tippet as part of the out-of-doors costume is confined to those who wear it with part of their university habit. Bishops usually wear their sarcenet tippets over their chimeres and rochets, but this was all merely part of their out-of-doors costume, and is not sanctioned (except by custom) as the vesture for any time of their ministration in church. Non-graduates, on the other hand, are allowed by the canons to wear a black stuff tippet in quire, but the custom has become practically obsolete, its place being taken by hoods of various shapes and colours, according to the chancellors' schools in which they were instructed. There can be no objection to this practice, for a hood has only come to be regarded as designating a university graduate by a more or less gradual process of exclusion; and a member of one or other university is sufficiently distinguished from a non-graduate by the colour of the lining of his hood. These theological hoods might with advantage conform to mediæval shape, and not merely consist of half of the hood as at present.

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[1] *The Remains of Edmund Grindal*, Parker Society, 1843; p. 335. He describes it, "Colloque circumducta stola quædam ab utroque humero pendula, et ad talos fere dinissa."

[2] Thomas Cranmer, *Miscellaneous Writings and Letters*, Parker Society, 1846; p. 38.

[3] *The Students' Chaucer*; 468, 469, *The Reeve's Tale*, ll. 32 *sq.*

[4] Paul Lacroix, *Military and Religious Life in the Middle Ages*, London (Bickers and Son), no date; Fig. 260, opposite p. 332. From a painting by Benozzo Gozzoli (fourteenth century), now in the Louvre.

Lastly, there is a practical point which may be considered. Hoods in summer-time are certainly unpleasant to wear; they are very warm, and were of course (originally) worn for that reason. And as they are merely ornaments of personal dignity, and not of ecclesiastical order, there is no reason why they should not conform to the rules which governed the use of other like ornaments, such as the *cappa nigra* and the amess, the former being laid aside (except for midnight mattins) during the summertide from Easter to October, and the latter being worn, carried, or laid on the stall-side at the pleasure of the wearer.[1]

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[1] In British Museum MS. Domitian A, xvij, fol. 11*b*, reproduced in the plate opposite p. 4 in J. D. Chambers' *Divine Worship*, London, 1877, may be seen clergy in choir, some wearing their amesses, and some with the amesses laid over the side of the stall.

ON THE COMMEMORATION OF JOHN POTTER AT WESTMINSTER.

BY

LELAND L. DUNCAN, F.S.A.

Directions for Mass for the good of the soul form a prominent part of the contents of mediæval wills. The wealthy found perpetual chantries, the smaller folk masses for a term of years, while those of lesser degree content themselves with humbler requests, such as "Placebo and dirige by note in the evening and mass of Requiem in the morning." There is an interesting point to be observed respecting these commemorations, viz., the request for the interpolation into the mass between the Offertorium and the Lavabo of the Psalm De Profundis with the usual collects and suffrages. I do not find any liturgical authority for this interpolation, but the phraseology used by the testators is so nearly identical that the custom must have been widely spread. Thus in the will of William Milett of Dartford dated 10th September, 1500 [Ch. Ch. Canterbury F. 70a], after arranging for mass at the altar of Our Lady in Dartford Church, the testator adds "Ferthermore the forseid William Milett willith and avisably ordeyneth for evermore to endure that whosoever here afterward havyng charge by this ordenance to sey the seid morowe masse at our lady awter he at every suche masse after the offertory sayd or he washe his hands he say De profundis wt the comen suffrages according therto specially for the soules of William Rotheley and Roger Janet first founders and begynners of this masse and for all cristen soules."

Again in the will of Richard Walker dated 12 Nov. 1494, after founding a perpetual chantry at the altar in the Trinity Chapel in Lewisham Church, there is the direction, "Also that the same preste dayly in his masse atte the first lavatarye at Sowthe end of the aulter ther shall turne him toward the people and shall say for my sowle and the sowle of my said wyf whanne she ys deceased and all cristen soulys the psalme of De profundis with the prayers and collets theronto accustomed."

There is a precisely similar request in the will of Thomas Kysyng, mercer, of the parish of St. Antholin in Watling Street, dated 26 Aug. 1496 (Reg. F., folio 176a Ch. Ch. Cant.), and instances could be easily multiplied.

But it was not always mass that was ordered to be said, and the will to which I wish to draw your attention introduces us to another and interesting form of commemoration.

John Potter, the testator, belonged to an old yeoman family, which had been seated at Well Street (now Chartwell) in Westerham in Kent since the reign of Henry IV, and the brasses of several of his connections may be seen in the church of that town. The manor was part of the endowment of Queen Eleanor's chantry at Westminster, and John Potter,

asks the forgiveness of "my lorde abbot, maister Priour and maister tresorer . . . in all that I have not doon my dutye and dyligent service to them accordinge to my fee." His will is dated the 30th June, 1522, but it was not proved until 7 Dec. 1530. The particular clause to which I have referred is as follows :—

"Allso I will that my said executours cause immediately after my dethe this antem herafter wrytten to be songe by the syngers of our lady masse of the monastre of Westm[r] by the space of one hole yere every frydaye if it be no double feaste and if it be a doble fest then the next day followinge and for their payne I will they have every weeke duringe the said yere xx[d] to be delyveryed to thands of the maister of the children syngers, And this Anthem to be songe before sume Image of Saint Petur within the said monastery in suche maner as shall please them playne songe or other wise, etc Sic incipit —

Juste judex Jesu Christe rex regum et domine
Qui cum patre semper regnas et cum sancto flamine
Nunc digneris preces nostras clementer suscipere.
Tu de celis descendisti virginis in vterum
Vnde sumens veram carnem visitasti seculum
Tuum spalma[1] redimendo sanguinem per proprium..
Illa quesumus deus noster gloriosa passio
Servum tuum a nephando eruat incendio
Et cum sanctis in perhenni jungat contubernio.
Sisque Petre ductor ejus ad celi palacia
Cui Christus potestatem relaxandi crimina
Fecit summa cum hic veniens pertulit opprobria.

With this Collete:—

Domine sancte pater qui filium tuum vnigenitum sacro flamine operante in virginis utero carnem nostram assumere voluisti ut homines perditos suo sanguine lucri ferreret[2] supplices quesumus vt servum tuum Johannem qui ab hujus mundi miseria sancta fide et bona spe decessit in libro vite ascribi digneris qui vivis etc.

Sayinge at their departinge every synger thes wordes—'Jesu pardon the soules of John, Richard and Alice and all Christian soules'—

Also I will that my forsaid executours cause allso this forsaid Anthem and colecte to be songe immediatly after my deathe within the churche of Westram every Frydaye after high masse by the space of on yere if it be not double feast, and if it be double feaste than the sonday next after, before hye masse and after procession, by the vicar or his depute the parrishe clerke or other syngers there, saying thes wordes after the Colete every syngar alta voce—

'Ihesu Christe, pardon the soulis off John, Richard and Alice and all Christen soules'—and for their labour and payne I will that thei have every weke duringe the said yere xij[d] that is to saye the Vicar or his depute in his absence iiij[d] the parrish clerke iiij[d] and to the other syngers there beinge present iiij[d]."

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[1] *Sic* probably for *plasma*.

[2] *Sic*.

NOTES ON THE ECCLESIASTICAL REGISTERS OF LONDON.

BY

THE REV. G. L. HENNESSY, B.A.

"What a waste of time over these old registers!" is the greeting of most people when the subject is mentioned. Yet from actual experience I have found that to decipher them and to translate their contents is one of the most fascinating pursuits for a student of history. Here you have the everyday life of the Church and her dealings with both clergy and laity, here you will find the encroachments recorded of kings and popes, and here you will find the gradual rise and fall of the Church's power, the founding of abbeys and chantries, their various vicissitudes and powers, the system of patronage, and the abuses arising from exchanges, with many other incidental historical references which throw sidelights on the history not only of the Church but also of the State in her various dealings with the Church.

The bishops' registers of London begin in 1306 and come down to the present time, with certain *lacunæ*. Between 1337 and 1361 the registers are missing; there is also a gap between 1371 and 1381, and one more of comparatively modern date from 1620 to 1626–7. After that the registers are complete.

My own work on the episcopal registers began on July 29th, 1889, and ended September 24th, 1897. I worked on them, on an average, three days a fortnight, and made extracts of about 40,000 names.

Beside the episcopal registers, for the object I had in view it was necessary to search other subsidiary registers, as well as the Canterbury registers, in order to make complete lists of incumbents and dignitaries for the whole ancient diocese of London, which, up to forty years ago, included a little of Bucks, part of Herts, and the whole of Essex, as well as London and Middlesex.

When the diocese was void, the Archbishop of Canterbury or the King presented to the benefices which became vacant; and when there was a craze for exchanging, which flourished between 1330 and 1490, the King gave his license to exchange, when one of the benefices was in his gift, so that it was necessary to search the Patent Rolls, which begin with the third year of King John and come down to the present day. From these I have taken about 80,000 names, which take in almost every parish in England.

But to come back to their contents, one is struck with the care and brevity of the early records and the neat writing of the scribe, who received for his trouble about fourpence a day—equal to at least ten shillings of our present money. At any rate, he did his work well and with wonderful brevity, when contrasted with the verbosity and vain repetitions, and, indeed, in some cases, the carelessness of the present-day scribe. For instance, take the

record of an institution to a benefice in the year 1306, when the whole transaction was recorded in four lines. Here is an example:—

"Thomas de Wynton, clericus, presentatus ad ecclesiam Sancti Petri de Wodestreet, London, nostri diocese vacante, per Religiosum virum Adam de Sancto Albano ipsius ecclesiæ, patronum sexto die Martii fuit admissus ut Rector', institutum canonice in eadem."

In the present day the whole thing is made a business of, and it would take at least one hundred and fifty lines to record the same transaction. It would be interesting to know how much, or rather how little, was paid to the registrar in those early days. Nowadays we have "notification of vacancy," "resignation bond," "commission to Archdeacon to induct," "Bishop's record of institution," "certificate of reading one's self in"; then the newly beneficed parson has scarcely lighted a fire in the rectory, when down comes the diocesan surveyor with his report of dilapidations, and various other documents, by which time he ought to feel himself bound hand and foot, if the multitude of documents and forms could do it.

One of the next things that strikes the student is the constant exchanges made by the clergy, from 1330, when the craze was almost universal, down to 1490, when it ceased almost altogether. After that date there were not five exchanges in the diocese during the year; before, there were at least sixty every year. A man is installed in a canonry, and his seat is not well warmed, when he is off again to a better and more lucrative one, or he is installed by deputy to a canonry he has never seen nor intends to occupy. Sometimes his stall was in Ireland; now and then he breaks this rule and turns up in his stall, when he meets with a warm reception. There are many instances of priests holding as many as twenty benefices, some of which had never been visited. To such a depth did this sink that in 1366 a return was made by the Archbishop of Canterbury of all pluralists in his province. This was done at the instance of the Pope, who was himself, by the way, the greatest transgressor in encouraging and upholding this same abominable and corrupt system.

Here are specimens out of hundreds of similar cases, nor are they by any means the worst:—

"Master Thomas Yong cleric, LL.B., Official of the Bows, Chancellor of London, Curé of the School of Theology and Grammar, Lecturer of Theology, Vicar of Bosham, Vicar of Ealing, Canon of Wells, Canon of the Convent of S. Mary Wynton, Prebendary of Alkanyngs, Canon of the Free Chapel Royal of Wolverhampton, Prebendary of Kywaston, Canon of Wymborne, Minister and Prebendary of Southwell." He held them all at one and the same time.

"John Cordray is Archdeacon of Lewes in Chichester also Prebendary of Donilonan in the Church of Dublin, Ireland, and although he has sought for possession of the same he has it not as yet on account of the war in Ireland, as he says."

"William de Dyghton pb. and Clerk of the King, Curate of Stayndrop, Durham dio.; Prebendary of Teynton Regis in Sarum, Preb. of Toleshunt in St. Martin le Grand, London; Canon in the Collegiate Church of Howden, York dio. being Prebendary of Thorp in the same, Prebendary of the Cursal Stall in St. David's; Prebendary of Warminster in Wells, which he exchanges for other benefices, likewise the said Wm. has a Grace from the Apostolic See of the Prebend of Boseham in Chichester dio. which he has not yet secured, and which Grace he never intends to use and renounces it by these presents, as he says."

I pass on now to consider another class of documents, viz., the wills. When a man

possessed property beyond the value of £5 in more dioceses than one, the Archbishop's official claimed that the will should be proved in the prerogative court of Canterbury. These wills have been indexed by the Index Society up to 1585, but apart from these are the commissary court registers and the consistory court registers (to be found at Somerset House), in both of which wills were proved, as well as those wills to be found in the bishops' registers.

In all these wills is an almost invariable form of commending the soul to God and the body to be buried in the parish church, sometimes giving details as to the exact spot.

Here is one specimen of such. It is the will of Sir John Thode, parish priest of St. Mary Magdalen, Old Fish Street, London, in 1482, wherein he directs his body to be buried "in my vestment that I was first sacred in tukkyd upon me, with a payr of Corkyd Shoss upon my fete, in a chest naylid, afor the High Auter in the Chancel of the sayd Churche, that is to saye, in the same place where the *Confiteor* is sayd before the Masse. And I will that ther be made a vaute in the ground of lyme and breke wher as my body shall be buryed, if it may be congruely done after the discrecion of min executors, and I will that ther be layd upon my grave a marbell stone with an Image of laton of the figur of a prest revessed, to be fixed upon the same stone, and that the scriptur of myn obite to be sette at the other end of the seid stone. . . ."

Or take another instance from the will of William Huntyngdon, who died in 1453. He was "parsonne (an almost invariable word for rector as distinguished from vicar) of the parish church of St. James atte Garleke within London," who desires his body to be buried "in the entre of the quere of the seid churche," and he gives his "*white* vestment perpetually to serve at the high Auter: and on holidays also at morowe masse Auter in worship of our lady and St. James."

Here is another which gives an idea of London Use, in those days, I mean the different colours of the vestments; it is the will of Sir John Graunte, priest, who died in 1517. He desires his body to be buried in St. Michael Bassingshawe "as ny the Thresshold as may be," and he bequeaths his vestments, "that is to wite, a white, a grene and a blake, to the same."

Yet another, which gives the place of baptism—John Kendall, "presbiter." In this case, he died in 1517, he desires to be buried in the chapel of St. Mary Magdalen, "near the Guyld Hall, London," or in any other holy place, "in alio sancto loco," and he leaves a bequest to the church of St. Oswald of Sturbby, that is, Strubby, Lincoln diocese, "ubi baptisatus fui."

Sir John Saron, "prest and parson of St. Nicholas Oluff in Bred Street, London," died in 1519, desires to be buried in that "in the quer on the left side of Maister Harry Willows some tyme parson of the sayd Churche, or before Seynt Nicholas, with a littell tombe for the resurrection of Ester Day," and he gives twenty shillings to the parish church of Bloxam "wher I was borne."

John Joye cl. (1480) desires to be buried in the cemetery of the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, London, "near paules crosse and near the tree fallen there to the west"; then there is a bequest of a corporas with one case for placing the same corporas in, a bequest to the Recluse, near the Church of All Hallows, London Wall; and a bequest to the Anchorite near the Church of St. Botolph, Bishopsgate of 3*s*.

Now it is to be noted that up to about 1540 the parson is almost always appointed as

one of the executors or supervisor of each of his parishioners' will, but after this there is a complete change; we hear no more of him in wills, nor is he even remembered. Up to this time every person had thought about his family, his servants, and always had a corner in the will for his "ghostly fader," the parish where he was born, or where he dwelt. Many, too, had a favourite spot in the church where they desired to be buried—"beneath the seat where I usually sat," "beneath the high altar," "before the image of St. Mary," while later on it changes from the *altar* to the *pulpit*, "beneath the pulpit where I used to preach from."

Passing on from wills, we come back to the registers, noting that in the present day, before a man can be instituted to a benefice or dignity, he must be in priest's orders, but in the early registers we find that many of the prebendal stalls were filled by laymen, or men in one or other of the minor orders, such as acolyte or sub-deacon, and this was encouraged by the various popes, who were continually presenting boys or youths to prebendal stalls by way of "provision," and even in St. Paul's Cathedral many of the chantries were filled by deacons, who farmed their chantries to priests to say mass instead of themselves.

In pre-Reformation times, discipline was maintained strictly; for instance, we have an old register in St. Paul's Cathedral, known as W.D. 13. This contains all the doings of the Dean and Chapter from July, 1411, to December 30, 1447, and gives all the presentations made to benefices, chantries, and minor canonries, the discipline in the cathedral itself enforced on the canons, minor canons, and vicars choral, although that discipline was in several cases very mild when looked at from the point of view taken in the present day.

On one occasion the Dean and Chapter admonish seven of the vicars choral, with regard to certain suspicions they had, not to harbour certain persons, and on another occasion the penalty for a certain nameless offence was that the guilty party should go without wine for forty days; at any rate, the Dean and Chapter attempted to keep matters straight and enforced their discipline on all alike, whether canons, chaplains, or vicars choral.

There was a custom also in those days as to the choosing of minor canons, which in a modified form, I believe, but I am subject to correction, prevailed up to recent times, viz., the minor canons presented two persons from which the Dean and Chapter selected one to be minor canon.

On August 26, 1417, the Dean and Chapter, there being present John Aleyn, succentor, Richard Hokynton, senior cardinal, and John Lynne, minor canon, who intimate the death of Dominus John Wykyngston, minor canon, and nominate John Caston and Dominus John Scarle as fit persons to obtain the said minor canonry; the Dean and Chapter choose Dominus John Scarle, who thereupon resigns the chantry he held into the hands of the Dean and Chapter.

In this register we find the precentor admonishing Richard Geege or Geek, chaplain, celebrating in the perpetual chantry of Adam Bury and Roger Holm, to faithfully serve his chantry according to the foundation of the same and not to travel farther from St. Paul's than the parish of Tyborne.

On July 10, 1446, the Dean and Chapter admit Robert Neyward, *alias* Chaundeler, to be custos of the crucifix at the north door of St. Paul; also at the same time dispense Simon Dykon, being over sixty and having other infirmities, from attendance in the choir.

Then we have very complete registers of St. Paul's, from 1666 to the present time preserved in the library there. Not only did the Dean and Chapter institute, but this corporation also licensed to curacies and issued licenses for holding service in chapel,

and even issued faculties, for on March 7, 1829, a faculty was issued to remove the corpse of Alex. Stuart, deceased, from St. Luke's, Old Street, by the vicar-general of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, on the representation of A. Stuart, Esq.; this Alex. Stuart being an infant buried June 24, 1820, in a leaden coffin, to be removed to a Scottish kirk in St. Pancras parish.

There is also in St. Paul's a register (W.D. 2), entitled "Book of Subscriptions from 1st April, 1686, to 23rd August, 1723." This is a list of persons who subscribed to the Articles of Religion; it includes priests, parish clerks, teachers of schools, vicars choral, and others.

In a Box, 74, is to be found a list of seventy-three chantries with their respective chaplains in St. Paul's.

In post-Reformation times it was found more difficult to enforce discipline and much trouble was given by the clergy. On July 18, 1578, an interdict was placed on the church of St. Anne, Blackfriars, because the minister did not celebrate the Sacraments according to the ritual of the Church of England, in not using the surplice. A similar interdict was applied to the church of the Minories, near the Tower, on August 9, 1578, but Robert Hease, the minister there, soon came to his senses, for on August 11 he promised "to observe the Book of Common Prayer," and so the interdict was recalled.

In all these proceedings of the sixteenth century one is continually reminded of the nineteenth century, for stone altars gave the same offence then as now.

On November 5, 1562, the vicar-general directs his writ to Robert Bassett and John Griffin, guardians of the church of St. Magnus, London Bridge, "that on the said Sunday next they shall break or cause to be broken in two parts all the Aultare Stones in the same Church . . . and to certify in their own persons on the following day that the same has been done."

The ritual controversy seems to have waged warm in those days also, for on April 27, 1588, Thomas Hayward, Vicar of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, appeared before the vicar-general and desired "to have the vestment and albe and all other things by the order of the highe Commissioners delivered to the Chancellor for to be defaced, and gave to him, at whose petition the Chancellor did deface them in his presence and in the presence of John Goodrole and Matthew Clerk, and gave them to the said Thomas, which said vestment and albe the said Thomas did take with him."

Later on, the other extreme had their wings clipped, for on June 3, 1629, Henry Burton, rector of St. Matthew, Friday Street, is "charged with not bowing his head at the Text in a funeral Sermon preached by him there, the text being 'Come, Lord Jesus, &c.' In the sermon he said we were growing so idolatrous and fallen into such superstition, that it was a wonder that those who were zealous in religion did not like Phynieas draw their swords and run them through in the very act of idolatry." Accordingly Henry is suspended on June 18, but on July 14 his suspension is relaxed. This Henry would appear to have been somewhat of a firebrand.

So matters went on till the Commonwealth times, when the No-Church party gained the upper hand; the registers in the different parish churches of the City throw a bright light on the state of things then. Although one nowadays is continually hearing of the sufferings of those who were ejected in 1662, we know from Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy* that severe persecution was inflicted on the loyal clergy of those days.

In the registers of City churches many records of injustice will be found, and the treatment the Church received in her vestries from her own members.

I have had a peep into the vestry book of a parish not many yards from St. Paul's, and there I find that at a vestry held June 29, 1646, "it was unanimously consented that the Ordinance of Parliament touching the Presbyterian Government should go forward and be put in execution." Beneath this some commentator has written :—

"Impious Error,
Thus did mad people void of fear and grace
Besiege ye churche and stormed ye sacred place."

While in the margin is the following :—

"Who's this that comes from Egypt with a story
Of a new pamphlet called a Directory?
His cloke is something short, his looks demure,
His heart is rotten and his thoughts impure ;
In this our land this Scottish hell hatch'd brat
Like Pharaoh's lean kine will devour ye fat.
Lord, suffer not thy tender vine to bleed,
Call home thy shepherds wch thy lambs may feed."

Beneath this effusion is yet another exclamation :—

"Quare fremuerunt gentes ! !"

On November 15, 1649, Mr. Nalton was chosen by very full and general consent to be minister in this church to carry out the Presbyterian religion, but he did not accept, whereupon Mr. Warren, minister of Hendon, is chosen. Above this record is written :—

"'Twas Jeroboam's practise and his sport
Priests to elect out of the baser sort."

These proceedings went on from 1644 to 1658, ejecting the lawful incumbents, placing men of no education into the benefices, and professing at the same time to treat liberally the clergy who were ejected ; even an Act of Parliament was passed, professing to provide for their families, but every mean subterfuge was used so as to avoid payment.

In the British Museum, Add. MSS., 15,669, 70, 71, will be found "Proceedings of the Committee for Plundered Ministers."

Let me give a few extracts.

"Feb. 22, 1644.—Ordered that this day the Committee will take into consideration the several petitions of Mr. Prophett to whom the Vicarage of Edmonton, Co. Middlesex, is sequestered and Mrs. Muffet wife of Mr. Muffet from whom the same is sequestered, to be considered on Thursday next."

"Mar. 1, 1644.—This Committee do appoint peremptorily to heare the matter in difference between Mr. Prophett and Mrs. Muffett concerning the fifth part on Tuesday next and Mr. Prophett is to have speedy notice thereof."

Thursday came, and it was ordered that "Mr. Prophett and Mrs. Muffett do attend Mr. Millington to-morrow morning at nine o'clock, who is desired to compose, *if he can*, the difference between the said Mr. Prophett and Mrs. Muffet concerning his payment of the yearly allowance out of the Vicarage of Edmonton for her maintenance ordered to her by this Committee."

Next we hear of it is on March 18, when it was ordered "that Mr. Haxley and Mr. Nowell, parishioners of Edmonton, be desired to examine and certify with all speed what hath been received by Mrs. Muffet wife of Mr. Muffet from whom the Vicarage of Edmonton is sequestered, and what awards of profitt of the said Vicarage due unto the said Mrs. Muffet were received by Mr. Prophett and what the value of the living is at present, to the end that this Committee may put an end to the differences between Mr. Prophett and Mrs. Muffet."

So the matter dragged along, Mrs. Muffet and her family starving. Nearly five months after, viz., on August 2, 1645, Mr. Prophett still refuses to pay the allowance, and an order is made. Next we hear is in January, 1646, nothing is yet done, and so it went on, this evasion by these ministers, many of whom were not in holy orders.

One more typical example I would like to give from these same MSS. It is that of Dr. Gell, rector of St. Mary Aldermary, London. The attack began March 1, 1644, and he was ordered to appear on April 8 next ensuing, to answer all articles preferred against him, and "herein fail not at your perill." The 8th of April came, when the matter was adjourned to May 6, 1645, adjourned again to May 13, when Dr. Gell was ordered to make his defence on May 28 and 29, it was again adjourned to June 17, and on that date again adjourned "till Thursday seaven night," and on April 21, 1646, the case is heard and the judgment of the Committee is reserved, and finally Dr. Gell is left in possession of his rectory.

Only one more—John Braine, minister of Bromley, is referred to the Committee of the Assembly for *ordination.*

I pass on now to bring before you another class of documents, without which the registers would be quite incomplete. I mean the Patent Rolls (to be found in the Public Record Office, Fetter Lane, London), which throw many sidelights on the history of the Church of England in the various reigns; they begin with the third of King John, 1201, and come down to the present day. There may be traced the threefold contest going on between the King and the Pope, between the King and the bishops, and between the King and the various monastic foundations, each with varying success—sometimes the King was victorious, sometimes the Pope, sometimes the Bishops or Abbots.

In these Patent Rolls are to be found all the King's preferments to benefices, his permission for exchanges, his presentations when a see was void or when a monastic house had its headquarters in France. The King seized the advowson "on account of the monastery being alien, or on account of the war with France," and the King presented when the patron was his ward, or outlawed. From these Patent Rolls I have extracted 80,000 presentations.

In these same records are found the history of the rise and fall of chantries, for before such could be set up the King must give his license to do so. The first license I have met with in the Patent Rolls is dated May 4, 1313, although there were many erected before this date, but from that time, 1313, up to about 1400, there was a perfect craze for founding chantries, and this went on up to 1540. To give some idea of the number at one time in St. Paul's, there were 73 in the fifteenth century; in the City of London there were 282 at least, beside obits and trentals innumerable.

Then later on we find how the chantries were broken up; especially will particulars be found in the College and Chantry Certificates of 1548, now in the Public Record Office. They give on one side the name of the chantry, in what church, by whom founded, and the

property left for endowment; on the other side, the priest, his salary—generally £6 13*s.* 4*d.*, which I consider equal to £150 in the present day—next is the amount to the poor, or for lights, striking a balance thus:—

"And there remaineth clear for the King £ *s. d.*"

Beside this, we find also the then vicar's name, his income, and the number of "Houselling people," that is, *communicants*, and from this we can calculate the population of London in 1548.

Then in another class of documents, we have the number of chantry priests and the pensions given them. They are dated January 28, 1546–7, to January 27, 1548–9 (Excheq. Q.R. accounts, Bundle $\frac{75}{21}$ P.R.O.). The number of priests pensioned is 291 in London City and the total pensions £1,430 15*s.* 8*d.*, or about £5 a year, equal to about £110 of our present money.

Returning to the Patent Rolls, we find how and to whom all this property was distributed by Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary, and Elizabeth.

Some of these grants have been printed, but not all. I have taken out several hundred of grants of advowsons and tithes made bb Elizabeth, and in a book recently printed for subscribers (Grove's *Alienated Tithes*) will be found lists, valuable yet incomplete, which tell sad tales of robbery. This gives us details and references to grants of no less a sum than £4,243,550 per annum, equal to at least ten times that amount in the present day. The wholesale plunder of monasteries, abbeys, and priories all over the country, with a dole for the support of the clergy of various parishes, is all very sad reading, when looked at from the point of view of the piety of pre-Reformation times contrasted with the plunder of post-Reformation times. Whatever may be said by way of excuse, one is led to this bitter reflection, that up to the Reformation there was discipline, piety, and devotion to the Church, while since the Reformation the Church is torn asunder by two parties, now high, now low, neither of which can do their proper work, whilst dissent in every form alone reaps a rich harvest.

There are many other registers or records to be consulted, such as the Augmentation Office Miscellaneous Books, in the Public Record Office, which give the names of the last abbot or abbess or prior of every abbey, priory, or monastery in England, and the pension he or she received in 1537.

Then there are the Pardon Rolls in the Public Record Office, which give the names of (amongst others) the priests, abbots, or priors who had a pardon from the King for some crime or another. They are valuable, in that they supply the *alias* of a man and the various benefices he held in their order.

In conclusion, I must refer to the papal registers, where will be found all the abuses I have mentioned repeated over and over again with many others. Here are a few:—

January 1, 1337.—Relaxation of 100 days of enjoined penance to penitents who assist in the further endowment of the chapel of St. Lawrence, Candlewick Street, London.

June 2, 1306.—Dispensation to James de Ispania, canon of London, nephew of Queen Eleanor. He being not ordained and illegitimate obtained the church of Causton, Norwich dio.; on resigning it, that of Corundale, Winchester dio., and on resigning this, those of Rothbury, Ringwode, and Westburye, and on resigning that of Westbury, that of Althorp, and canonries and prebends of Wells, London, Dublin, Lichfield, Exeter, with the deanery of Pontefract Castle and of St. Leonard's Hospital, York, also canonries of Sarum, York, Lincoln. He resigns some of those and has a dispensation from Boniface VIII to hold Rothbury,

Ringwode, the deanery, and the other canonries and prebends. Not being ordained priest, nor being resident, he was summoned by the Archbishop of Canterbury and *produced his dispensation.*

June 2, 1344.—John Wakelyne of Eydon, B.A. and S.C.L., has a dispensation from the Pope, that he being in his 19th year might hold a benefice with cure of souls when he reaches the age of 20.

May 2, 1347.—Dispensation to John de Boys, priest of Norwich dio., touching the church of Gatesbury, which he obtained when in his 18th or 19th year. He is to resign and then to be instituted again and give 60 florins to the Holy Land subsidy.

No wonder, then, that the Church of England groaned under the usurped power of the Pope, while the kings looked on and resisted with doubtful success, and the bishops in most cases quietly acquiesced.

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